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The Canadian Historical Review

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OF

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(FOUNDED 1898)

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VOLUME II - 3

1921 - 22

1917 4 4
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Published Quarterly
At the University of Toronto Press

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The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. II. TORONTO, MARCH, 1921 No. 1

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THERE came on the market in England recently a small collection of manuscripts of great interest to Canadians. These were some letters and other documents, relating to the British conquest of Canada, discovered among the papers of the Monckton family. The Hon. Robert Monckton, second son of the first Viscount Galway, was one of Wolfe's brigadiers at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, was wounded at the battle, and was later ordered south for his health. Among his papers have been preserved, apparently, a number of letters between Wolfe and himself, and, if one is to believe the cabled newspaper reports, the original of Wolfe's secret orders before the Battle of the Plains. It is these which have now been offered for sale. In the natural course of events, the proper resting-place for them would be the Public Archives at Ottawa. Unfortunately, the price asked for them—a price fixed apparently with an eye single to the wealthy collector—is so high that it must be questioned whether even the Archives would be justified in paying it, especially in these days when photostat reproductions of manuscripts and rare books can be made for only a small fraction of what it would cost to procure the originals. The original of an historical document is, of course, always preferable to a copy, since it is often only by a study of the original that the authenticity of a document may be established. But once the question of authenticity has been settled, a photostat reproduction is just as reliable as the original, and just as serviceable to the student.

It is perhaps permissible to doubt whether Canadian scholars and investigators always realize the great use of the photostat that can be made in connection with their researches. Those especially whose lines are cast in places remote from great libraries and important archives collections are often too apt to take it for granted that the material necessary to their researches is not available to them—when, as a matter of fact, what they need may be procured with the exercise of a little patience. Not only manuscripts, but rare books and pamphlets, extracts from rare or inaccessible journals and newspapers, maps, diagrams, tabular statements—no matter where they may be preserved—can be photographed with absolute accuracy at a very low cost. Indeed, in many cases, even the use of the photostat is unnecessary. Under the modern system of inter-library loans, the original of a book, a pamphlet, or a map may be obtained, at the cost of postage or express, through the agency of the public library of the locality in which the student lives. In this way, it is hardly too much to say that both the manuscript and printed resources of the great libraries and archives collections, not only in Canada, but all over America and Europe, may be placed under contribution by an investigator in a small and secluded Canadian town.

Before, however, the fullest use may be made of the facilities afforded by the inter-library loan system and by the photostat in research, it is essential that there should be a greater degree of co-operation and co-ordination, both from the national and the international standpoint, between libraries and archives departments. If the student is to make use of the materials that are in existence, he must know where these materials are to be found. So far as archives collections are concerned, the problem has been at any rate partially solved by the publication of lists, calendars, and reports, such as the magnificent series of reports which the Public Archives of Canada have issued—though, it must be confessed, even in this case the very magnitude of the series has introduced an element of difficulty for the student. In the case of libraries, however, it cannot be said that a solution of the problem has begun to be reached. Whether it will be found to lie in the establishment at convenient centres of "union" or collective card-catalogues, or in a revival of the printed catalogues dear to a former generation (followed up by a periodical list of accessions), or in some other method, remains to be seen. But what is important for Canadians to observe is that, in Canada, the very

core or heart of any system of national co-operation—a National Library—is lacking. As Mr. L. J. Burpee pointed out in the first volume of this REVIEW, in a most valuable article advocating the establishment of a national library, this fact places Canada in a class with Siam and Abyssinia. "None of the three has a National Library." For what the Canadian Archives have done, and are doing, one must express the most unbounded admiration and gratitude; but, after all, the Archives cover only one field—that of purely Canadian history—and even here they concern themselves primarily with documentary material.

In this connection, especial interest attaches to the results of the meeting of the Fifth International Conference on Bibliography, which met at Brussels in September, 1920. To the man on the street, nothing more dismal than a conference on bibliography could perhaps be imagined; but no one who has thought at all deeply on the question of intellectual activity and research, no matter in what field it is carried out, can fail to appreciate the vital importance of bibliography. Where bibliography is neglected, whether it be in the field of historical or scientific or industrial investigation, the investigator is inevitably handicapped by an ignorance of what has been done in other times, and what is being done in other places. The problem of making available to investigators everything of importance in connection with their subjects is what the International Conferences on Bibliography have attempted to solve; and among the recommendations made by this last conference are several which should be of interest to Canadians. No apology, it is hoped, is necessary for reprinting these recommendations here *in extenso*:

> *I. Collections, Libraries.* (a) That in each nation belonging to the organization the sum total of national intellectual production should be collected in a national depository (a unified central library or several libraries considered as parts of a system); (b) That for each branch or group of sciences an international depository should be established.
>
> *II. Catalogues.* (a) That in each country with the aid of national depositories the production of works (books and pamphlets) should be catalogued by author and subject; (b) A collective catalogue should be made according to the authors whose works are to be found in the principal libraries of the country.
>
> *III. Bibliography.* (a) That through an international organization (single bureau or several bureaus recognized as a system for

this purpose) a bibliography be established for each branch of learning, which should be universal, international, and comprehensive, with entries by authors and subject, and periodical articles published from time to time in all countries. (b) That measures be taken to utilize existing bibliographies and catalogues by connecting them into one unit, by means of additions, reprinting and indexes.

IV. Summaries. That there should be established a general collection of résumés giving objectively an analysis of publications which are original contributions to learning. In order to facilitate this work, authors themselves might be requested to add résumés of their publications.

V. Exchanges. (a) That in each country belonging to the organization a bureau of service should, be established, from which nationally or internationally publications of no commercial value (books, extracts, periodicals, reports, laws, official documents, etc.) could be exchanged promptly and without expense between authors, societies, universities, museums, libraries, parliaments, public administrations, etc. (b) That an international service should be established to facilitate the work of the national bureaus in controlling international service and in centralizing a complete collection of all publications exchanged.

VI. Loans. That the scientific societies of every country belonging to the organization should, upon their own responsibility and by paying postage, be able to borrow directly from all public libraries works needed.

VII. Publications. That for each branch of learning there should be established a complete system on national and international bases, utilizing those works which already exist and supplementing and co-ordinating them. This system should extend to all the needs of recording knowledge and information (periodical reports, treatises, alphabetical encyclopedias, scientific catalogues, annuals, histories, etc.).

VIII. Unification of Codes. That for the establishment of collections, catalogues, bibliographies, résumés and publications, an international code of rules should be adopted, dealing with points necessary for co-operation and time-saving in the work; that rules should also be applied to the classification of authors and, as far as possible, to the standardization of sizes; that they should work towards the use of the card system, uniform classification and notation.

IX. Organization and Co-operation. That to realize such a plan an appeal should be made for co-operation between existing

organizations, official and public, and if these are not sufficient, new organizations should be established.

One needs only to peruse these recommendations to realize how far Canada—which, by the way, was not represented at the conference—is lacking in even the rudimentary elements of what might serve as a sort of intellectual clearing-house.

The names of the contributors to this REVIEW are perhaps not always familiar to readers of the REVIEW. For this reason, it has been decided to include regularly in this department a paragraph giving some information about the authors of articles. In the present number of the REVIEW, the first article, "Nationalism and Self-Determination", is by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, of the staff in Modern History at the University of Toronto, an Irish scholar who came to Canada before the war, and who has edited a well-known and useful compilation of *Documents of the Canadian Constitution*. Colonel Dudley Mills, the author of the paper on "The Duke of Wellington and the Peace Negotiations at Ghent in 1814", is a British engineer officer, who has a connection with Canada through the fact that his wife is a daughter of the late Sir Henry Joly de Lotbinière, and who has already made at least one highly important contribution to Canadian history, a paper entitled "British Diplomacy in Canada", published in *United Empire*, October, 1911. Mr. Justice Riddell, who writes on "Privy Council Appeals in Early Canada", is one of the High Court judges of Ontario, and an historical student whose occasional papers are well known for their research and erudition. Mr. William Smith, who throws some "Sidelights on the Attempted Union of 1822", is secretary of the Public Archives at Ottawa, and the author of an important *History of the Post-Office in British North America*, which has just been issued from the press; and Mr. Holmden, who puts in print an interesting document throwing light on the origin of the Rideau Canal, is also an official of the Archives. Mr. Wilfrid Bovey, the author of the paper on "Confederate Agents in Canada", is a Montreal barrister.

NATIONALISM AND SELF-DETERMINATION

"Another cause of revolution is difference of races which do not at once acquire a common spirit: for a state is not the growth of a day, neither is it a multitude brought together by accident."—ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, v. 3.

I

THE casual observer to-day cannot miss the countless cures offered to the diseased body politic which bear no scientific imprint, no professional recommendation. Whatever the reason, the slow processes of careful investigation, of philosophical analysis, and of gradual reconstruction, are giving way to patent medicines, of which the most prominent is the political shibboleth, the clever catchword, the neat sentence, the aphoristic *bon mot*. As a matter of fact, political science can least of all afford the quack, the medicine vendor, the dilettante. In physical science work and progress are by comparison easier. The physical scientist deals at least with a limited world—the world of matter—and one more uniformly safe in its manifestations. The world of political science is subtle, elusive, tantalizing, and volcanic. The political scientist's *métier* is the human will, in all its inner and outward activities, its ebb and flow; and his subject-matter is as limitless as the human spirit. Nowhere else are patient thought, diligent research, unwearied discipline, and tentative conclusions more necessary, for here is the very bedrock of the social fabric—the security of the individual, of the family, of the social and political group, of humanity itself. In this delicate laboratory there is continual danger, for the subject-matter of the experiments is drawn from the sobs of idealists, the tears of statesmen, the palpitating heart-throbs of reasoners, the kaleidoscopic march of humanity from the beginning of time. The cures that come are few. Everything that leaves this great fascinating workshop is almost experimental. The language, too, of the political scientist is judicial and undogmatic. It shares, as it were, something of the provocative quest, of Merlin and the Gleam.

The world, however, is to-day impatient of the gradual methods

of science. It seeks quick returns and looks at science as a kind of "universal provider". As a consequence, it turns in politics to quacks, who provide it with such modern cures as: "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people"; "Make the world safe for democracy"; "The right to vote"; "Nationality"; "Self-determination." There is now an excuse ready for everything. "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people" may be the defence of class government. "Making the world safe for democracy" may sanction the modern "red fool-fury of the Seine." "The right to vote" may numb voting as a function of living citizenship. "Nationality" may become the pharisaical "I thank thee, God, I am not as other men," and may block the path to any higher human synthesis, any nobler social solidarity. "Self-determination" may cover everything, from the factious and recalcitrant child sulking in its nursery kingdom, to the elemental chaos of a group pouting in the twilight of the past, or calling into being the hell of civil war. There is need to-day of some clearing of the ground. We cannot make phrases take the place of hard thinking nor make confusion do duty for clearness. Some attempt at definition is necessary, if we are to be saved from going back in politics. For it must be remembered that in politics, as in moral character, there is no static condition; and there is just the danger that we may mistake movements for progress, and confuse activity with advance.

II

"Seeing then that *truth* consisteth in the right ordering of names in our affirmations, a man that seeketh precise *truth* had need to remember what every name he uses stands for; and to place it accordingly; or else he will find himselfe entangled in words, as a bird in lime-twiggs; the more he struggles the more belimed."

—HOBBES, *Leviathan*, I, 4.

In turning then to consider nationalism and self-determination, an effort must be made at definition. We shall see how difficult is the definition of either—"inclusive and exclusive", as the Schoolmen would have said. At the same time some attempt is necessary if we are not to add to the already large confusion of political thought. Indeed this confusion is largely due to the inconstant and fluctuating use of terms. For example, nationalism is used at one time for patriotism, at another for racialism—two social facts which are sometimes incompatible or antagonistic. Nationalism is also sometimes regarded as synonymous with

nationality, though it is clear that nationality is frequently used in a semi-legal sense which could not be included under the term nationalism—for example, in a passport or in the returns of the census. It is evident then that if we are to make any progress at all we must try to use clear terms in writing of nationalism and of self-determination.

It is true, of course, that many writers seek to avoid an effort after clearness of meaning—thus adding to the confusion. Lord Cromer avoids the problem of definition in his preface to Mr. Arnold Toynbee's *The New Europe*, taking refuge in the formula, *Definitio est negatio*. Professor Ramsay Muir, in his *Nationalism and Internationalism*, has pronounced nationalism to be an elusive idea of difficult definition: "It cannot be tested or analysed by formulae such as German professors love." It is undoubtedly true that the term is difficult, but we shall do well to make some attempt at a definition, especially as the very confusion which has already arisen is largely responsible for the growing ambiguities of meaning. At any rate such an attempt will eliminate the use of the word in some sense not present in some individual reader's mind.

What then is nationalism? It is obviously a kind of "common spirit"—that to which Aristotle refers in his *Politics*. A further distinction however is necessary, as there are varieties of common spirit:—that of a regiment or university; the community of feeling which belongs to a fraternal society; the brotherhood of labour manifested in guild or trade union, or the cementing ethos of a church or religious foundation. The common spirit which animates such organizations has clearly nothing to do with nationalism. We are compelled to seek in the common spirit of nationalism some distinctive and distinguishing feature. We may seek that feature in history. An examination of the historical phenomena of nationalism will disclose many factors which have contributed to it in different generations and in different continents. We can trace in the development of Aristotle's "common spirit" many varied forces at work—racial or supposed racial solidarity; a common language; a common religion; common economic backgrounds; a common history or tradition; common political ideals; common political institutions; a common home—often possessing a certain geographical unity. But are any of these factors common factors?

Racial solidarity is not everywhere a feature of nationalism. In Europe it is largely a myth. It is possible to describe feeling

between white man and black man or yellow man as racial antagonism; but from the ethnological point of view, there is to-day among the European peoples hardly one which is not of mixed racial origin. Italy, where one of the strongest national movements of modern times arose, is the home of most composite races. Germany is a blend of Teuton and Slav and Celt. Greece represents almost every race in Europe. The greatest modern nation—the United States—is merely re-enacting in race assimilation what has been going on in European states for centuries.

Identity of language—which is popularly confused with identity of race—has undoubtedly contributed to nation-building, but he would be a fool-hardy historian who would call it an essential element. The Scottish people are a nation, though they speak both English and Gaelic. The Belgians are a nation though they speak both French and Flemish. The Swiss are a nation, though actually tri-lingual.

The diversity of tongues does not discount the reality of American nationalism. We can dismiss identity of language along with a common religion. The latter has brought its gifts to the building of nations; but religious varieties have often been most prominent where nationalism has been strongest and most vigorous.

Nor can we explain nationalism by common economic interests. These lie behind much in human history, and examples are not wanting of their influences in nationalist movements. Their influences can be seen indirectly at work in the American Civil War, and more directly we can find them at work in the *Zollverein*, with Prussia at its head, which laid the foundations of the modern German Empire. On the other hand, it would be hard to find common economic interests at work in the fusion of the Thirteen Colonies out of which the American nation was born. Indeed the nation, as an economic unit, largely exists artificially through the influence of protective tariffs.

It would be possible to examine common history and common traditions and to find that they are not the common factors which we have been seeking. The nationalism of the North American continent, for example, owes little to the past. Nor will common political ideals satisfy our inquiry—they have not been essential. Legitimists, Bonapartists, Republicans and Socialists have shed their blood impartially in the cause of French nationalism—to save the French nation.

It is when we come to think of a common territorial home that

we seem to be reaching securer ground. This is a factor common to all varieties of nationalism—if we except the Jews. And even here it is significant that where Jewish nationalism is most real is among the Zionists, who look to Palestine as the home of their national aspirations. Everywhere else nationalism links itself up with a fatherland, a country, which need not necessarily be a "geographical unity". Neither the Polish nation nor the Roumanian has natural boundaries. All that the nationalist spirit demands in the ultimate analysis is that it should have a territorial home round which its aspirations may gather, a common hearth on which the sacred fire may be kept aglow and burning. Other factors, as we have seen, may contribute; but as often as not they rob nationalism of its fairest blooms.

Nationalism in its simplest terms seems to demand nothing more than a common spirit, whatever factors may combine to form it, and a common *patria*. This common spirit, too, is not merely on fire—it is glowing with a flame that burns but does not consume the hearts in which it rules. For no embers, however bright, will start a national conflagration. No common-day community spirit has national creative force. The Yorkshireman, the Devon man, the Nova Scotian have common spirits and common homes; but no one would confuse Yorkeshiremen, Devonians, Nova Scotians with nations. There are then diversities of common spirits. There is that which can, without offence, be called localism or provincialism, which expresses itself in the everyday activities of a narrow social group in a narrow geographical area; and there is that higher type which we call nationalism, to which Mr. Zimmern applies the test, *Will men die for it?* Yorkshire and Devon and Nova Scotia are fair to see, and to their citizens they bring hallowed ties, precious associations, sacred memories; but before the wider challenge of England and of Canada they are little. The common spirit which we know as nationalism is of such intensity that it consumes the lesser loves as it takes up the gauntlet of defying death. Nationalism then is a common spirit, almost uniformly related to a fatherland; and it is of such consuming force that men will gladly die to preserve it and the *patria*, which is its outward and visible expression.

This conception of nationalism covers most cases; but while appearing to solve one problem it creates another. A moment's thought will show that there may be two or more nationalisms for which men would die. A Scotchman would perhaps be willing to die for Scotland, an Ulsterman for Ulster; both have died for

the British Empire. A French Canadian might be willing to die for Quebec, for Canada, or (as many of them have done) for the British Empire. It would seem then as though there might be a nationalism within a nationalism. Or rather there seems to be such a thing as a super-nationalism, in which two or more nationalities may merge without losing their identity—as English, Scotch, Welsh nationalities have merged, distinct but one, in British super-nationalism.

Whatever objections may be levelled against these definitions, I hope that I have made clear what I mean when I speak of nationalism. Patriotism is not meant—for that, after all, is individual devotion to the political state in which a man has been born or to which he has transferred his allegiance. There was abundance of patriotism in the Roman Empire, but little nationalism. Neither do I mean racialism, nor linguistic or religious bonds, nor even local feeling. Nationalism may partake of the character of any or of all of these. Above all that exclusive political fanaticism is excluded which thinks of the world too exclusively in terms of boundaries, in terms of invidious comparisons, or in terms of mere tolerance. Nationalism is a separate and peculiar form of corporate consciousness. For the moment I shall leave it there.

III

"'National aspirations must be respected . . . . 'Self-determination' is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action which statesmen henceforth will ignore at their peril."—President WILSON, *Address to Congress* (1918).

"The theory of Nationality is more criminal and absurd than the theory of Socialism."—Lord ACTON, *Nationality* (1862).

We can now turn to consider the fruits of nationalism. Indeed there have arisen so many divergencies of opinion especially in connection with its relation to the state, that the functions of nationalism must be examined. Are its influences good or evil? Are they mixed? How can its evils, if any, be eliminated?

The diversity of opinions with regard to nationalism is excellently illustrated by the words of Mr. Wilson and of Lord Acton at the head of this section. The former has proved himself not only in his state-papers and public utterances, but also by his actions at the Peace Conference, to be a strong and convinced believer in nationalism. Indeed he appears not only to be its high-priest but also its preaching friar. If the aspirations of nationalism are recognized, if the map of the world is rearranged

along nationalistic lines, the result will be the reduction to a minimum of the possibilities of war, and the coming of a genuine era of peace and good-will. On the other hand and at the other extreme is Lord Acton, a judge of no less weight, who believed that the fruits of nationalism were evil. By "the theory of nationality" he meant the doctrine that national feelings should be the basis of statehood; and this doctrine he had no hesitation in pronouncing "criminal" and "absurd".

Superficial thinkers might be inclined to put down the extreme difference of opinion between these two thinkers to a conflict between the ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; between mid-Victorian obscurantism and this age of Reason and Light. It is true that the statesmen of the nineteenth century, both at and after the Congress of Vienna, frequently ignored national aspirations, whereas the statesmen of the Peace Conference seem deliberately to have made an attempt at satisfying them, until the impossibility of their task either wearied them, or a waiting world awoke them to realities, and they did not finish the work. But, in reality, the conflict lies deeper and is more fundamental than the difference between two generations. It is a profound difference between vital schools of thought which we have with us to-day, and it runs through most of the recent political literature. On the one side, for example, is Professor Ramsay Muir who has expressed, in his *Nationalism and Internationalism*, views similar to President Wilson's: "If the whole map of Europe could once be completely and satisfactorily divided on national lines, there might be good hope for a cessation of strife." On the other side, Mr. Zimmern, in his essays on *Nationality and Government*, has contended with no less emphasis than Lord Acton that "political nationalism does not make for tranquility. It is too self-centred. It has too little sense of the community of nations". Nor is the conflict merely one between political theorists. Gabriele d'Annunzio, Jan Paderewski, Eamonn de Valera, and Henri Bourassa—all men, by the way, of literary and artistic temperament—are attempting to put into practice a belief that nationalism is a force making for good. While at the other extreme of action are Nicolas Lenin and his confrères whose movements are governed by the belief that nationalism is the veritable sin against the Holy Ghost.

If a poll were taken of the public opinion of the world, the overwhelming majority would doubtless be on the side of President Wilson, Professor Ramsay Muir, and the other nationalists. It has become an axiom of popular political thought that the function

of nationalism is the creation of nation-states—states in which the frontiers of national feeling and national government coincide —and that every nation has an inherent right to a separate political existence, the right of "self-determination". It is hardly necessary to point out that this fact is no argument in favour of nationalism, for the overwhelming majority of people have very frequently held false views. But we can suppose, for the sake of simplicity, that nationalism's chief end is the creation of the nation-state. Whither are we led? Is nationalism, under this view of its mission, to be the angel of peace in the world, as President Wilson and Professor Muir believe; or is it going to bring about, as in the view of Lord Acton and Mr. Zimmern, a worse condition? Are the hopes of the Irish, the French-Canadian, the Italian, and Polish nationalists, as directed towards the nation-state, making for the reduction of friction in the political machinery; or are they, as the internationalists think, the ravings of *doctrinaire* idealists who would put back the clock of progress? Whatever answer history will give to these questions when the winnowing of the years is over, there are at least certain rather obvious objections to the nation-state, to "self-determination".

First, to apply the idea to the map of Europe to-day would be a task of grave difficulties. Professor Masaryk, the distinguished Czech nationalist, estimates that there are in Europe at this moment sixty-eight distinct nationalities. Yet even now, after all the efforts of the Peace Conference, there are still less than thirty "sovereign" states in Europe, and of these hardly half are nationally homogeneous—that is, contain no considerable admixture of other national elements. If the nationalist ideals are to be carried out, there remains in Europe a Herculean political labour. To rearrange the map of Europe in nation-states would bankrupt the intellect of the world; at any rate the very conception staggers the imagination. But let us suppose a general attempt being made along honest lines to transform national units into separate states. How are the boundaries of these nationalities to be determined? There are many districts in Europe where two or three national elements exist side by side—how is the boundary line in such cases to be drawn? As the result, say the exponents of nationalist theory, of a plebiscite, in which the opinions of the majority shall obtain. Thus then "the *right* of self-determination" seems to disappear as a *right*, and takes its place in a mechanical theory of head-counting.

Let us suppose, however, that such a plebiscite is taken. It is

evident that great care will be needed in selecting the precise area of the plebiscite; for the inclusion of a little territory on the one side or the other will often be sufficient to turn the scale. There will be grave dangers of gerrymandering. But granted that the vote is fairly and honestly taken, what will be the result? A small, a hopelessly small, minority of one nationality will be included in a state entirely dominated by another nationality. A fringe of Germans, for example, will be included, willy-nilly, in a Czecho-Slovak nation-state; a remnant of Slavs will be herded into an Italian nation-state. What will be the position of this minority? They will be a negligible quantity; they will have no influence in the policy of the state, or, at any rate, much less influence than if they were a minority of a respectable size; being out of harmony with the dominant nationalist ideals of the state, they will be an alien, a subordinate, and possibly a persecuted people.

This brings us to the second apparent objection to the idea of the nation-state. Even if it were possible to make nationality everywhere coincident with statehood the idea would be fundamentally and essentially unsound. To identify the nation and the state is to make nationalism the basis of the state; and, where this is done, nationalism takes the place of those universal principles of justice and humanity on which the ideal state should be founded. It is not denied that nationalism may be both just and humane, but many nationalisms in the past have been unjust and inhumane—the Turks in Armenia, the Germans in Poland and Alsace-Lorraine, the English in Ireland. Indeed, Lord Acton declared that the theory of the nation-state is "a confutation of democracy", since it substitutes for democracy another principle—a principle, too, which is neither universal nor essentially moral, but is accidental and arbitrary. A state must be deeper based, under peril of disaster.

For nationalism is indeed fickle, as are all things of the spirit. No plebiscite can fix its moods. The plebiscite of to-day is not that of to-morrow. A popular vote in Ulster during the American Revolution might have disclosed a sorry enough opinion of England and something quite different from to-day's strong attachment. A popular vote in Belgium in 1815 might have revealed a majority in favour of incorporation with Holland, a decision which would have been opposed to the popular opinion of 1830. During the war between the Balkan League and Turkey in 1912, a plebiscite in the Balkans might have resulted in favour of a Balkan Con-

federation—an impossibility a year later. Over and above changes like these, there is the ceaseless ebb and flow of population to consider—the expansion and the contraction of nationalities. Unless the map of the world is to be deliberately tinkered with, as nationalism changes spiritually and physically; unless we are to revise boundaries for each nation-state on some regular basis, such as the decennial census, we must find some more stable basis for the state than the fluid and changing lines of nationalism.

Nor can national feeling be given the chief consideration in the making of frontiers. There are military and economic considerations, which are at least practical issues, whatever we may hope for in the future. A state has a legitimate grievance, if its boundaries, by arbitrary arrangement, place it in a position of weakness. When France lost her strategic frontier in 1871, *la revanche* became a national passion. Not a little of the anger in Canada over the Alaskan Boundary Award was due to the fact that it gave to the United States two small islands which commanded the entrance to a future Canadian port and railway terminus. In any case, it must be admitted that natural boundaries are more permanent than national lines. Similarly a state has a grievance with regard to trade if it be placed in an inferior position to its neighbours. The most striking illustration is the decision of the Peace Conference with regard to the Poles and to the Jugo-Slavs, who must have access to the sea as the international highway.

It is sufficiently clear that the idea of the nation-state—the idea that national and political lines must coincide—is not only impracticable, but fundamentally unsound. In the initial stages of its application it is charged with friction, and in its logical conclusions it is more likely to turn the world into a slaughter-house than into a paradise. We must admit with regret—for the sincerity of President Wilson and his group need not be doubted—that political nationalism will not work all the wonders which have been claimed for it. On the other hand, we must not rush into extremes and, with the international group, pronounce it as a crime against civilization. Here is something which has blossomed into love for country; which has gilded history with countless deeds of valour, endurance, self-sacrifice, and immortal heroism; which has inspired the noblest poetry, the most pregnant prose, the most enchanting music. We cannot dismiss such a force with a flourish of the hand, or bow it out with punctilious and conventional ceremony. Nationalism is here—a present fact

to be reckoned with. It cannot be abolished by order any more than religion. The subjective is outside prohibition. If then it betrays dangerous or anti-social tendencies, the best that we can hope for is to check them not so much by correctness of principle or goodness of intention, but by the development of human character and the widening of human wisdom, which seems to point to the diverting of national feeling from the foam and fury of political channels to those in which nationalism has best served humanity. For it is obvious that the trouble with nationalism lies in its political aspect—in the idea that the state and the nation are one. Elsewhere there are spheres in which nationalism can express itself with less danger—indeed with advantage to the world. It may find expression in literature—as it did in the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth, in the Young Ireland poetry of 1848, and in a degree in the modern Irish literary movement—or in music or in art. It may inspire national industrial efficiency, scientific research, geographical exploration, educational advance, social reform. Indeed there is no principle of progress which nationalism may not adopt and to which it may not give individuality, the vitalizing force in any group of human activities.

But a recognition of mere obvious facts will not help us completely to get rid of the dangerous tendencies in political nationalism. To do this it will be necessary to examine more closely the symptoms which political nationalism displays. It seems, on observation, to operate in either of two ways—as a unifying or as a disruptive force. It may achieve Italian, Canadian, German, Australian, and South African unity, or it may shatter the empires of Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Russia and give birth to the separatist movements in the Southern States and in Ireland. Its power as an agent of unification may seem a good thing; of disruption, a bad thing. But reflection will show that such general conclusions are unsound. National unification has often been achieved at the cost of grave injustice to other nationalities, and even by a policy of "blood and iron"; and when achieved, it has often led to jingoism, to militant imperialism, even to attempts at world power. England, the oldest of nation-states, in the fourteenth century attempted to subjugate the people of France and Scotland, after having achieved English unity. Something similar is seen in the case of Spain in the sixteenth century, in the case of France under Napoleon, and in the case of Germany in 1914. This type of nationalism, which has not infrequently resulted from a successful movement towards national unity, can

hardly be said to make for the world's peace. On the other hand, there have been national movements of a disruptive kind which even a pacifist could not condemn—the Dutch War of Independence, and the Greek War of Liberation, for example, which were directed against the forces of soul-destroying tyranny.

But though political nationalism has not been an unmixed blessing in its unifying form, nor everywhere a curse in its separatist form, it seems probable that, on the whole, nationalistic movements, where the federal idea has been at work, have been productive of more good than separatist national forces. No one, unless he is still living in the eighteenth century, can fail to regret the secession of the Thirteen Colonies from England in 1776; and yet there are few who can fail to admire the formation of the United States of America in 1789. One looks with dismay on the chaotic by-products of Sinn Fein in Ireland, and with joy on such fruits of union as exist in South Africa. Why is this? Is it not because in the case of the union of the United States of America and of the South African provinces there went, hand in hand with nationalism, compromise, toleration, conciliation, and good-will—to a much greater degree than most people have imagined; and because in the case of both the American Revolution and of Sinn Fein, nationalism has betrayed an irreconcilable and uncompromising attitude—possibly in more than one quarter? In its better phase nationalism is willing to negotiate, to give and to take, to see other points of view.

We must get rid of the delusion that there is not room in the state for more than one variety of national feeling. It would be well indeed if we could grasp the idea that a state which is nationally homogeneous is perhaps in a less fortunate position than a state which contains two or more heterogeneous national elements. The nation which coincides with the state is too liable to become intolerant, to make nationalism the basis of the state; but the state in which there is a variety of national feeling is forced to learn in the school of experience lessons which will prove useful in world issues. A state, too, which contains varied national elements will have the advantage of healthy rivalries among its component national types, and may be the means of creating a higher national feeling—a supernationalism, such as has been referred to, in which toleration will be the essential feature—that higher type of nationalism which is found in the "common spirit" of the British Empire, with its amazing varieties of national life.

This idea of a supernationalism opens up a vista of dazzling

possibilities. If pushed far enough it ends in the idea of world-nationalism, or internationalism, in the idea that the inhabitants of this earth, having a common home, should have a common spirit. It was Mazzini, one of the greatest of nationalists, who said, "National life and international life should be two manifestations of the same principle, the love of good." Mr. Zimmern resets the same idea: "The road to Internationalism lies through Nationalism, not through levelling men down to a grey indistinctive Cosmopolitanism, but by appealing to the best elements in the corporate inheritance of each nation."

W. P. M. KENNEDY

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AT GHENT IN 1814

AT the beginning of 1814, four countries in Europe and America were waging three distinct wars. Great Britain and France had been continuously at war since May, 1803. In June, 1812, the United States had declared war on Great Britain because of her infringement of neutral rights, and from other motives. And during the same month, Napoleon had begun the invasion of Russia. In October, 1813, Napoleon was decisively defeated at the battle of Leipsic. In April, 1814, the Allies entered Paris, Napoleon abdicated, and two out of the three wars came to an end. The third between Great Britain and the United States went on for another eight months, because Great Britain felt strong and angry and wanted revenge.

The British policy of April, 1814, was "to give Jonathan a good drubbing".[1] Such a policy was naturally popular in England. In June, 1812, the United States had declared war on Great Britain under the impression that Napoleon was winning. Madison admitted in later years that he had put his money on the wrong horse. To the Americans British maritime claims were offensive, British diplomacy irritating. Monroe had suffered much while minister in London. Clay, the champion of the West, was convinced that he could dictate the proper course to the overwise men of the East, with their commercial ideas. Madison followed the advice of Monroe and Clay, and hoped that by declaring war the United States would smash British pretensions and establish American rights both on sea and land.

Well-equipped historians can always extenuate, and sometimes justify, the errors of statesmen by calling up from the past the errors of previous statesmen. Responsibility can thus be distributed over several generations, and a fair defence can be raised for any given action, whatever be the motive at the time—high-minded foresight, blind fanaticism, pure ignorance, or even deadly

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches* (London, 1862), vol. IX, p. 58.

hatred. Britain wanted revenge in 1814 because the United States had tried to stab her in the back in 1812. The action of the United States in 1812 was due largely to British claims since 1805, and further back to the bad feeling on both sides from 1763 to 1783; and so on till we fetch up at the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620. To sum up the series of mistakes, the historian would have to borrow from mathematics some infernal machine like the "binomial theorem", and would be excluded ever after from polite historical society.

Though the policy of 1814 was as natural and as mistaken as all policies of revenge always have been and always must be, the motive power of the policy was not in the diffused national feeling but in the definite interests of the Canadian fur-traders. The Montreal fur-traders and their London friends had inherited the fur-trading interests which had been in French hands till 1763. They had been disgusted at the Treaty of 1783, with its international boundary line giving the new republic all land to the south of the great lakes and the 49th parallel. They had managed for some years after the treaty to hang on to the trading posts south of the boundary line, which by the treaty should have been at once relinquished. But now in 1814 a new situation had arisen, and it was felt the time had come to rectify the errors of the Treaty of 1783. The boundary line must somehow be pushed south; the hunting grounds must be preserved. The Colonial Office, by deputations, memorials, pamphlets and general pressure, must be made to understand the matter and to act as required. Lord Bathurst, as secretary of state for war and colonies, acted as required. Lord Liverpool, the prime minister, approved as requested. Castlereagh, secretary of state for foreign affairs, then on the Continent, was apparently not consulted. Wellington was ordered to ship his army direct from Bordeaux to America, and a threefold attack was planned. The main advance was to be from Canada in the north. The Eastern coasts were to be raided. New Orleans was to be captured in the south. But *suaviter in modo* was to be combined with *fortiter in re.* While soldiers and sailors administered the drubbing, commissioners were to discuss at Ghent the terms of peace. Goulburn (who had been since 1812 under-secretary at the Colonial Office, and who must have been fully informed as regards fur-trading views) was chosen one of the British commissioners. As the "drubbing" might take some time, the peace discussions need not be unduly hurried.

During the summer of 1814, things went on more or less according to plan. In August, the commissioners met at Ghent,

and the British made proposals as directed in their instructions. The Americans objected, and the early collapse of the negotiations seemed probable. Castlereagh happened to pass through Ghent while the discussion was in progress. He thought the British commissioners too strenuous, told them to await further instructions from London, and advised Liverpool to climb down a little. He then continued his journey to Vienna, leaving American matters to be dealt with hereafter by his colleagues in London.

As Castlereagh had apparently no further influence on American matters for the rest of the war, it is convenient to interpose here two quotations showing how well he understood not only American, but European matters. In 1807, as secretary of state for war and colonies, considering the defence of Canada, he wrote, "Were we to attempt to attack the United States by land their resources would be called forth, as formerly, by every exertion of power."[1] In November, 1814, while at the Congress of Vienna, he wrote:

> The great military powers should remember . . . that it is false as an universal principle that nations have a right in all cases to claim additional Territories in compensation for expenses incurred in War and much less under those circumstances which tend to expose the military security of neighbouring and allied States. The peace of the World cannot co-exist with such a doctrine. Besides accession of territory altho' it may satisfy national ambition seldom fails to bring with it burdens and discontents fully equivalent to its resources. With these principles in view, if the allied powers act liberally towards each other and indulgently towards other states they may look forward to crown a glorious War by a solid and lasting Peace, and posterity will revere their names not only for having delivered by their arms the World from a Tyrant and Conqueror, but for having restored by their example and by their influence, the reign of moderation and justice.[2]

The London colleagues climbed down, reprimanding their commissioners for acting on instructions which did not act, and then awaited trans-atlantic news. During September came the news that Ross had raided Washington, and burnt the public buildings. During October came the news that Prevost had advanced on Plattsburg and retired ignominiously before a very inferior force.

[1] *Castlereagh Papers*, ser. 2, vol. IV, p. 104.
[2] F.O. 92 (Nov.-Dec., 1814): enclosure in letter of Nov. 5.

The Plattsburg disaster was annoying, but it had no effect at the moment on British policy. On October 21, Bathurst wrote to Castlereagh telling him that the New Orleans expedition was being pushed on. The Plattsburg disaster, he wrote, "will put the enemy in spirits. The campaign will end in our doing much where we thought we should have done little, and doing nothing where we expected everything." On October 28, however, Liverpool wrote to Castlereagh that "the war with America will probably now be of some duration"; and he wrote on the same day to Wellington, "The last note of the American Plenipotentiaries puts an end I think to any hopes we might have entertained of our being able to bring the war with America at this time to a conclusion."[1]

On October 30, Wellington, writing to Bathurst, commented on the Plattsburg disaster:

> It is very obvious to me that you must remove Sir G. Prevost. I see he is gone to war about trifles with the General Officers I sent him which are certainly the best of their rank in the Army and his subsequent failure and distresses will be aggravated by that circumstance; and will probably, with the usual fairness of the Publick, be attributed to it.[2]

An amusing instance of the "war about trifles" in which Prevost had engaged will be found in a general order he issued on August 23. "The Commander of the Forces has observed in the dress of the several officers of corps and departments lately added to this army from that of Field Marshall the Duke of Wellington a fanciful variety inconsistent with the rules of the service. His Excellency deems it expedient to direct, etc., etc."[3] In short, Wellington's officers had got very slack during the Peninsular campaign and required smartening up. Prevost's criticisms are fully confirmed by Professor Oman who explains that officers' dress (including his own) was a subject on which Wellington was quite indifferent.[4]

From the above account, it will be seen that up to the end of October the British government showed no intention of changing their American policy. The war would be longer, the cost greater, the parliamentary criticism more severe than originally anticipated, but the policy was unchanged.

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 384.
[2] Bathurst MSS.
[3] Kingsford, *History of Canada*, vol. VIII, p. 531.
[4] Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*.

It was not until November, 1814, that the change took place—as the direct result of advice given by the Duke of Wellington under circumstances which will now be described.

In April, 1814, on the termination of the war with France, Wellington, at the special request of the government,[1] accepted the post of ambassador at Paris. On April 30, he left Toulouse, and on May 4 he arrived in Paris "without notice, in time, in his blue coat, to see the Russian and Prussian guards defile by Louis XVIII."[2] After five days in Paris he returned to his army in the south, and then visited Madrid. On June 29 on his way back to England, he again visited Paris, and on that day wrote, "I don't think matters are in a very satisfactory state here. They appear smooth enough, but I understand there is a good deal of dissatisfaction among all classes; and I believe that the only security the government have is the fear all the other classes have of the military, and of their taking advantage of any disturbance to restore the authority of Bonaparte or of some other military chief."[3]

On June 23 he landed in England. During July, he visited Paris, for, on the 14th, Castlereagh wrote from Paris, "The Duke will assist at our conferences whilst his military duties do not call him from Paris".[4] At the end of July, Wellington was back in London, but it was not till August 9 that the Prince Regent signed his credentials. He travelled *viâ* the Netherlands, and did not reach Paris till August 22. On September 30, he wrote to Castlereagh, then in Vienna:

> I think we are getting a little unpopular in the town but I don't think that circumstance is of much importance.[5]

On October 2 he wrote to Bathurst:

> There has been some awkwardness in the town within these few days. . . . There have been some instances of ill treatment and rudeness to strangers, particularly the English; principally, I believe, from disbanded officers returned from England and Russia as prisoners of war."[6]

On October 4 he wrote to Castlereagh that the news of the British capture of Washington had "increased the ill-temper and

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 141.
[2] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 64.
[3] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 145.
[4] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 162.
[5] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 298.
[6] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 301.

rudeness with which in too many instances His Majesty's subjects are treated in this town."[1]

On October 17 he wrote to Castlereagh:

> There is certainly a good deal of uneasiness in the public mind at Paris, but I cannot discover any ground for it excepting the numbers of ruined and discontented persons there are in the town, who are certainly not discouraged from the execution of any scheme of mischief they may have in contemplation by the advice and example of their superiors. Even the Marshal and those in favour of the King do not scruple to express their dislike of the present system, and the shame they feel at finding themselves in the situation in which they are.[2]

In spite of the inconveniences mentioned, crowds of English people visited Paris and among others Lord Harrowby, a minister in Liverpool's cabinet. He was in Paris at least a fortnight—from October 12 to October 28. There was also a certain General Macaulay (brother of Zachary Macaulay and uncle of the historian), who had visited Paris in connection with the abolition of the slave trade.

On October 23 Wellington wrote to Liverpool:

> General Macaulay will make you acquainted with what he has learnt of the state of Paris in regard to the Bourbons. My former letters and despatches will have shown you what I think on that subject. Without knowing more facts it appears to me that he considers the danger more certain and more likely to occur than I do; that is to say, he believes it certainly will occur within a very short period of time. I think it may occur on any night; but I know of no fact to induce me to believe it is near, excepting the general one of great discontent and almost desperation among a very daring class of men.[3]

On or about October 25 Macaulay left Paris and returned to London, but did not deliver Wellington's letter till October 30.

On October 31 Macaulay wrote to Liverpool a most alarmist letter[4] urging the immediate recall of Wellington to England, on the ground that there might be at any moment a rising in Paris, and that Wellington might be arrested or that even "something more dreadful" might occur. Macaulay suggested that, as an

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 314.
[2] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 346.
[3] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 368.
[4] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 401.

excuse for the recall, it might be pretended that Wellington's services were required in connection with the American war. Next morning (November 1) Liverpool saw Macualay, but thought it better to delay any action till he could see Harrowby, for both Macaulay and Hamilton (the under-secretary at the Foreign Office) had told him that Wellington meant to "open himself thoroughly on the subject to Harrowby."

On November 2 Liverpool wrote to Castlereagh, "You will have heard from many quarters of the combustible state of the interior of France and the expectation which exists of some explosion," and he hopes that there will be no renewal of European War.[1] Of American affairs he says, "I see little prospect of our negotiations at Ghent ending in peace, and I am apprehensive that they will be brought to a conclusion under circumstances which will render it necessary to lay the papers before Parliament and to call for a vote upon them previous to the Christmas recess. Of this, however, I shall probably be enabled to speak more positively some days hence. The continuance of the American war will entail upon us a prodigious expense, much more than we had any idea of," and he goes on to caution Castlereagh against incurring any further financial obligations in Europe. American policy would be discussed at the cabinet meeting the following day.

On November 4 Wellington wrote to Bathurst:

> I see that the public are very impatient about the want of success in America, and I expect they will never be quiet until I go there. I think that matters are in such an uncomfortable state here, and they are so little settled in Congress, that you could not spare me out of Europe.[2]

On November 4 Liverpool wrote to Wellington, telling him he had "communicated all the particulars which have come to my knowledge to the Cabinet, who entirely concur with me in the opinion as to the expediency of your quitting Paris without delay."[3]

Liverpool then considers three alternative excuses which might be given for his quitting Paris, as the real reason must be necessarily concealed.

The first excuse of recalling him to assist at some important court-martials would be of no use, as it could last for only about a

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Wood (ed.), *Select British Documents* (Champlain Society, 1920), vol.I, p. 131.

[3] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 405.

fortnight. The second excuse is that, while remaining nominally ambassador at Paris, he should be sent to Vienna to help Castlereagh at the Congress. The third excuse, and the one which Liverpool and his colleagues liked best, was that he should be recalled "to be appointed to the chief command in America, and that you should go out with full powers to make peace or to continue the war, if peace should be found impracticable, with renewed vigour. . . . The more we contemplate the character of the American war, the more satisfied we are of the many inconveniences which may grow out of the continuance of it. We desire to bring it to an honourable conclusion; and this object would, in our judgment, be more likely to be attained by vesting you with double powers than by any other arrangement which could be suggested."

Liverpool offered Wellington the two alternatives of Vienna or America and concluded, "We are ready to place the decision entirely in your hands." "We only request that you will lose no time in leaving Paris."

On the same day (November 4) Bathurst also wrote to Wellington in the same sense.[21] His letter was a personal appeal:

> I must beg you not to allow a sense of military duty to decide your conduct. The question is not whether you ought to accept the command when offered, but whether you think, as a statesman, that under the present circumstances, not of Paris exclusively but of Europe, it is better for the Duke of Wellington to go to Vienna or to America. If you accept the command now, there would arise the great advantage of your being invested with the double character of negotiator and commander-in-chief before the rupture of the existing negotiation. But pray decide (I must repeat) not as a soldier, but as a statesman.

On the same day (November 4) Liverpool wrote to Castlereagh[22] sending a copy of his letter to Wellington:

> The point of the Duke of Wellington's quitting Paris being decided, I confess I feel most anxious, under all the circumstances, that he should accept the command in America. . . . He would restore confidence to the Army, place the military operations upon a proper footing, and give us the best chance of peace. I know he is very anxious for the restoration of peace with America if it can be made upon terms at all honourable. It is a material consideration, likewise, that if we shall be disposed for the sake of peace to give up

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 416.
[2] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 404.

> something of our just pretensions, we can do this more creditably through him than through any other person. . . . His appointment will in itself be sufficient to obviate many difficulties and much embarrassment at home.

Wellington replied as a statesman. He wrote two letters to Liverpool, one on the 7th,[1] immediately on receipt of Liverpool's letter of the 4th, the other two days later, on the 9th,[2] stating his views more fully. He admits that he is in danger, but he objects to being hustled. "I confess I don't like to depart from Paris, and I wish the government would leave the time and the mode to my own discretion." Vienna is a bad excuse; there is no good reason for going there. The court-martial excuse would be better. He thinks his influence in Paris is becoming of more use to Castlereagh in Vienna, and he should not be withdrawn in a hurry. As regards America, "you cannot at this moment decide upon sending me to America. In case of the occurrence of any thing in Europe, there is nobody but myself in whom either yourselves or the country, or your Allies, would feel any confidence." He then gives his views on the American situation:

> I believe there are troops enough there for the defence of Canada for ever, and even for the accomplishment of any reasonable offensive plan that could be formed for the Canadian frontier. . . . That which appears to me to be wanting in America is not a General, or General officers and troops, but a Naval superiority on the Lakes. The question is whether we can acquire this Naval superiority on the Lakes. If we can't, I shall do you but little good in America; and I shall go there only to prove the truth of Prevost's defence, and to sign a peace which might as well be signed now.

His opinion on the Ghent negotiations must be quoted in full:

> I confess that I think that you have no right from the state of war to demand any concession of territory from America. Considering everything, it is my opinion that the war has been a most successful one, and highly honourable to the British arms; but from particular circumstances, such as the want of the Naval superiority on the Lakes, you have not been able to carry it into the enemy's territory, notwithstanding your military succes, and now undoubted military superiority, and have not even cleared your own territory of the enemy on the point of attack. You cannot then, on any principle of equality in negotiation, claim a cession of territory ex-

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 422.
[2] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 424.

cepting in exchange for other advantages which you have in your power.

I put out of the question the possession taken by Sir John Sherbrooke between the Penobscot and Pasamaquoddy Bay. It is evidently only temporary, and till a larger force will drive away the few companies he has left there; and an officer might as well claim sovereignty on the ground on which his piquets stand, or over which his patrols pass.

Then if this reasoning be true why stipulate for the *uti possidetis?* You can get no territory; indeed the state of your military operations, however creditable, does not entitle you to demand any; and you only afford the Americans a popular and creditable ground, which I believe their government are looking for, not to break off the negotiations, but to avoid to make peace. If you had territory, as I hope you soon will have New Orleans, I should prefer to insist upon the cession of that province as a separate article than upon the *uti possidetis* as a principle of negotiation.

On November 8, parliament opened. In the Prince Regent's speech, the capture of Washington and the occupation of Penobscot were referred to as successes, and in spite of the reverse at Plattsburg it was hoped that the ascendancy of the British arms would be established throughout that part of North America. In the debates, apart from the usual opposition criticism and government defence, both Lord Grenville and Baring described the United States as the aggressor in making war on account of impressment after Britain had repealed the orders-in-council. But Grenville deprecated the continuance of the war for revenge, and Baring thought it absurd to break off negotiations on questions of boundaries and "to go on a crusade for the reconquest of America". Baring ridiculed the Penobscot expedition as "the triumph of a regular force over a defenceless village supplied only with two iron guns", and he made comparison between Prevost's failure and that of Burgoyne in 1777.

On November 13, Liverpool replied to Wellington's letters of the 7th and the 9th, which had been communicated to the cabinet.[1] The great object was to get him at once out of Paris. His appointment to the command in America would effect that object. But he would not have to go to America at once. He would be retained in England on account of the winter season, partly on the ground of the state of the negotiotions. So he would still be at hand to

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 430.

deal with a European explosion. If Wellington can think of any better excuse for leaving Paris than the American command he is free to adopt such excuse, only he must let the government know what it is, so that they can give it out as the reason. "We shall not feel easy till we hear of your having landed at Dover, and in leaving the precise time and mode of departure to your discretion we most earnestly entreat you to return to England with as little delay as possible."

As regards the Ghent negotiations, Liverpool was still awaiting the American project asked for in the British note of October 31, and he assures Wellington that "we shall be disposed to meet your views upon the points upon which the negotiation appears to turn at present."

Wellington, on receipt of Liverpool's letter of the 13th, began preparations for leaving Paris; but the rumour of his departure roused such a sensation that on the 18th he wrote to Liverpool renewing his objections to leaving, and on the 21st Liverpool told him to use his own discretion as to the time and excuse for leaving Paris. Wellington remained in Paris till January 23, 1815, and then left it only to relieve Castlereagh at Vienna, because Castlereagh was badly wanted in England for parliamentary purposes.

Such was the brief but effective appearance of the great Wellington on the obscure stage of the Ghent negotiations. His influence was incidental, almost accidental, in manner, but it was decisive and far-reaching in result. The great object of the British government was to get Wellington out of Paris. For many men of tried valour the situation at Paris would have been too much. But for the Iron Duke with his iron nerves that sort of thing was all in the day's work. He kept his head in Paris. Indeed, he did a good deal more than that. He turned the head of the British government in London from the wrong to the right direction in American policy. Had Wellington, even without leaving Paris, encouraged the British government in their American policy, or merely not discouraged them, they might have moved on to the rupture or the suspension of the negotiations at Ghent. The war might have gone doddering on. Nothing much would have happened presumably in Canada during the winter. Prevost would have been probably relieved by another general, and the army would have waited for further action till the spring of 1815. Meanwhile the New Orleans expedition would have run its course. On January 8, the British attack was disastrously repulsed. On

March 8, the news reached London. On March 1, Napoleon had landed in France, and on the 20th entered the Tuileries in triumph. If, in March, 1815, the American war had still been in progress, what would the British government have done? Surely the British troops would have been at once recalled from America, and peace made with the Americans at a very high—if not at any—price. It is hardly conceivable that Great Britain would have simply marked time in America during the Waterloo campaign, and then, in the autumn of 1815, again resumed the process of "giving Jonathan a good drubbing."

On November 18, Liverpool wrote to Castlereagh.[1] He was then still hoping that Wellington would leave Paris at once and accept the command in America "if the war continues". But the policy towards the United States had already changed:

> We have under our consideration at present the last American note of their project of treaty, and I think we have determined if all other points can be satisfactorily settled not to continue the war for the purpose of obtaining or securing any acquisition of territory. We have been led to this determination by the consideration of the unsatisfactory state of the negotiations at Vienna, and by that of the alarming situation of the interior of France. We have also been obliged to pay serious attention to the state of our finances, and to the difficulties we shall have in continuing the property tax. Considering the general depression of rents, which, even under any corn law that is likely to meet with the approbation of Parliament, must be expected to take place under such circumstances, it has appeared to us desirable to bring the American war if possible to a conclusion. From what has passed in Parliament on this subject it is quite evident that the continuance of the war upon what is called a new principle would be violently opposed; besides, you are probably aware that it is the Duke of Wellington's opinion that no material military advantage can be expected to be obtained if the war goes on, and he would have great reluctance in undertaking the command unless we made a serious effort first to obtain peace without insisting upon keeping any part of our conquests.

In this detail of motives Liverpool has put his weakest first and his strongest last. Summarizing them in reversed order, they read as follows:—(1) Wellington says our American policy is unsound. (2) Parliament opposes it as "a new principle." (3) The landlords will object to the renewal of the property tax. (4) There may be

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 438.

an explosion any day in Paris. (5) The negotiations at Vienna are unsatisfactory.

As regards the Vienna negotiations, Liverpool had heard nothing recent. In Castlereagh's letters (as printed in the *Correspondence* and in the *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*) there is nothing alarming. On September 19, Castlereagh wrote to Wellington a few words on Holland. On October 1, he wrote a letter on the position of Prussia. On October 9, he tells Wellington, "We are at sea." On the 14th, he writes about "progress we have not made." On the 20th, "We are still at anchor." To Liverpool on October 20, he wrote:[1]

> We have no progress to report . . . if matters *trainent en longueur* here, it will not be my fault; but if so, my withdrawing might be disadvantageous, and a premature discussion in England prejudicial on either the Continental or American negotiations. I hope, therefore, you will be enabled to keep the discretion in your own hands of not meeting till late in February if general politics render such a measure advisable.

On the 25th, he writes to Wellington on the European balance of power,[2] remarking that "France need never dread a German league". On the same day Cooke, Castlereagh's under-secretary, wrote gossipy letters to Liverpool, saying, "We are still in the dark," and "If I tried to write seriously I could only confuse your lordship."[3] His lordship may have been confused, but there was nothing in the negotiations at Vienna to alter his mind on the negotiations at Ghent.

The Paris situation was genuinely alarming, but the point of it, to Liverpool's mind, was the safety of Wellington, whom he was ready to send to America or anywhere to get him out of Paris.

The landlords were a solid force whom Liverpool was bound to respect, but there was nothing new about them. A Tory ministry had always the landlords with them.

So, if this analysis be correct, the chief motive for the change of policy was Wellington's advice, and in a secondary degree the parliamentary expression of opinion. Wellington and parliament both condemned the American policy of the government, and their opinions were expressed simultaneously, but independently.

The change of policy was practically embodied in a note, dated

[1] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 362.
[2] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, p. 373.
[3] *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vol. IX, pp. 373-375.

November 26, from the British to the American commissioners negotiating at Ghent.

The Americans were much pleased, and on November 27, John Quincy Adams recorded in his diary, "All the difficulties to the conclusion of a peace appear to be now so nearly removed that my colleagues all considered it as certain. I think it myself probable." And the probabilities of the cautious J. Q. Adams weighed nearly as much as the certainties of his colleagues. Peace was signed on Christmas Eve, 1814.

It is generally held that the British government made peace with the United States because of (to use Liverpool's words above quoted) "the unsatisfactory state of the negotiations at Vienna". Such a view seems to me seriously incomplete. It ignores the essential unsoundness of the policy of revenge commenced in April, 1814. That policy ran its course, and the further it ran the more unsound it became. The unsoundness did not arise out of Vienna complications. The most perfect harmony at Vienna could not have made it sound. From the Plattsburg disaster the British government learnt that their American policy would be very expensive. Wellington's advice made them drop it altogether.

So they made peace with the United States. Such a peace was obviously a great advantage in European complications, and this idea was much more pleasant to the ministerial mind than any unnecessary recognition of the fact that the abandoned policy should never have been started. Not only was the policy of revenge abandoned, but the fact that it had ever existed was, as far as possible, forgotten, and "Peace with America" loomed larger and larger as a wise achievement and a valuable ministerial asset.

DUDLEY MILLS

PRIVY COUNCIL APPEALS IN EARLY CANADA

A MILD flutter has recently been caused in legal and other circles in Ontario by a suggestion that appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council might well be abolished. It may be interesting to some to know about the practice in regard to such appeals in early British Canada, as well as about the first proposals to abolish them.

After the surrender of Quebec in 1759, and of Montreal in 1760, Canada was governed for some time as a conquered country; the Courts were presided over by military officers who administered law by their own conception of right. This *régime militaire* has been much maligned, but nothing has appeared to indicate aught but good will on the part of the military authorities toward the conquered people and a sincere desire to do justice and right.

When by the Treaty of Paris, concluded in February, 1763, "Canada with all its dependencies" was ceded by His Most Christian Majesty Louis XV to the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince George III, a time limit of eighteen months was fixed for the emigration from Canada of those who desired to retain their former allegiance to France[1].

Canadians having become British subjects *de jure* by the operation of the treaty, it was of course recognized that civil government must be provided in the place of the existing military government.

The King, by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, formed a "Government of Quebec" of the territory from the River St. John west to a line drawn from the south end of Lake Nipissing to the point at which the parallel of 45 degrees north latitude crosses the St. Lawrence;[2] and General James Murray was ap-

[1] Shortt and Doughty (eds.), *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, second edition, Ottawa, 1918, pp. 97 sqq.

[2] *Op. cit*, pp. 163 sqq. The western limit of Quebec was fixed thus far east because it was intended to place the vast territory to the west under a separate administration, for the Indians and others to hunt in, and open to all the British Colonies. The southern boundary was fixed at 45° north latitude because it was intended to divide the territory with the colonies of New York and New England.

pointed governor[1] with carefully drawn commission and instructions. By these instructions he was directed with his Council to erect courts of judicature and to provide that "appeals should be allowed in all Civil Causes from the Courts".[2]

Of course, civil government could not come fully into force until the eighteen months had elapsed, on August 10, 1764; but on September 10, 1764, an Ordinance was passed erecting two courts —one the Court of King's Bench, with full civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the other a Court of Common Pleas, with full civil jurisdiction over £10.[3] From the Court of King's Bench there was an appeal to the Governor and Council in cases above £300 sterling, and thence to the King and Council in cases involving £500 sterling and upwards. From the Court of Common Pleas, there was an appeal to the Court of King's Bench in cases of £20 currency (£18 sterling) and upwards, to the Governor and Council in cases over £300 sterling, and thence in cases of £500 sterling and upwards to the King and Council.

When, in 1768, Sir Guy Carleton became governor, his commission and instructions were much to the same effect; but he was instructed specifically to limit the right to appeal to the King to cases above £500 sterling.[4] There was also a direction that an appeal should be allowed unto "Us in Our Privy Council" "in all cases of Fines imposed for Misdemeanours" amounting to £100 sterling.[5]

There had been a very considerable complaint of the administration of justice, arising in great measure from the uncertainty of the law. The Proclamation of 1763 had purported to introduce the English law in both civil and criminal matters; the Ordinance of September, 1764, had directed the Court of King's Bench to "hear and determine all criminal and civil causes agreeable to the laws of England and to the ordinances of the Province"; the judges of the Court of Common Pleas were to determine agreeable to equity, "having regard nevertheless to the Laws of England as

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 173, 181 sqq.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 188: Article 17.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 205 sqq. Justices of the peace decided cases up to £30 Quebec currency (£27 sterling). One justice could dispose of cases up to £5, two up to £10, and the Quarter Sessions up to £30, with an appeal to the Court of King's Bench.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 307-8: "the taking or demanding any Duty payable to Us or to any Fee of Office, or Annual Rent, or other such like matter or thing where the Rights in future may be bound" (Article 16).

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 308: Article 17.

far as the Circumstances and present Situation of Things will admit". In the Court of King's Bench, the chief justice presided, an English barrister who followed the law of England closely; in the Court of Common Pleas were lay judges of little or no legal knowledge, whose views of equity were not fixed. It sometimes happened that the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, deciding on their own ideas of equity, were reversed by the chief justice on the law of England; sometimes he was reversed by the Governor and Council, and an appeal to the Privy Council was not always successful.

In 1767 the Privy Council sent a request to Carleton for information as to the defects in the administration of law, asking for a report from the governor, the chief justice and the attorney-general.[1] Carleton replied showing the defects just mentioned, and added, "The People notwithstanding continue to regulate their transactions by these ancient laws though unknown and unauthorized in the Supreme Court [the Court of King's Bench] where most of these transactions would be declared invalid."[2]

Francis Maseres, the attorney-general, submitted a report for the governor in February, 1769, but it did not recommend itself to Carleton: Maseres recommended *inter alia* that from the courts of the province "there should be an appeal to the Governor and Council of the Province and from thence to Your Majesty in Your Privy Council. One great use of the appeal . . . would be to preserve an uniformity in the law throughout the Province . . . and . . . precedents . . . to determine any subsequent disputes . . . should be ascribed only to those cases which had been decided by the Governor and Council . . . or by your Majesty's Self in Your Privy Council."[3]

The strong agitation for the reintroduction of the former French-Canadian law led to much consideration by the Privy Council and the administration. An order-in-council of June 14, 1771, followed by another of July 31, 1772, directed the British attorney-general, solicitor-general, and advocate-general to report on the communication as to the laws, etc., of Quebec. The report of Thurlow, the attorney-general, and Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, has been lost. Only certain extracts therefrom are now available; and in the parts that are extant nothing is said of the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 288; Carleton to Shelburne, December 24, 1767.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 360 sqq.

Privy Council except in general terms. Wedderburn recommends that "in all cases of superior value the Party aggrieved ... may ... be at liberty to appeal to His Majesty in Council."[2] The advocate-general, James Marriott, published his report in 1774[1]; in it he says, "That no appeal should be to the King and Council under £500 is thought by some persons a hardship and that it leaves no check upon the Governor and Council in less sums of great value in so poor a colony"; but he expresses no opinion in regard to the matter.

When in 1774, the Quebec Act, 14 George III, c. 83, came to be passed, reintroducing the former French-Canadian law in civil matters, it was silent as to appeals to the Privy Council.[3]

This Act necessitated further legislation in the colony, and the Ordinance of February 25, 1777, was passed at Quebec.[4] A change in the courts was made by this ordinance. A Court of Common Pleas was erected for each of the two districts of Quebec and Montreal with civil jurisdiction; one judge for cases up to £10 sterling and two for other cases. In cases of £10 and upwards and certain special cases an appeal lay to the Governor and Council; in cases over £500 sterling an appeal lay to the King and Council. The Court of King's Bench became a criminal court solely.[5]

The Quebec Act pleased the French Canadians in most respects, and it angered most of the English Canadians in equal measure. Agitation was met by counter-agitation, complaint by counter-complaint. The English as a rule desired the reintroduction of the English civil law, the French opposed it.

William Dummer Powell, afterwards chief justice of Upper Canada, who was then practising in Montreal, was one of the leaders of the English faction. Many reforms were desired and urged by this faction, and at length in 1783 Powell, with his two French-Canadian colleagues, Adhémar and De Lisle, went to England with a petition. In this petition, as in a similar petition in 1784, there was contained a request "That appeals from the Courts of Justice in this Province to the Crown be made to a Board of Council or Court of Appeals composed of the Right Honourable the Lord Chancellor and the Judges of the Courts of

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 436.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 445 sqq.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 576 sqq.
[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 679 sqq.; 17 Geo. III, cc. 1, 2.
[5] *Op. cit.* pp. 690-691.

Westminster Hall."[1] This was plainly intended to cause cases from the province to be decided as far as possible by the laws of England. The French Canadians were not blind to this object. They held meetings to discuss the matter, and they represented "That up to the present time we have made appeals to the King and Council who have taken our laws as the guide of their decisions. But what will become of our rights when brought before a Court which will deviate in nothing from the British Laws and Constitution?"[2]

The Ordinance of Quebec of 1787, 27 George III, c. 4, continued the right to appeal to the King and Council[3], and when the matter came to be dealt with by the Home authorities, the request in the petition was dealt with summarily: "The 13th Article desires a Court of Appeal from the Judicature of the Province to be composed of the Lord Chancellor and the 12 Judges. This Article appears to cast a reflection wholly unmerited on the decisions of the Privy Council, and the proposal is certainly incompatible with the other duties of the persons named."[4]

The Canada or Constitutional Act of 1791, 31 Geo. III, c. 31, is silent as to such appeals, and there is no record of any further objection to the appellate jurisdiction of the Privy Council until a comparatively modern day.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 742 sqq.; especially p. 745: Article 13.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 754 sqq.
[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 858 sqq.; especially p. 859.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 982.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE ATTEMPTED UNION OF 1822

THE abortive plan for the reunion of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in 1822 belongs to that class of historical events which are generally referred to as episodes. It had much of the appearance of a flash in the pan, which, when extinguished, left things as they were. The measure for the purpose was concerted in secret, laid before an astonished House, and, in the face of the storm it raised, was withdrawn. It was apparently without influence on the course of events.

But the scheme was of much significance. It expressed the conviction that the Constitutional Act of 1791 had failed and that Fox had been right, and not Pitt, in his prediction as to the effect of the division of the province. Lymburner, who had presented the case for the colonists before the House of Commons, had prophesied that the consequences of the separation would be "political weakness, disunion, animosities and quarrels." The reunion scheme was the recognition of the truth of this forecast. Though the dissensions between the two branches of the legislature in Lower Canada, and the withholding by Lower Canada from the sister province of her share of the revenues arising from the duties collected at the port of Quebec, fixed the period at which the union measure was brought down, these were not the causes which induced the British government to bring the two provinces together. The measure had been in contemplation for several years. British merchants and others having interests in Canada had kept the question of reunion alive, and the government realized the advantages which would accrue to the colony from the enhanced prestige of a single government, and the greater facilities which would be afforded for the management of the defences and for the development of the resources of the country.

The principal facts in connection with the measure contained in the published documents are sufficiently well known to make a repetition of them unnecessary. But there are in the Public

Archives two series of private letters from responsible persons, in touch with members of the government having the Union bill in hand, which throw much light on the transaction. These are the letters of John Beverley Robinson, who had been sent by the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada to London to lay a memorial before the Colonial Office, and of John Neilson and Louis Joseph Papineau, who represented the Lower Canadians in their opposition to the scheme.

The circumstances leading up to Robinson's mission to London are briefly as follows. When Upper and Lower Canada were formed, one of the first questions occupying the attention of the government of Upper Canada was to provide for a public revenue. Then, as now, the main revenues were derived from taxes on importations. This problem presented no difficulties to Lower Canada. All goods imported from abroad were entered at the port of Quebec, and the duties collected were available for the payment of the public service. In Upper Canada the case was entirely different. It was an inland province with no access to the sea by one of its own ports. Upper Canada had always insisted that so far as foreign commerce was concerned, they had equal rights with Lower Canada in the port of Quebec, and that the revenues collected from duties on importations which found their way to Upper Canada either directly or mediately (through Montreal merchants) should go for their benefit. This was agreed to, but as there were many difficulties in identifying all such goods as passed into Upper Canada, it was agreed at first that the revenues collected should be divided in the proportion of the population. This arrangement continued until 1817, though owing to the more rapid increase of its population, the proportion of the revenue assigned to Upper Canada was augmented. In 1817, however, disputes arose, the consequence of which was the retardment of the payments made. Indeed, for two years, nothing whatever was paid from this source into the Upper Canadian treasury. As four-fifths of the revenue of Upper Canada came from her share of the duties, it may be imagined that the treasury was in evil plight. The government had been pursuing a progressive policy—roads were contracted for in several directions, court houses and other necessaries for public business were called for, and the government had assumed the obligation of paying pensions to disabled survivors of the late war.

It was seen to be hopeless to expect any settlement with Lower Canada at an early day. Indeed, Lower Canada, so far from acting with that sympathy for a distressed sister province which might have been looked for, declined to hasten action in any way, asserting coolly that Upper Canada's position was inevitable, depending as it did for its revenue upon another province.

It was then decided to send a memorial on the subject to the King, and to ensure its having the best attention, to send over with it an agent of talent and respectability.

The agent chosen was John Beverley Robinson, the attorney-general, and one of the ablest men Canada has produced. While in England Robinson wrote a number of letters, a few to the lieutenant-governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, but the greater part to George Hillier, the secretary of the lieutenant-governor, and Robinson's intimate friend. Two of the letters, being of an official character, were laid before the legislature and published in the Journals of 1823, but the remainder have not yet seen the light.

Robinson reached London on March 22, 1822, and two days later presented his credentials to Wilmot Horton, under-secretary of state for war and the colonies. Robinson was much impressed with Horton, whom he described as an agreeable man to do business with—candid, straightforward, intelligent, of great quickness of conception, and "what was of more consequence, really desirous of being thoroughly informed of Canadian affairs, and not unwilling to take the trouble necessary to gain that information."

Robinson's services were immediately called into requisition. There were in London at the same time two other Canadian officials, John Caldwell, the receiver-general for Lower Canada, and Charles Marshall, the solicitor-general for the same province. When Robinson reached London, the House of Commons was occupied with two bills of colonial interest, a West India trade bill, and another for regulating the trade of the colonies with Europe; and he was happy to think that, between them, they prevented some omissions and contradictions, which would otherwise have marred the bills.

After some preliminary discussions on the objects of Robinson's mission between himself and the gentlemen from Lower Canada, in the presence of Horton, the latter requested Robinson to draw up such a bill as would be necessary to protect the interests of Lower Canada, and to submit it to Messrs Caldwell and Marshall. At the same time, Horton sounded Robinson on the question of re-uniting the colonies.

Robinson's position was one of some embarrassment. The subject was not one that had been discussed in Canada, and he had no idea what views might be entertained regarding it by the lieutenant-governor, or by the members of the legislature. He was in England merely for the purpose of securing the interests of Upper Canada, and he regulated his conduct with a single eye to those interests. He, personally, was opposed to the scheme. The reasons that led to the division of the old province of Quebec in 1791 were in his opinion in no wise weakened by the lapse of time. The contrariety of interests between the inhabitants of French and English origins existed as strongly as at the beginning. He saw no efficacy in the plan, involving the management of a house of ninety members, instead of one of fifty, and deprecated the suggestion that the opposition of the assembly to the Legislative Council and to the governor was due to any lack of loyalty on the part of the French Canadians. It was due, in his opinion, to the propensity of every democratic assembly to absorb to itself all the power it could grasp, and, although the Assembly of Upper Canada were co-operating at that moment satisfactorily with the other branch, the tendency he had noted might manifest itself at any time, and the government would have on its hands double the number of malcontents it had then to deal with. Robinson's objections would be largely removed when Upper Canada stood superior to Lower Canada in the matter of populations. Until then, he would prefer to leave things as they were.

Lord Bathurst had written a month earlier to Sir John Sherbrooke, a former governor-general, for his views on the question of reunion. Sherbrooke gave a very guarded approval, in which he made an interesting point. As would appear from Sherbrooke's reply, Bathurst had intimated that the loyalty of Upper Canada would operate as a check upon a sentiment of an opposite character, which he understood prevailed in Lower Canada. Sherbrooke was far from sure of this. To him the danger of American influences in Upper Canada was at least as much to be apprehended as that from disaffection in Lower Canada, and the detestation among the French Canadians for everything tainted with Americanism might well act as a preservative of British connection, if brought to bear on Americanized sentiment in Upper Canada.

In spite of the adverse opinion of Robinson, and doubtless, under the strong pressure of the Montreal merchants and their British correspondents, the government persisted in its determin-

ation to bring down a bill for the reunion of the provinces, and Robinson was entrusted with the task of drafting it.

Although opposed to the union, Robinson gladly undertook the duty as it gave him an opportunity he would not otherwise have had of safe-guarding the interests with which he was specially charged. Two clauses will show how jealously he attended to those interests. In one of them it was provided that, in the absence of the governor-general, the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada should assent to measures passed by the united legislature, and that only in the absence of both the governor-general and of the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada should the duty devolve upon the lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada. The other clause required that all written proceedings of the United Legislature should be in the English language only, and that, after fifteen years, the English language only should be spoken in the chambers.

In an attempt to ward off the full union contemplated by the colonial secretary, Robinson proposed a somewhat singular scheme. It was that the legislatures of the two provinces should remain intact, and that once every three or four years, the united legislatures should meet. The united body would receive power to legislate on all matters relating to the trade between the provinces and other countries, the imposition of duties, payment of drawbacks, and kindred subjects of joint interest. That, in Robinson's opinion, would give all the advantages of a union, without the embarrassing inconvenience of compelling the legislature to make laws regulating the internal affairs of two provinces differing in language, laws, and religion. Robinson prepared a bill to carry out this plan, which the Colonial Office seemed at first inclined to favour, but finally rejected, owing to considerations of which Robinson acknowledged the justice.

After several postponements, which led Robinson to apprehend that the measure might not be brought up that session, the reunion bill was introduced on June 10, and the debate on the second reading took place on July 18. The government were then treated to a most unpleasant surprise. They were persuaded that the bill would have unanimous acceptance. The only objections to be possibly anticiapted were from Brougham, who was an incalculable element in the House. Yet not only was there opposition, but it was of the most violent and virulent character. It is true that the objections nowhere touched the principles of the bill. These were concurred in by all who participated in the

debate. The opposition was to the late period in the session in which the measure was brought down, and to the fact that no effort had been made to ascertain the views of the colonies on the subject.

Robinson declared the debate to be the most animated and able he had heard that session. The manner in which Canada and its inhabitants were spoken of was very gratifying. He noticed particularly the speeches of Horton and Sir James Macintosh, whose speech he thought the most eloquent he had ever heard. Macintosh protested against a maxim, which had been sometimes advanced, that Great Britain had a right to abandon the defence of any of her colonies, so long as those colonies were true to their allegiance.

The government had no difficulty in carrying the bill through the second reading, but the strength of the opposition and its determination to retard passage of the bill through the later stages led them to abandon the union part of the bill for that session.

It was decided to reintroduce those parts of the bill providing for the settlement of the questions at issue between Upper and Lower Canada, and a meeting was called for next morning at Horton's house to consult about the alterations which would be required. Robinson relates with some justifiable self-satisfaction that, anticipating the course events would take, he had already prepared the bill required by the government, and was able to surprise the party by laying before them at the meeting the bill wholly re-drawn. This bill had an easy passage through the House, and was embodied in the Act known as the Canada Trade Act.

The Neilson Papers contain very full details of the action taken in Lower Canada, and some of the particulars as to the reception of the bill in Upper Canada. The first news that reached the public in Lower Canada of the intended reunion was contained in a short article in the Quebec *Gazette* of June 13, 1822. The editor, in making the announcement, bespoke confidently general disapprobation of the scheme. In a series of panicky interrogations, he demanded to be told the advantages anticipated. Could not the grievances of Upper Canada be removed without union? If Montreal was to be the new capital, would not its defences call for a ruinous outlay? Would not the administration of justice be more expensive and less effectual? Which of the two, French civil or English common law, would survive? Neilson, in

a letter to Papineau, foresaw, indeed, in the projected union the first steps towards annexation to the United States.

It was not until September that it was learned in Canada that the Union bill was thrown over to the following session, to enable Canadians to express their views respecting it. On the 9th of that month, the Quebec *Gazette* made the announcement, and called upon all Canadians, whether opposed or favourable to the union, to make the British government acquainted with their sentiments. The autumn and winter of 1822-1823 was a period of much agitation. Those opposed to the union formed themselves into Constitutional Associations. They drafted resolutions and petitions, which were energetically circulated throughout the several districts. Those favouring the measure, which comprised nearly all of British origin, manifested an equal activity. Some of the memorials were presented to the British government through the governor-general, but the largely-signed anti-union petitions were entrusted to two delegates, who were charged with the duty of laying them before the colonial secretary. One of the agents selected was John Neilson, who published the Quebec *Gazette* until 1818, when he turned the newspaper over to his son, and who was a strong advocate of colonial rights. The other delegate was Louis-Joseph Papineau, at that time and for many years later speaker of the legislative assembly.

It is a curious fact that the anti-union Upper Canadians, who were antagonistic to Lower Canada on every other point, were so far at one with them in their opposition to the union that they sent their petitions by the hands of the Lower Canadian delegates. Among those opposed to the union was Robert Baldwin, who was in correspondence with French Canadians, notably Jules Quesnel, a prominent politician in Montreal, and later a member of the Special Council in 1838, and of the Legislative Council after the Union of 1841. The number of signatures on the petitions were from Lower Canada 60,642, and from Upper Canada 8,097.

The petitions for the Union were presented by James Stuart, an eminent barrister, who until shortly before this time had acted with the popular party in Lower Canada, but who, yielding to the seductions of the attorney-generalship, became thereafter their most bitter and detested opponent. Stuart arrived in England in the middle of February, 1823, with the petitions of the English-speaking part of Lower Canada, that is, those of Montreal and Quebec and nearly the whole of the Eastern Townships, as well as many from Upper Canada. The record of his activities is not

so well known as that of the delegates from those opposed to the Union, but it is of less importance, as the British government were more concerned with the strength of the opposition to the measure than with the weight of the forces behind them.

Neilson and Papineau had an interview with Horton on March 1, and we are fortunate in having Neilson's account of it. Horton, who spoke at first in French and afterwards in English, admitted that the government had expected opposition from the French Canadians, but they had persevered in the measure from the conviction that it would be for the ultimate benefit of that section of the population. He then introduced an analogy which could not fail to irritate the delegates. If, he said, the three estates approved of the measure, it could hardly prove otherwise than beneficial as they were under no prejudices, and he instanced the case of a child who might dislike at first going to school, although to send him there was not the less for his advantage. Horton, however, obtained important admissions from Papineau. He took up the circular of the Montreal committee, in which it was stated that the effect of the measure would be destructive of the laws, language, and religion of the French Canadians. Papineau deprecated such an expression, declaring that the French Canadians had the fullest confidence in the government of the Mother Country. Neilson followed this up by observing that, during the thirty years he had been in Canada, he had never heard any person complain of the government at home. They had their squabbles with their local government, but there was no desire to carry them to imprudent lengths.

Horton finished by informing the delegates that he had advised Dalhousie that the government did not propose to go on with the bill at the time, suggested that the delegates should study the bill, clause by clause, and said that he would be ready at any time to hear their conclusions.

Neilson and Papineau accepted this advice, and their detailed criticism of the bill revealed all the points to which their objections lay. But no further action was taken. Neilson returned to Quebec towards the end of June, fully satisfied with the results of the mission, and the local committee were equally gratified, as he was accorded a vote of thanks for the "zeal, capacity and diligence with which he discharged the important mission imposed upon him by the committee for the public interest." The public agitation in Lower Canada thereupon gradually subsided.

WILLIAM SMITH

CONFEDERATE AGENTS IN CANADA DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

THE secret military and political organization which the Confederacy of the Southern States built up in Canada during the Civil War centred mainly about the personality of the Hon. Jacob Thompson. This typical soldier politician had been Secretary of the Interior in President Buchanan's cabinet at Washington; and from the day when, as a member of the cabinet, he had opposed the sending of troops to Charleston (although civil war was even then imminent), to the day when the Washington government offered a reward of $25,000 for his capture, the North had no more implacable enemy. His arrival in Toronto in 1864, when the American Civil War was raging at its hottest, marked the beginning of a series of conspiracies on which Canadian historians have hitherto laid little emphasis.

"Rebel sympathizers" in Canada had begun to worry the Union authorities as early as the end of 1863. In December, 1863, C. S. Ogden, the American consul at Quebec, for instance, wrote to his government begging them to take some steps for the protection of the border states in order to "prevent the consummation of contemplated deeds of reckless wickedness." But just what the deeds contemplated were was not apparent; nor does there appear to have been as yet any definite organization of the Confederates in Canada.

The future leader of Confederate activities was, in fact, at this time still busy in the South. He had left the Federal cabinet to reappear as a "volunteer A.D.C." to General Beauregard at the battle of Shiloh, in April, 1862. The exact duties of a volunteer A.D.C. appear probably in no military manual, but it is easy to picture the eminent politician bursting with the desire for military laurels and influential enough to have his requests granted, offering himself and his horse for the duty of carrying orders amid the smoke of battle. General Beauregard mentions him in his report of the battle, and the volunteer A.D.C. himself made a report regarding his own and his general's movements:

"While I was engaged," he writes, "in rallying our disorganized troops to the left and rear of the Church, you seized the banners of two different regiments and led them forward in face of the fire of the enemy; but from the feebleness of the response I became convinced that our troops were too much exhausted to make a vigorous resistance. I rode up to you and advised that you should expose yourself no further, but should dispose your troops so as to retire from Shiloh Church in good order."

Soon after we find him going quite openly to Helena, Arkansas, and the general in command of the Federal troops on the Missouri writes plaintively to his subordinate: "I understand noted rebel ex-officers, including the arch-traitor Jacob Thompson have been at Helena without being hung. Any such monstrous breaches of military law and reason will be severely noticed." Major Thompson, however, continued to escape the Federal gallows and next made his appearance as Inspector-General under General Pemberton at Vicksburg. This appointment turned out to be not quite so pleasant as it might have been, for Vicksburg was promptly invested; but as soon as arrangements had been made for its surrender, Colonel (he had gone up a step) Thompson departed on an errand to General Johnston, while the rest of the garrison were waiting to go through the formalities of parole.

It was at this stage that his energies were transferred to Canada. The Confederate sympathizers in Canada, whose schemes had been disturbing Mr. Ogden, had been thought worthy of notice by the Southern chiefs; and Jefferson Davis sent for Thompson in April, 1864, and finally dispatched him for duty in Canada under the following commission:

> HON. JACOB THOMPSON.
>
> SIR,
>
> Confiding special trust in your zeal, discretion and patriotism, I hereby direct you to proceed at once to Canada, there to carry out such instructions as you have received from me verbally, in such manner as shall seem most likely to conduce to the furtherance of the interests of the Confederate States of America which have been intrusted to you.
>
> Very respectfully and truly yours,
>
> (*Signed*) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

With Thompson, and under a similar authority, went the Hon. C. C. Clay, another Southern politician. Just how two men who were so well known and would, we might have thought,

have been easy to identify succeeded in passing all the Northern lines, has never been explained, but by July, 1864, they had established themselves in Toronto, and had commenced operations, Thompson going under the name of Captain Carson, and Clay calling himself at various times Hope, Tracey, and Lacey.

It was not long before their presence became known to the Union authorities, who naturally apprehended trouble. General Hitchcock, who was in command at Sandusky, wrote off to the Secretary reporting that ex-secretary Thompson was "employed in Canada setting on foot expeditions of the most dangerous character," and recommending that gunboats should be placed on the lakes.

He was quite justified in his apprehensions. Almost as soon as Thompson arrived in Canada, he advanced $2,000 to a Mr. Minor Major, who seems to have had no credentials, but was anxious to burn steamboats on the Mississippi. As some steamboats were soon after burned at St. Louis, Thompson appears to have been satisfied that he had had value for his money, and proceeded to finance a Mr. Churchill of Cincinnati, who wished to form an Incendiary Corps in that city. Cincinnati, however, got off better than the St. Louis steamboats.

There was at this time on Lake Erie a solitary American gunboat, the U.S.S. *Michigan*, and it was not long before the eyes of the ex-secretary and ex-aide-de-camp were turned in her direction. A useful assistant was, as usual, ready to his hand in Captain Charles H. Cole, who, he says, "represented to me that he had been appointed a lieutenant in our navy." Captain Cole professed that he had already paved the way by getting on good terms with the officers of the *Michigan*; and he and Thompson planned that on September 19 Cole should organize a "wine drinking" party with these officers, during which another boat was to come alongside the *Michigan* and attempt her capture.

The only difficulty was to find this other boat. On September 18, therefore, the day before the "wine drinking," an unknown but apparently respectable man came aboard the *Philo Parsons*, a small steamer which ran between Detroit and Sandusky, and asked that he might stop next day at Sandwich on the Canadian shore, to pick up himself and a party of friends who wanted to go to Kelly's Island, near Sandusky. The *Philo Parsons* duly stopped at Sandwich, picked up this party, and further on at Malden a party of twenty more, who brought aboard a hair trunk stuffed with revolvers. She stopped again at Middle Bass

Island, and had just started for Sandusky, when the men who had boarded her at Sandwich and Malden seized her, turned back to Middle Bass Island, and began taking in wood. The Confederates had got their boat.

At this juncture, however, a hitch occurred. The *Island Queen*, another lake steamer, with a cargo of passengers and soldiers, came up unsuspectingly alongside the captured *Philo Parsons*, and proceeded to make fast to her. Here was an encumbrance, for the Confederates neither wanted the *Island Queen*, nor could they let her go. So the passengers and soldiers were put ashore, and the *Island Queen* itself towed out into the lake and scuttled. She did not sink far, however, for the Confederates had scuttled her over a shoal, an important detail which Thompson omits in his report. Then the *Philo Parsons* set off for Sandusky. Here, however, the crew decided that they did not like the look of the *Michigan's* fourteen guns, and they turned their extempore warship around, and headed for Sandwich again. At Sandwich they put ashore a piano and some other loot, and then tried to sink the *Philo Parsons*. A Canadian customs house officer appeared on the scene, and took possession of the captured property (which was later returned to its owners); and it turned out that the *Philo Parsons* never really sank at all. After that crowded hour of glorious life she was repaired, and four days later resumed her prosaic run between Detroit and Sandusky.

As for the *Michigan*, the officers had never had their drinking party and would not have proved such an easy prey after all. One of Thompson's friends had given away his plans, and Cole had been arrested on September 17, with his commission from Thompson in his pocket. He, however, had had a good time in Sandusky on $4,000 which Thompson had given him. He had been living with a lady who passed as his wife; he had apparently been more or less continuously drunk; and he was able to account for only about half the money he had received.

Meantime Toronto had been the scene of another plot, this time for the burning of New York. A Colonel Martin had reported to the Confederate chief for duty, and the latter tells us that "having nothing else on hand Colonel Martin expressed a wish to organize a corps to burn New York City." This amiable project, however, resulted in nothing more than the waste of some Greek fire and a considerable scare to the New Yorkers.

Having failed to capture the *Michigan*, Thompson next turned his attention to procuring a vessel useful for arming other boats

on the lakes, and in November managed to acquire the steamer *Georgiana*, for which he paid $17,000, about twice what she was worth. This news did not take long to leak out, much to Thompson's disgust. "The bane and curse of carrying out anything in this country," he wrote, "is the surveillance under which we act. Detectives or those ready to give information stand at every street corner. Two or three cannot interchange ideas without a reporter." Northern New York became convinced that the *Georgiana* was being armed to attack the *Michigan*, and was thoroughly alarmed. Troops were dispatched to garrison the lake towns, which were already disturbed by a story that one hundred Southern sympathizers were on their way to burn Buffalo. The only person who remained quite calm was the Federal Secretary of War, who wrote to General Dix, the commander of the New York troops:

War Department, November 6, 1864.

> The contents of your dispatch of this date [regarding the *Georgiana*] have been forwarded to Mr. Seward at Auburn to be communicated to the Canadian Authorities. It is not likely that they will take any steps towards preserving the peace. You must take your own measures without reference to them. General Grant telegraphs that all the troops required have gone forward and it seems to me that you and General Butler ought to be able to take care of Jake Thompson and his gang.
>
> (*Signed*) EDWIN M. STANTON,
> Secretary of War.

As a matter of fact, the Federal authorities soon came to the conclusion that the *Georgiana* was not intending to match herself with the *Michigan*, and the tempest subsided.

In October there was another operation, for which Thompson at first got the credit, although in fact it took him as much as anybody else by surprise.

Lieutenant Bennett H. Young, with a body of twenty-five Confederate soldiers, mostly escaped prisoners, rode over on October 19 from the Canadian line to St. Albans, and took $150,000 in cash from three banks. Five of the citizens of the town were shot (one of them afterwards died) and the raiders dashed off in an endeavour to escape to Canada. The Provost Marshal at Burlington was ordered to pursue the marauders; and he and his

men captured eight of them. Four or five more were captured by Canadian troops under General Williams, who had been ordered by Lord Monck to assist in their apprehension. These prisoners were taken to Montreal, and extradition proceedings were commenced, in which the Hon. Mr. Abbott was retained by the Confederate agents.

Abbott took the position that there was no case for extradition on the ground that "we conceive the strength of our position to consist in the documents we hold establishing the authority of the raiders from the C.S. Government." His defence was successful, and the captured raiders were released in December, much to the annoyance of the Federals.

The report of the agent who actually instructed Lieutenant Young is characteristic. This agent says that Young showed him letters vouching for "his integrity as a man and his piety as a Christian," and that he therefore thought him suitable for "passing through the New England States and burning some towns and robbing them of whatever he could convert to the use of the Confederate Government." Though this letter bears no signature its authorship was brought home later to Thompson's friend and colleague Clay. It was written from St. Catharines, Ontario, where Clay was then known to be living, and was identified by the Federal Department of Justice. Further evidence of Clay's activities in Montreal was supplied also by R. A. Campbell, then teller of the Ontario Bank, who disclosed during the trial of the St. Albans raiders that $50,000 had been transferred from St. Catharines to the account of Clay and Thompson at Montreal.

The extent of the funds in the hands of these two agents was testified to by Mr. Thurston, then U.S. vice-consul at Montreal, who reported at a little later date that an informer named Sullivan had told him that their deposit in Toronto amounted to $3,000,000. This figure is no doubt exaggerated, as Thompson himself in his report accounts for only $600,000, of which about $100,000 had been turned over to Clay; but even these were large sums in those days.

It may naturally be wondered how the Canadian authorities came to permit all this devising and contriving to be carried on within their borders. One reason was no doubt the fact that the total number of the Confederates in Canada available for these wild expeditions was not so large as to make their gatherings very noticeable. In November, 1863, a Northern detective came to Canada and travelled about among the Southerners, who

congregated chiefly in Windsor, where they patronized the Hyrons Hotel, in Montreal, where their headquarters were at Donegana's Hotel, and in Hamilton. This man became quite convinced that the Confederate sympathizers were either unable or unwilling to make any attack on the Northern border. Such evidence is not, it is true, quite in accordance with the letter of Ogden quoted above, but it is sufficient to show that no acts were then openly committed which might endanger Canada's neutrality.

Again, a year later, Colonel Hill, who commanded the troops in Michigan, wrote to General Dix (after the attempt on the U.S.S. *Michigan* had failed), saying that he did not expect any raids against the Northern towns and did not believe 200 "rebels" could be obtained for such a purpose. The next month Colonel Hill changed his mind and wrote another letter in which he said he felt assured that raids would take place. But at this time the whole air was full of rumours, and the only question was the amount of credence to be given to them. On the whole, if the Federals, with their detectives operating freely in Canada, and their opportunities for obtaining information from Confederate turncoats, as happened in the case of the *Philo Parsons*, could not get reliable information, there is not much wonder that the Canadian authorities could do no more than they did.

The tension which existed is apparent from a letter of Secretary Stanton expressing the views of the President regarding an order of General Dix. The latter had issued instructions that if in future any raids took place the Confederates should be pursued into Canada and under no circumstances surrendered to the Canadian authorities. This was rather too strong even for the Secretary of War. He wrote to General Dix saying that the President "approves prompt and vigorous action within proper limits to protect your department and its inhabitants against hostile aggressions, and that in view of the recent action by a local British tribunal in turning loose the parties who were guilty of murder and robbery at St. Albans, every effort should be made to secure the citizens of the United States on the frontier in their persons and property against future outrages." He continues, however: "The act of invading neutral territory by military commanders is in the opinion of the President too grave and serious to be left to the discretion or will of subordinate commanders, where the facility of communication with superior authority is so speedy as it always may be with the chief authority in your department and even with the President at Washington."

As a result, of course, General Dix's order was cancelled. General Dix pointed out that this meant that there would quite likely be no possibility of capturing raiding parties, especially when they became able to cross the river on the ice. However, the idea of attacking Ogdenburg on a winter morning does not seem to have been attractive to the Southerners, and General Dix's fears turned out to be groundless.

Thompson, during the autumn and summer, was very busy helping on the Confederate efforts to encourage the "Copperhead" peace movement in Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, to control the Democratic convention at Chicago on August 29, and to release the Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas. Here, again, he found convenient agents. From Canada he got in touch with the leaders of a society called the "Sons of Liberty," a secret political association, permeating all the Northern States, which had the skeleton of a military organization and adhered to the creed of "States Rights."

His first steps were to arrange for a series of peace meetings at Peoria, Springfield, and Chicago, to make which a success he agreed to supply as much money as was necessary for the purpose, and actually furnished about $75,000. How this $75,000 was spent no one knows; but as the second of the Peace meetings fell rather flat, it may be suspected that there was not enough money left over from the first.

During the course of the Peace meetings the Sons of Liberty were to be preparing for a general uprising on August 16, and actually began to do so, their intention being to establish armed control of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio at a blow, then to seize Kentucky and Missouri, and so to place a tremendous weight in the balance against the northern States.

They lost their nerve, however, and some of them, declaring that the ballot box should be tried before a recourse to force, threatened to disclose the whole scheme unless the idea of a *coup de main* was abandoned. Naturally this ended the proceedings, much to Thompson's disappointment.

The expedition to the Chicago Convention is briefly reported by the commandant at Camp Douglas, in a letter dated November 23, 1864, to the Provost Marshal General at Washington:

> About the 25th day of August last an expedition was organized at Toronto, Canada, under the immediate direction of Captain Hines, formerly of Morgans command composed of 150 to 200

> escaped prisoners and rebel soldiers, accompanied by Col. G. St. Leger Grenfell at the time Morgan's chief of Staff[1]—— This force was armed with pistols at Toronto, divided and its members in citizen's dress, came on to Chicago by different routes, on the same trains which brought the thronging thousands who assembled on the 29th of August to attend the Chicago Convention, and which made it difficult to detect their presence. It was to have been assisted by large numbers of Sons of Liberty who came armed to that Convention gathered from Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana and Illinois, and were to be under the immediate command of Brig.-Gen. Charles Walsh of the Sons of Liberty.

The plan this time was first to release the 8,000 Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas, then with about 1,500 men to capture the city itself, burn some of the public buildings, seize the others, gain the co-operation of the "Copperhead" element in the convention, and start a great movement which would finally swamp the Federal forces. Somehow or other these plans became known to the authorities, and strong reinforcements were sent to Camp Douglas, with the result that the expedition was a complete fiasco; nothing whatever happened, and the would-be revolutionists made the best of their way back to their homes.

Thompson, however, was quite undeterred. After the reinforcements which had been sent to the Chicago garrison in August had been released, the Federal authorities thinking that the danger was over, he organized a second expedition from Toronto. The same leaders were selected, and the attempt was fixed for November 7, the day of the presidential election. Meanwhile, the Sons of Liberty had spread about a story that armed force was to be used to prevent a Democratic victory, had made this an excuse for carrying arms themselves, had flocked into Chicago bristling with revolvers, and had organized enough mysterious meetings and deliberations to put the Federal authorities thoroughly on their guard. There were so many of them, in fact, that it was evident that they would be able to get together a force much larger than the garrison at Camp Douglas. Luck, however, was again on the side of the Federals. A man named Shanks, who had previously been in the Confederate Army, and knew Grenfell, had been for some time secretly employed as a detective

[1] Grenfell was an Englishman, a soldier of fortune, who had been for some time previously in the rebel service. He had more courage than brains; and he had before this been on a hunting expedition in Southern Illinois.

by the commandant at Camp Douglas. He went to Grenfell's hotel stating that he was willing to assist, and Grenfell promptly gave him enough information to enable the Federal authorities to arrest all the leaders of the conspiracy. By striking at the heart of the organization, the local authorities not only defeated the plot, but found out enough about the Sons of Liberty to put an end to their activities entirely.

But the most sinister charge ever laid against the Confederate emissaries to Canada was that of sharing in the conspiracy which resulted in the assassination of Lincoln. Their speeches and actions had certainly laid them open to suspicion. Thompson had said in the summer of 1864 "that he had his friends, Confederates, all over the Northern States who were ready and willing to go any length to serve the cause of the South, that he could at any time have the tyrant Lincoln and any others of his advisors that he wanted put out of his way, and that they would not consider it a crime when done for the cause of the Confederacy." Later on, in the summer of 1864, in Montreal, Clay had a long and confidential conversation with Payne, who was afterwards tried and executed as an accomplice in the crime. Although Clay firmly denied complicity, it is difficult to believe that in this atmosphere of plot and counterplot, he had ever opposed the plan, even if he had not forwarded it, and indeed the activities in which he was known to have been engaged, his readiness to engage in schemes of violence, his disregard of the usual conventions of warfare, his continued abuse of the hospitality of Canada, are certainly evidence against him.

But it is, after all, one thing to consent to a more or less vague proposal, as this then was, and another to share in the actual plans which result in a villainous deed, and Clay and Thompson were never shown to be real accessories to the crime.

At one time it appeared as though Clay must certainly be convicted on the strength of a mass of evidence collected by a lawyer named Dunham. This man, giving the name of Sanford Conover, went to the Federal Judge Advocate General, and representing that he was in a position to find witnesses who could prove that both Jefferson Davis and Clay were accessories to the conspiracy, offered to devote his time to the work. He was provided with funds, and travelled through Canada and the South, representing that he was making good progress, and generally asking for more money. The money was provided, and Dunham, *alias* Conover, finally returned to Washington with a stack of affidavits

containing evidence enough to hang Clay as high as Haman. He brought some of his witnesses with him, planted them at the National Hotel at Washington, and set them to work giving depositions. They gave the most detailed and accurate descriptions of interviews and events which they claimed took place in Canada, connecting Thompson and Clay with the crime; and the only possible ground on which their stories could have been suspected was that they were too consistent.

It was not until after a report had actually been made to Congress that one of "Conovers" witnesses confessed that the whole of the evidence had been fabricated, and the depositions made out of whole cloth by "Conover" himself. Finally, it turned out that none of the witnesses had ever been in Canada or in the South, but that Conover had collected a few saloon-keepers, labourers, peddlers, and some of his own female relations, invented names and personal histories for them, supplied them with depositions which they learned by heart, and finally produced them as witnesses against Clay and Davis.

By the time all this false evidence was withdrawn, it was apparent that no charge could be made against either Clay or Thompson.

Two circumstances finally put an end to the Confederate movements in Canada. The passage of an Aliens Act by the Canadian parliament apparently prevented the conspirators from continuing their schemes during the winter months of 1864-1865; and the wave of feeling which crossed the whole country at the news of Lincoln's death made their temporary home no longer safe harbourage.

Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor, promptly issued a proclamation charging Thompson and Clay with complicity in the assassination plot, offering a reward for the apprehension of either of them, and after this they thought that the quicker they shook the dust of Canada off their feet the better. Clay left for Macon, where he gave himself up; Thompson departed for Portland, Maine; and the work of the Confederate "Hidden Hand" was over.

The two men had plotted a great deal, spent an enormous amount of money, caused the death of a number of innocent people and of some of their own misguided subordinates, and accomplished absolutely nothing. Sometimes they had chosen their assistants badly; once or twice luck had been against them; but the greatest of their errors was that they entirely misjudged

the spirit of the people they were fighting. The only result of the greatest of their efforts, the attempt to capture Chicago and seize Illinois and Indiana, was to make possible the destruction of the very machinery on which they relied.

It is a relief to turn from the record of these plottings and plannings to the story of the forty-eight thousand Canadians who fought among the Northern armies, not for the sake of loyalty or allegiance, not in answer to an appeal or under the pressure of conscription, but because they believed their cause was just; and to the memory of the eighteen thousand of them who gave up their lives for the freedom of others.

WILFRID BOVEY

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

BARON DE GAUGREBEN'S MEMOIR ON THE DEFENCE OF UPPER CANADA

In the early summer of 1907, after a long term of seclusion in the Tower of London and other resting-places, such as the War Office, a large number of maps, plans, and manuscripts appertaining to Canada found a final domicile in the Public Archives of Canada. Amongst these manuscripts was a curious little folio, marked "Reports, 64", and on the first leaf, in pencil, "Canada Papers—Captain de Gaugreben's Memoirs on the Defence of Lower and Upper Canada."

The contents consist of three documents, the first dealing with the defence of Lower Canada, the second with the Defence of Upper Canada, and the third with the Necessity of an Establishment of (1) a Bureau Topographique, (2) a Corps of military artificers (Soldats du Génie), and (3) a Corps of spies and a Corps of light troops. It is the second of these documents which is here reproduced.

The three documents were prefaced by a covering letter, dated Montreal, June 19, 1815, the day after the battle of Waterloo, and addressed to Colonel Rowley, Royal Engineers, who was at this time Deputy Inspector of Fortifications at the Tower. This letter is worth a little notice, as the first few paragraphs show that the memoir it accompanied was first written in 1812, and that the present copy was re-written after the war of 1812-14—a fact of which there is internal evidence in the text.

The letter begins:

> I do myself the honor to transmit to you a Memoir respecting the defence of the principal part of Canada, which I did myself the honor of communicating to the Commanding Royal Engineer of the Canadas. I made this on account of my having, at present, the Command of the Montreal District.
>
> I hope you have received my Description of the last Campaign

carried on in Upper Canada, which I forwarded to you several months ago.[1]

I venture to enclose here another Memoir on the Defence of Canada in General—This Memoir I sent to Governor Sir George Prevost in December 1812, when I was in Quebec.

I do not think these Memoirs of a great value, but I am convinced that they show what I would do for the benefit of [the] Government whom I have the honor to serve—if my abilities kept a step equal to my wishes.

The rest of the letter does not contain any matter of historic interest, except in so far as it tends to throw light on the nature of an engineer officer's occupation in Canada in times of peace. It is signed, "De Gaugreben, Cap. Roy. Ger. Engineers"; the writer being Frederick, Baron de Gaugreben, who entered the British service in 1811, served in Canada in 1812-1815, and on February 24, 1816, was placed on "foreign half pay", which he continued to draw up to 1822, when his name disappears from the Army List. He was a captain in the King's Royal German Engineers, a corps of that part of the British Army known at the time as the King's German Legion. That is about all we know of his life, though there is a hint of tragedy to be traced in the fact that in his covering letter a trace of ambition shows itself and in the last clause an appeal for protection is made to Colonel Rowley.

De Gaugreben was a man of considerable ability, great perception and application, and, as events showed, with a keen power of applying his engineering science. In his memoir he dwells on the nature of the boundaries of Upper Canada, the lack of population, the distances to be traversed, and the means by which the attacks of a superior force could be rendered ineffective by an inferior one. In the Memoir on the Defence of Upper Canada he shows the value from a military point of view of the proposal now known as the "Georgian Bay Canal Scheme", whilst in another passage he makes the earliest suggestion for the construction, as a military work, of the Rideau Canal.

Was this memoir the source of inspiration from which the Rideau Canal sprung? Major-General C. W. Robinson, in his life of his father, Sir John Beverley Robinson, says: "The Rideau Canal was undertaken while the Duke of Wellington was in office,

[1] This description of the campaign in Upper Canada in 1812-14 was not amongst the MSS. forwarded to the Archives, nor has it yet been found. After their removal from the Tower, the records were scattered, and this document may yet be discovered.

and with a view chiefly to the military defence of the Province. It secures the defence of Canada, up to Kingston, by affording a passage for troops, and military and naval stores, independent of the St. Lawrence" (chap. XII, p. 330). As we have seen, this memoir was addressed to Col. Rowley, the Deputy Inspector-General of Fortifications, Lieut.-General Gother Mann being Inspector-General. This branch of the service was under the Master-General of Ordnance, an office to which the Duke of Wellington succeeded in 1819. It is evident that these MSS. were kept in the library at the Tower from the fact that they bear the broad arrow and "I.G.F." in red, and from the endorsement, though only in pencil, "Canada papers". General Mann, who had served in Canada as a subaltern, as a captain, as District Commanding Engineer, and finally as Commanding Royal Engineer in Canada, had himself made various reports both general and particular on the defences of the Canadas, and in 1790 had made a very excellent large scale map of the country up to the western limits of the District of Luneburg, at Lake Superior. He was much too far-sighted to fail to note the importance of De Gaugreben's suggestion, and was still Inspector-General when the Duke of Wellington became Master, and the agitation for the canal had already commenced, for in the blue book *Canada Canal Communications, 1831*, we find in document No. 12, dated November 26, 1818, a report on the Rideau communication by Lieut.-General Cockburn, then Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and in reading this "Report" one cannot but conclude that the writer had read Gaugreben's memoir. When the Duke became Master in 1819, the matter became more active, and finally the canal was built. As Wellington did not succeed Lord Goderich as prime minister till January, 1828, it is evident that General Robinson means merely that the Duke was in office as Master-General of Ordnance, especially as it was to him in that capacity that all reports were made and estimates submitted. Several other works which were proposed whilst the Duke filled this position, but were never carried out, may be traced to this memoir.

H. R. HOLMDEN

[*Transcript.*]

MEMOIR

On the Defence of Upper Canada.

The River St Lawrence, Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, Lake

Erie, the Detroit River, Lake St Clair, the River St Clair, Lake Huron etc, etc, form the frontier of Upper Canada and of the United States.
The left banks of these Rivers and Lakes are partly thinly and partly not at all settled. The interior land is almost in its natural state—that is—it is covered with woods etc. etc.
The communication is by water on the St Lawrence, Lake Ontario and on the Niagara River as far as Queenstown. This communication is intercepted by the tremendous falls of the Niagara River, and it begins again on the Niagara River from Chippewa to Fort Erie and is continued on Lake Erie, Detroit River, Lake St Clair, River St Clair, Lake Huron etc. etc.
The communication by land is a road along the River St Lawrence, Lake Ontario, and the Niagara River as far as Fort Erie. From Coteau du Lac there is a road leading through the Glingary Settlement, and falling into the road along the River St Lawrence about 10 miles above Cornwall. Another road leads from Brockville through the back Settlements and falls into the above mentioned road along the River St Lawrence about 8 miles below Kingston. From York a road leads to Lake Simcoe and from thence the water communication leads into Lake Huron, the River St Clair, Lake St Clair, the Detroit River and Lake Erie. A third Road leads from Burlington Heights, *through a swamp* for a distance of 7 miles (seven miles) to the Grand River, whence a road leads to Turkey point and Long point on Lake Erie, and another to Detroit and Amherstburg.
The country on these roads is very thinly settled— Of course troops cannot be maintained by the produce of the country which scarcely afforded, during the last war, subsistence to the inhabitants. All the above roads and bridges are in a very bad state; consequently the communication by land is very difficult.
At present the right banks of the Rivers and Lakes which form the frontier, are so thinly peopled and cultivated, that we may consider the extent from the frontier to the real American resources as of from 40 to 100 miles, and this extent is covered with woods intersected by marshes and rivers—that is—it is a wilderness. Consequently on this tract of Land the water and land communication is very difficult. Therefore large Corps of American troops cannot be easily, but with the greatest difficulty, supplied with provisions, ammunition etc, etc—that is—with the necessaries of warfare.
This very extent, in a state of nature, was, during the last war, the cause that prevented the Americans from making a long stand on any point of our frontier and obliged them to fall back into their own country. We have seen this in the Campaign of 1813, whem General Harrison

drove our troops from Detroit to Burlington Heights. He was stopped in his marching to Burlington Heights by the long and bad road, and on account of his not being able to be supplied with provisions, ammunition etc, etc. Farther General Brown, in the Campaign 1814, was forced to give up his conquests and to retreat to Fort Erie, and from thence into the United States on account of not having the necessary military supplies at hand, and to obtain them out of the United States was accompanied with very great expences and difficulties on account of the bad roads leading from the American resources through that extent of wilderness.

The distance from			Montreal to Coteau du Lac	is	about	45	miles
"	"	"	Coteau du Lac to Cornwall	"	"	45	"
"	"	"	Cornwall to Fort Wellington	"	"	50	"
"	"	"	Fort Wellington to Kingston	"	"	70	"
"	"	"	Kingston to the Carrying place in the Bay of Quenty	"	"	80	"
"	"	"	the Carrying place to York	"	"	100	"
"	"	"	York to Burlington Heights	"	"	45	"
"	"	"	Burlington Heights to Fort George	"	"	50	"
"	"	"	Fort George to Chippewa	"	"	18	"
"	"	"	Chippewa to Fort Erie	"	"	18	"
"	"	"	Burlington Heights to the Grand River	"	"	36	"
"	"	"	Grand River to Turkey Point	"	"	34	"
"	"	"	Grand River to Amherstburg	"	"	210	"
"	"	"	York to Lake Simcoe	"	"	45	"

In a war against the United States we cannot depend upon Upper Canada for provisions. We must, therefore, if we intend to occupy this country, supply our troops from Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, York &c. &c, with all the means necessary for the defence of this country and all these supplies are almost solely to be obtained from *England.*

The transport of these supplies cannot be effected by land, to the different posts where they are required. They can only be conveyed by water, on account of want of the horses, oxen and carts or wagons necessary for this service. The great difficulty in supplying the troops at Amherstburg, Turkey point, and Fort Erie with provisions and Ammunition by land, turned the attention of some persons to a new channel by which it might be possible, to supply our troops and naval Establishment stationed on Lake Erie and the Detroit River with the necessaries of warfare.—They proposed, for this purpose, a naval Establishment on Lake Huron to which we may almost communicate the whole way by

water, if we assist nature by art—that is—from York to Lake Simcoe and from hence to Lake Huron.

By a naval Establishment on Lake Huron we obtain according to my opinion, the following advantages:

1st. The Americans will be obliged to keep a strong Corps in the vicinity of Detroit, in order to prevent us from taking Detroit by the way of Lake Huron, River St Clair, Lake St Clair and a part of the Detroit River.

2dly. We are able, as it appears to me, to supply this Establishment on Lake Huron with all the necessaries of warfare.

3dly. From Hence we can always have intercourse with the Indian tribes, in order to make them our allies. Those who intend to supply our troops stationed on the Detroit River and Lake Erie, from Lake Huron, if the Americans should be in possession of Fort Erie, or if they should have cut off our communication between Fort Erie and Chippewa which may be very easily done,—Those persons do not consider that the Detroit River at Detroit is in width of from 80 to 900 yards—that is—under the guns of Detroit. In consequence of the narrowness of this River at Detroit the Americans can entirely obstruct this communication from Lake Huron to Amherstburg and Lake Erie. Consequently we are only capable of communicating to Lake Erie by land—that is—from Burlington Heights to the Grand River and from hence to Turkey point, and from hence to Amherstburg and Fort Erie by water. Is our Navy on Lake Erie always superior to the American Navy; I think then, that we can maintain this part of Upper Canada; (Namely; from Chippewa to Fort Erie, Turkey Point, Amherstburg, Sandwich, to the River Thames, London, Oxford, to the Grand River to Chippewa Creek and from hence to Chippewa again. This is the Tract of land I allude to.) but should the Americans, in the course of a future war, obtain the superiority on this Lake, it will then be impossible for us, to occupy this part of Canada. For, in this very instant, the American Navy will, every where, be on the look out, in order to prevent us from carrying Supplies to Amherstburg and Fort Erie, and will land flying Corps between Turkey point and Fort Erie, with a view to annoy or destroy our transports from Burlington Heights to Turkey point—and if this cannot be done, the means of transporting all the necessaries of warfare in this part of the country. Consequently the question will then be: *Shall we be able to supply our military Establishment on Lake Erie with all the necessaries of warfare?*

This Establishment must be considerable, if it is our positive determination to keep possession of Lake Erie—and is it considerable, I do not think our means of conveyance by land sufficient for supplying our large

military Establishment on Lake Erie, during a whole war, on account of the facility the Enemy has, of annoying our transports and of destroying, by his flying Corps, the means of transport in the country. In our present situation, *Quebec* and *Montreal* will be, for both Canadas, *Kingston* and *York* for Upper Canada, the Chief Depots.

Cornwall, Fort Wellington, the carrying place (in the Bay of Quinte), a proper spot about half way between the carrying place and York where Batteaux, and if possible, ships of any seize can find shelter, Burlington Heights, Mississague Fort opposite Fort Niagara, a spot on Lake Simcoe, and a spot on the left bank of the Grand River in the vicinity of the road, ought to be intermediate Depots, in order to supply Kingston, York, the military and naval Establishment on Lake Huron (The proper Spot of this Establishment ought to be looked for on our shore of Lake Huron and not on Drummond's Island which is close to the American Shore and surrounded by it. This island may be useful as an advanced post for our future operations; but it will not at all be fit for our military and Naval Establishment on Lake Huron, on account of the facility the American will have to annoy our transports and to cut off our communication with Lake Simcoe &c. &c.) Turkey point, Amherstburg and Fort Erie. Particularly Kingston, York, a spot on Lake Huron, and Turkey point must be strongly fortified, in order to prevent the Enemy from destroying these chief Depots.—Cornwall, Fort Wellington, the Carrying place in the Bay of Quinte, a proper spot about half way between the carrying place and York, a Spot on Lake Simcoe, Burlington Heights, a spot on the Grand River with a tête de pont, and Mississague point opposite Fort Niagara must be fortified, with a view to secure the transport against any attempt made by the Enemy, and to provide the troops on their march with what they want, in order to accelerate their operations. For celerity in military operations decides the success of war, if guided by wisdom and prudence.

Five miles below Fort Wellington there is seated, in the River St Lawrence, Chimney Island, or Isle du Fort Levi which commands the whole breadth of the river, and He who occupies it, can obstruct the Navigation of the River St Lawrence between Kingston and Montreal. Consequently Chimney Island must be fortified, in order to prevent the Americans from taking possession of it, and with a view to enable us to obstruct the Enemy's navigation between Ogdensburg and Hamilton. As the communication between lower and Upper Canada (in our present situation) is to be kept up by Cornwall, Chimney Island and Fort Wellington; it is evident that these posts must be so fortified, that the Enemy is not capable of taking them by a Coup de main, in order to give to our troops time sufficient to collect, from Lower Canada and from Kingston, a force

adequate, to render the Enemy's schemes abortive—that is—to take up a permanent position between Coteau du Lac and Kingston with a view to separate our troops in Upper Canada from those in Lower Canada; of course to cut off our communication between the two provinces.

I pass over those small posts such, as Brockville, Bridge Island and Gananoque which secure and protect the transport of provision, ammunition, stores etc, etc, against the American gunboats, and which may be fortified in time of war.

If we could establish a water communication from the Grand or Ottawa River to Kingston by taking advantage of the waters laying between Kingston and the Ottawa River, and by uniting them with Canals; (Is this Water communication to be established, I think the projected Canal from Montreal to Lachine will, then, be of no great military service to us. For the transport is then practicable on that branch of the Ottawa River which empties its waters below Montreal, into the River St Lawrence. This Canal will only be of real use to the merchants at Montreal, and in case of any disaster we meet with, during a war with the Americans, it will be of great utility to the Enemy.) Our transports from Montreal to Kingston would then be safe and the Americans would then find it difficult to cut off our communication between Montreal and Kingston; whereas it is now very much exposed and requires, therefore, at present so many military—that is—fortified stations. (The Indians from Lake Huron used to come to Three Rivers by way of the River Maskinonge when the Iroquois were in possession of all the course of the St Lawrence, the Island of Montreal included. They even penetrated with their Canoes from the Ottawa River to the North of the Saguenay River 30 leagues below Quebec.) From the head of the bay of Quinte in the vicinity of the Carrying place it may be possible to communicate by water to Lake Simcoe—namely—on the Saggathewigewam river, now called River Trent which falls into the head of the bay of Quinte, on Rice Lake, on Lake Cheboutequion, Lake Annequionchecon a *Canal* instead of the present portage, and on the River Talbot into Lake Simcoe. (I have been told that the Indians have used this navigation).

The Outlet in the vicinity of Burlington Heights ought to be fortified, with a view to secure our boats carrying provisions, ammunition and troops from all danger. Mississague Point, opposite the American Fort Niagara, is fortified with a view to prevent the Americans from taking possession of the Niagara harbour, and to support our military Operations on the Niagara frontier.

On Queenstown Hill a work ought to be erected, in order to hinder the Americans from landing troops at Queenstown and from separating our

troops between Chippewa and Mississague (Had Mississague point been fortified in the begining of the last war, the American would not have ventured, in May 1813, to fight our troops, and we should not have been compelled to retreat before the Enemy. For the American fleet, Fort Niagara and the Enemy's batteries on the right bank of the Niagara River played upon the front, right flank and rear of our troops, while the American troops actaked the left flank of our position. Had Queenstown Hill been entrenched, in the Year 1812, the Ameicans would not have crossed the Niagara River at Queenstown, and it would (if the American troops had been well disciplined and well led), be above all conception, how it was possible for them, to lose the day, as they had the advantage of the ground; they saw the approach of our troops coming from Fort George, and they could encounter us, before we gained the summits of the mountain, or Queenstown Hill.) Chippewa must be fortified with a tête de pont and a work on the left bank of Chippewa Creek, in order to prevert the Americans from coming [on] our troops stationed on the Niagara frontier in flank and rear. For the position from Chippewa to Mississague Fort can be easily defended against a superior Enemy (The part of this position between Chippewa and Queenstown cannot be attacked, the distance of which is 11 miles, and the distance of the other part of this position, namely, between Queenstown and Mississague Fort is 8 miles, which is the only one in front to be attacked; but not without preparations consisting in boats; of course this attempt cannot be executed without being previously discovered by our troops. Therefore the commanding officer at this Frontier has time enough to take the proper steps to render the American undertaking abortive. For the crossing of the Niagara River takes a great deal of time and can only be done successively. This would afford an opportunity to our troops, to engage the Enemy in detail, and destroy him, even if he is superior in numbers. But to gain this advantage, it is requisite that our troops be very vigilant and active, and the commanding officers men of talents, judgment, intrepidity and activity. The right flank of this position is covered by Chippewa creek. Should the enemy make any attempt on this flank, he must build bridges, or rafts, to cross his troops, and this costs so much time, that our troops would be capable of appearing here in sufficient strength, to obstruct his design, by engaging the Enemy before his whole force had crossed. Consequently our troops would, in all probability, if well headed, repulse and beat the Enemy. For only those military dispositions are well combined, by which our troops are enabled to engage the Enemy with superior strength, and this is possible, when we attack him before his whole force is collected and formed against our attack. This must, therefore, be the Chief study

of a commanding Officer—) Fort Erie must be fortified (*if we intend to keep Lake Erie*), in order to be master of this harbour, and Amherstburg must be put in a state of defence, in order to have the command of the Detroit River between Lake Erie and Fort Detroit.—The Detroit River is at Amherstburg about three miles wide, but the Channel is within the range of a musket shot from Amherstburg, which is, therefore, in some respects the key of the higher Lakes against the Americans. At present the American settlements are at a very great distance from the higher Lakes; consequently the communication must be partly by land and partly by water, of course accompanied with great difficulties; whereas it is by Lake Erie, Detroit River, Lake St Clair, and River St Clair without any great obstacle. These fortified places may be manned partly by Militia and Partly by Regulars; in order to be able to keep up flying Corps at *Fort Wellington, Kingston, York, Burlington Heights, Queenstown,* and *Turkey Point.* These flying Corps are destined to oppose the Enemy's operations by rapid marches, in order to endeavour to render them abortive in their commencement, or before the Enemy is prepared, or to unite themselves, if the Enemy should be prepared and superior in strength to one, or two of these flying Corps, in order to be strong enough to attack him, in all probability, with success.

As it is to be apprehended that the Americans will, with all possible dispatch, cultivate and people their frontier, in order to have the necessary resources at hand in a future war, with a view to take, the easier, possession of Canada, and to maintain themselves in their possession, we ought to do our utmost, to prevent this, by laying our frontier waste and by converting the extent of 40 miles from the frontier towards the interior into a wilderness, destitute of roads and settlements. If we establish our settlements at this distance from the frontier in the interior of Canada, we shall be able to oppose the Enemy's schemes, and frustrate his operations. For by this proceeding we oblige him to act in small corps on account of the difficulty of his subsisting. But should this proposal appear too cruel, I think Orders ought then be issued, that no person whatever shall clear and cultivate any more of his lands, within the distance of 40 miles from the frontier, than he has already really done (As some people always require the authority of some great men, I think it well, to quote what Carnot's opinion is about the defence of a frontier. He expresses himself thus on this subject: "Si de grandes chaines de montagnes, *d'immenses forêts*, des déserts arides, des marais impracticabilés, ou la mer separent les frontières de ces differentes puissances; *Ces obstacles seront des fortifications naturelles supérieures à tous les travaux de l'art;* mais si les lignes de démarcations sont établis au milieu des plaines fertiles, traverseés par des communications faciles, il faudra suppléer par des travaux d'industrie à ces defenses naturelles".

"Des retrenchements continus, ou murailles non-interrompues, comme celle qui borne la Chine au Nord, seraient des ouvrages trop dispendieux, trop difficiles à garder dans toute leur étendue: et il suffirait que l'ennemi les eût forcés en un point pour qu'il en fût le maitre par tout. *Le besoin et la reflexion ont bientôt fait sentir, qu'il vaut mieux se borner à garder les points principaux par des places isolées, dans les quelles on rassemble tous les moyens nécessaires à une defence locale, et qui quoique séparées, n'en font pas moins l'effet d'une ligne continue: parceque si l'ennemi voulait pénétrer dans les intervalles, il se trouverait exposé à être harcelé sur ses derriéres, et coupé par les garnisons de ces places, qui se répanderaient dans ces intervalles et rendraiant la retraite impossible ou du moins trés-perilleuse." &c &c &c".*

Experience has proved that a regular cordon of strong places properly distributed on the frontiers, was the surest expedient of preserving a country from all hostiles schemes. For these most important points are preserved by a few of our troops, in order to enable our whole force to collect in time, with a view to take advantage of any favorable moment. But this requires discernment, presence of mind at the time of danger, activity, perseverance, and intrepidity in the Commanding Officer. Is this the case, the fortified places will admirably support the Operations of an Army against an Enemy superior in numbers, and the Engineer Officers will then be highly esteemed, admired and supported. Therefore I conclude with the following motto:

No Genius, no Honor.)

From this new line towards the interior *Industry* ought to begin and be encouraged to the utmost, in order to gather with every year strength, and to remove our subjects (who ought to be kept in good discipline) from those turbulent Americans, with a view to make strangers of them. For too great a familiarity among subjects of two different nations is not adviseable—The most powerful is reaping, in the end, the benefit from this intercourse of familiarity. Those people who are the remotest from each other fight with the greatest rage against each other—This is a truth which history and experience have taught.

People speaking the same language, having the same laws, manners and religion, and in all the connections of social intercourse, can never be depended upon as Enemies. The minority will always be brought over by the majority:—particularly if the system of Government of the latter is the most favourable to the gratification of the passions of the lower Orders of the people.

I do not mention any thing about the defence of lower Canada. I refer only to the Memoir I wrote on this subject.

November the 10th 1815 DEGAUGREBEN

Quebec Capt. Royal Ger: Engineers

CORRESPONDENCE

CANADA AS A VASSAL STATE

To the Editor of THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor MacMechan, in the December issue of THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, draws what appears a true, if pessimistic, picture of the unpatriotic conduct of the Canadians who copy servilely everything "Yankee". In literature, in newspapers and magazines, in education, in sports, in fraternal organizations, he says, there is nothing "new" in Canada, and he brings abundant proof to sustain his views. He even agrees with the author of the *True History of the American Revolution*, who asserts that the Canadian is "tame and little inventive", and he asks: "Why must we be always borrowing ideas from our big neighbour?"

After reviewing all these facts, he finds but one favourable element to confront them—"a viewless force making for national unity, not only strong enough to resist the drag towards absorption in our neighbour state, but to create a national spirit, a national character, a national unity. That spirit is now more potent, that character more clearly defined, that unity more compact than ever before."

This "viewless" and apparently nameless force, what is it? Is it not that which is commonly known as patriotism? The only proof, however, brought forward by Professor MacMechan of the working of this force, is the glorious part taken by Canada in the Great War. Yet this participation in the Empire's battles seems a very weak antidote to counteract the effects of the poisonous draughts so generously poured in our cup by our loving neighbour. Is there really no other factor which may help us to resist the pernicious influences which Professor MacMechan so ably and so gloomily depicts? If there were not, one might well despair of our future as a nation, for the lessons taught by a war are soon forgotten, even when they are well understood. The people's mind is very apt to lose sight of them in the daily growing struggle for existence and the pursuit of the "almighty dollar".

Fortunately, there is another potent influence at work, with which the learned Professor seems unacquainted, for he utters not a word about it. He seems to possess but one pair of spectacles, and these

appear to have been manufactured in England, not "made in Canada". Let him take off his spectacles, or exchange them, and let him look nearer home; he will then, if he is not blind himself, see at his very elbow other than English-speaking Canadians. He may even—new Columbus—discover the existence of the French-speaking Canadians, who number one-third of the population of the country, and to whom his remarks do not in the least apply.

Is this omission due to mere absence of mind, to mere forgetfulness, or to prejudice? Unfortunately Dr. MacMechan is not alone in his views, or should I say methods? Seeing how persistently most of our Anglo-Canadian writers ignore French Canada in all that pertains to the national life of the country, one would be inclined to think that these views, or methods, form part of a systematic attempt to disregard the existence of the French-speaking population of Canada in all studies of the problems affecting the welfare of our beloved country. But a truer view of the case is, I believe, that this very common omission is due to a lamentable lack of knowledge, the result of a faulty national education. French Canada is an almost unknown quantity to a large number of Anglo-Canadian writers. If this be the real cause, as I have no doubt it is, a better knowledge of French-Canadian literature, aspirations, and ideals, a greater interchange of ideas with the French-Canadian writers, would surely create a better understanding among the Canadians. A real *entente cordiale*, such as they have "beyond the sea", would be possible and it would help greatly to solve the Canadian problem.

The French Canadians were sons of the soil of Canada long before the English and Americans invaded the country. Their ideals differ widely from those of the latter, and they do not see that they could gain by breaking the tie that unites them to Great Britain for annexation to the United States. Did they not fight in 1775-76, in 1812-14, and were they not again ready to take up arms in 1866 and 1870 to defend the country against the invaders? Their religion, their language, their customs, their education, are all so dissimilar from those of our neighbours of the great Republic—not to say antagonistic—that they seem to constitute an insurmountable barrier to annexation. If Anglo-Canadian writers would only open their eyes to the light and look about, they would soon perceive that in this fact lies much more hope for the future of the country than they ever dreamt.

This influence of the French Canadians is not restricted to the province of Quebec. Under the Union, from 1841 to 1867, or more properly speaking since 1848, they have shared with the English-speaking element, on an equal footing, the government of Canada. From Lafontaine, who joined hands with Baldwin to establish responsible govern-

ment in the country, through Sir George Etienne Cartier, who made Confederation possible, down to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who governed the Dominion as prime minister for the space of fifteen years, the French element has done its due share towards the advancement and the material development of the country. Important groups are to be found in the maritime provinces, in Ontario, in Manitoba, in the other prairie provinces, and even in British Columbia.

Even in the spheres of activity which were so long regarded as belonging exclusively to the English majority, such as commerce, industry and finance, the French Canadians have now their representatives who figure among the leaders. It is only recently that Sir Lomer Gouin, the ex-prime minister of the province of Quebec, has been placed on the board of governors of the Bank of Montreal, the leading British institution in the country. Indeed, it is becoming the fashion in Ontario to direct the eyes of the rest of the country to Quebec, where, owing to the wealth of resources and the absence of labour troubles, development is being carried forward at a rather bewildering pace.

Does not all this go to show the ever-increasing part the French Canadians are playing in the life of the country? And is it not time that their influence be recognized and given the place which properly belongs to it. In union is strength; and the stronger the bond of sympathy and understanding between the two great peoples which form the population of Canada, the more force there will be to defeat any annexationist movement or tendency.

The wish of some people that Canada should for ever remain a dependent or a vassal of England may or may not be realized. The country is growing and may some day, more or less remote, desire to cast off its swaddling-clothes, to act the part of a grown-up, to govern itself without the intervention of outsiders, and to live its own life untrammelled.

> Cet enfant a grandi; c'est un homme robuste
> Qui porte écrit au front son origine auguste.

The coming of the day of annexation to the United States is, however, from the French-Canadian point of view, yet much further remote than that of independence, if it be not impossible of realization.

As it is, under the constitution which governs us, the French element has some rights and privileges, and still enjoys some liberty in its religious, its educational, and its linguistic domains, although these have been, and are still, very sharply assailed in some of the English provinces. But what would be the status of the French population under the Stars and Stripes? Would it be improved, or would it be worse than the present one? Would the French Canadians gain or lose by the change of allegi-

ance? No doubt can be entertained in the matter. Theirs would be a great and irreparable loss. They would simply be engulfed in the great American whirlpool; they would be drowned and would disappear entirely, and for ever, in that deadly maelstrom. Is this a desirable fate from a Canadian point of view? By no means. The French-Canadians cannot connive at their own destruction.

What the French Canadians contend against, at present, is not the British connection. It is merely, as Dr. MacMechan puts it, that they fear "being dragged at the wheels of Empire". Canada is their home, their only home; and they are satisfied to remain Canadians even under the British crown,

Malgré le vent d'hiver hurlant sur les toitures,
Malgré les tourbillons qui dérobent les cieux.

They are loyal subjects of the King, but they are not, and cannot be, Imperialists.

To come back to the American influences which Dr. MacMechan shows so clearly at work among the Anglo-Canadians, whether they have much force and really produce Americanization amongst them, it is not for me to decide; but they do not, and certainly cannot, affect their French-speaking brothers; and in this indisputable fact, perhaps, lies the secret of the future of Canada.

In writing thus, I am not actuated by the mere boyish pleasure of casting stones in my neighbour's garden. My aim is higher; it tends to enlarge the scope of the study of our national problems, to cause more, and a better, light to be thrown on them, so that they may be examined in a more practical and efficient manner, that is to say: by visualizing them from a broader angle, from the national, instead of a narrow provincial or racial point of view.

Sachons être un peuple de frères
Sous le joug de la Loi;
Et répétons, comme nos pères,
Le cri vainqueur: Pour le Christ et le Roi!

FRANCIS J. AUDET

To the Editor of THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

There is one sentence in Professor MacMechan's article, *Canada as a Vassal State*, which calls for a note. He asks: "Does any sane man, woman, or child really believe that Great Britain would send one ship, or fire a single gun, to retain our country in the bonds of unwilling allegiance?" This is not a natural question. It assumes unanimity as to future destiny in a country possessing already more than eight millions of people. Surely there would be a difference of view and probably a

serious one. The analogy of the American Revolution presents what would be the real situation. Many years ago Goldwin Smith wrote a provocative article in the *Fortnightly Review* on the manifest destiny of Canada, and a reply was penned by Sir Francis Hincks, who, although not a Canadian by birth, exhibited a clearer insight into Canadian feeling than the Oxford professor. Goldwin Smith afterwards reprinted in one volume his essay, Hincks's reply, some remarks on that reply, and also Lord Blachford's well-known views. It is an interesting little book to read now. Hincks concluded his reply in these words: "I do not believe in the probability of a complete change of allegiance being brought about in any other way than as the result of a civil war, a calamity so fearful that it will not be hazarded unless some serious misunderstanding should arise between the two governments, and I cannot conceive that any such contingency is at all probable." While not a great man, Hincks was clear-headed and experienced. In commenting upon Hincks's criticisms, Goldwin Smith touched every point of importance excepting the one here quoted. That he entirely ignored. It is practically unanswerable. To the end of his days Goldwin Smith contended that his advocacy of annexation was based on "a peaceful separation". In my judgment no convincing case has ever been made out for separation without the clash of arms.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Histoire de la marine française. Par CHARLES DE LA RONCIÈRE. Tome v: *La Guerre de trente Ans: Colbert.* Paris: Librairie Plon. 1920. Pp. 748. (40 fr.)

M. de La Roncière, the Keeper of Printed Books at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, has managed, in spite of the war, in which he lost a brother to whom he dedicates this volume, to continue his researches into the history of the French Navy. In this volume he describes the naval history of France from 1635 to 1683. Thanks to the years spent by him on the staff of the MSS. Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale, during part of which he was in charge of the Geographical Section, he has been able to familiarize himself thoroughly with all its great naval treasures. The references at the bottom of each page reveal many books and publications unfamiliar to the ordinary student, and yet, as the author once informed the writer, these represent but a portion of the works which have been consulted. M. de La Roncière's reading is exceptionally wide, and his mastery of the details of such a great subject surprisingly complete. By means of an excellent critical method he is able to handle this mass of material with great skill, and to present the story of the French Navy in an attractive and scholarly manner. On each page are verbatim quotations from the sources which show how closely these have been followed, and which give to the description of the French Navy at that time a distinct flavour of the period.

Whether M. de La Roncière has not perhaps followed tradition rather too closely and paid too great attention to naval engagements, must be a matter of opinion. To some students the economic features appeal more strongly than such headings as *Guerre de trente ans* (pp. 1-146), *Guerre avec l'Espagne* (pp. 147-225), *Guerre de Candie* (pp. 242-305), *Guerre entre la Hollande et l'Angleterre* (pp. 441-491) and *Guerre de Hollande* (pp. 526-577). Champlain was of opinion that commerce was a nation's "principal source of comfort, wealth and honour", and that it was only when commerce thrived that the navy became powerful. M. de La Roncière believes that bravery at sea is closely akin to that on land, and treats of the navy as a school of valour.

At the time of the death of Richelieu, on December 4, 1642, France

was powerful both at home and abroad. The outbreak of civil war, however, shattered the edifice so laboriously erected. On the death of Mazarin in 1661, France had neither money, nor ships, nor sailors. "Sire," said Mazarin, on his deathbed, "I owe everything to you, but I repay you partially in giving you Colbert."

To Colbert, Mazarin's "domestic", the son of a Rheims tradesman, was due the restoration of the French Navy. Thanks to him Fouquet's insurrection was nipped in the bud and discipline was gradually restored throughout the service. A captain whose ship was wrecked in the harbour of Havre during his absence, was ordered to be beheaded. "It is a Captain's duty," wrote Colbert, "to blow up his ship rather than to endure the shame of surrendering it into the enemy's hands."

Colbert's path was strewn with difficulties. It was not until 1680 that he was able to induce the King to pay a visit to a man-of-war. In that year, when at Dunkirk to examine Vauban's fortress, the King was at length induced to go on board *L'Entreprenant*. He and his courtiers were much struck with the precision of the crew's drill. Beating to quarters and clearing for action delighted the Grand Monarque. "Henceforward," said he, "I shall have a better idea of the meaning of the naval dispatches which are laid before me."

With these Colbert always took great pains. Having carefully read and re-read them, he had long extracts made which every Friday were laid before the King along with the drafts of the replies. Colbert gradually obtained his own way, and little by little France's naval strength was restored so that, by 1683, instead of the eighteen ships available in 1661, France could boast of some one hundred and seventeen ships of the line. For these it was not always easy to find officers. Madame de Maintenon, though herself a convert from Protestantism, had none of Colbert's tolerance, and from 1680 until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes did her best to drive the Protestants out of the Navy. In this way France lost the services of some of her most capable officers.

To provide the sailors for these ships, Colbert introduced the *Inscription Maritime*, or naval roster, whereby every sailor was called upon to serve for a time in the Royal Navy. Only those groups which were not required for the Navy were at liberty each year to offer their services in the merchant service.

Before Colbert's time there were no arsenals. Rigging, guns, and tackle were collected in certain ports, but being unguarded were pillaged without let or hindrance. Colbert employed Vauban to construct proper fortifications at Dunkirk and Brest, while Swiss soldiers were placed in charge of all naval stores. Brouage, Champlain's birthplace, having become a second Aigues-Mortes, a site was sought for another arsenal

on the west coast. When M. de Cheusses, the owner of Rochefort, refused to sell this site, Colbert de Terron persuaded the Court that no other place was so suitable. It was therefore seized, and the arsenal of Rochefort built at enormous cost. On its completion the discovery was made not only that the Charente was too shallow to float the larger vessels, but also that, owing to a bend in its course, it could only be navigated with the wind from two quarters. "It is the fate of public affairs," thereupon wrote Saint-Simon, "to be always directed by private interests."

It will surprise Canadians to discover that in this volume the colony of New France is mentioned very seldom. The truth is that in the eyes of the world at that time the West Indies loomed far larger than the fur-bearing wilds of Canada. Moreover the Company of New France had been so unsuccessful that in 1663 the colony had been transferred back to the King.

A book of this sort is a great help not only for the general picture which it gives of the former Colonial Empire of France, and of the relative importance then attributed to each section, but also because it offers the very great advantage of enabling the reader to follow the whole career of many French officials who suddenly cross the stage of Canadian history without our knowing whence they came nor whither they go. A case in point is that of Le Fèbvre de La Barre, who governed New France from 1682 to 1685, but of whom in Canadian histories we are merely told that he had formerly been a naval officer. In point of fact, La Barre had originally been a *Maître des requêtes*, and took to sea rather late in life. His success as a naval officer was considerable. In April, 1667, off Nevis in the West Indies, he commanded the 24-gun *Armes d'Angleterre* which, with a crew of only 110 men, defeated and sunk the *Colchester* of 44 guns, manned by 300 men. In the following month, in trying to force the English blockade, La Barre in the *Lys Courronné* of 38 guns sustained the fire of six British men-of-war of from 48 to 50 guns each. His secretary, his *maître d'hôtel*, and a score of officers and men were killed at his side, and he himself was wounded. Again at the end of June at Fort St. Pierre he bravely engaged Admiral John Harman's forces, but he allowed the latter to draw his fire and to exhaust his ammunition, so that his captains on Harman's return had no alternative but to scuttle their ships and escape to the shore. By the treaty of Breda, however, Harman's conquests were given back to France.

M. de La Roncière also rescues from oblivion the interesting career of Captain Nicolas Gargot, who in 1638 was appointed *Commissaire et garde des magazins* in Acadia. Early in life, at a siege in Lorraine, Gargot had lost a leg which he had replaced with a wooden one. In 1653 he

attempted in vain to blockade twenty-three Spanish ships in Placentia harbour. On the way back to France his crew, who were on very short rations in consequence of this blockade, mutinied. Gargot, using Fournier's great *Hydrographie* folio as a shield, held them at bay until he discovered that his Turkish servant, who had hidden his wooden leg, had also tampered with his pistols. Wounded in twenty-three places, he was carried by his crew as prisoner to Sanlucar, where, however, he proudly refused to betray his country or to accept a high naval post in the Low Countries. Eventually he was again set free, and in 1660 he was made Governor of Placentia. His *Mémoires*, a quarto volume of 155 pages published about 1665, is extremely rare, and would form an excellent addition to the publications of the Champlain Society.

H. P. BIGGAR

Des Influences françaises au Canada. Par JEAN CHARBONNEAU. Tomes I-III. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. [1916-1920.] Pp. 226; 375; 318. ($3.15.)

THE author of this long, discursive work is rather a poet and moralist than an historian. Volumes I and II are occupied for the most part with literature, the poets being treated in the first volume, the novelists, historians, and journalists in the second; although systematic separation of the different categories is not completely followed. M. Charbonneau is himself a poet with several volumes of verse to his credit, and was founder in 1895 of a group of poets called the "Ecole littéraire de Montréal". He has read the poets of France very widely and studied the great critics of that country from Boileau to Brunetière. Hence he is well qualified to speak of the poets of French Canada, particularly of the young generation, with most, or all, of whom he is intimately acquainted. If he had taken the trouble to be more systematic in his treatment, he might have given us a compendium of great value. Even as they stand his pages may be consulted with profit by serious students of literature.

The treatment of the historians and novelists in volume II is, as was rendered necessary by the extent of the subject, much too succinct to be of great service to the reader in search of full information.

The discussion of journalism is much more satisfactory. M. Charbonneau notes that "real literary journalism, which is busy with the things of the mind, tends more and more to disappear" (II, 303). The old journals of the early nineteenth century aimed at a more elevated product than those of to-day. He speaks admiringly of Arthur Buies and of Etienne Parent, the father of French-Canadian journalism, and regrets the "times when journalism was independent of all speculation, when it

was able proudly to place its power above base compromises and material interests" (II, 305). Now in the beginning of the twentieth century a class of writers has arisen who "manufacture an article as they would manufacture cheap furniture, dresses, agricultural implements, or articles of shoddy" (II, 312). Journalism has become as it were "the cinematograph or the phonograph of daily occurrences. It neglects intellectual interests but unfolds, in numerous columns, the greatest number possible of sensational happenings, in order to strike perverted imaginations with greater force" (II, 318). Frank, pointed speech like this is both true and timely.

The third volume is mainly devoted to the political history of Canada, which, according to our author, has for its centre the conflict between what he calls at page 29 the *volonté de conservation* on the part of the French Canadians, and the *volonté de domination* on the part of the Anglo-Saxons. There can be no doubt that here we have one of the most important factors in the political situation of Canada. But it seems clear that M. Charbonneau makes too much of it. It is surely an exaggeration to say that in the troubles of 1837, and in the agitations of the time of Lord Metcalfe (1844) and of Lord Elgin (1849) we can explain everything by referring to the misunderstandings between French and English Canadians. There surely was, as Ontario people believe, a struggle with respect to responsible government. It is possible that the Upper Canadian orators and writers have been too prone to ignore the race element involved in these disputes, but it is also possible that the historians of Quebec have neglected to take full account of the part played therein by Upper Canadian aspirations for a larger measure of political autonomy. We are thankful to M. Charbonneau, however, for calling our attention in even an exaggerated manner to the "race problem", for no person can understand Canadian history and actual politics who overlooks it.

Another of the leading ideas of the book is that, during the late war, it was the union of the Latin races which triumphed over the attempted despotism of Pan-germanic ambition, and thus made peace more secure for the world by the protection of the small nations. One is puzzled at first by remembering that Spain, a Latin nation, remained neutral, and that Britain and the United States, generally considered non-Latin nations, participated in the war. The matter is cleared up, however, by our author farther on, at least as far as England and the United States are concerned, by a classification which places the two last-mentioned nations amongst the Latin peoples. We see here another example of the dangerous habit, so common with many, of intermingling quasi-ethnological considerations with the facts of history. But it is better to have

confused things a little than to have put French and English Canadians in opposed categories, as is the habit sometimes with the Nationalists of Quebec, and we are grateful to M. Charbonneau for it.

J. SQUAIR

The Cross-Bearers of the Saguenay. By the Very Rev. R. W. HARRIS. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1920. Pp. 202. ($2.00.)

DEAN HARRIS is well known as a writer of popular history, and his latest book is an eloquent and vivid account of the early missionaries among the Algonquins in Quebec, and of Indian customs. The popular narrative is set in florid descriptions of natural scenery. For the reader entirely unacquainted with the history and traditions and for students in high schools the book ought to prove useful and inspiring . In spite of repetitions and of an irritating peculiarity of style which seeks to provide for almost every noun a superlative qualification, the book possesses interests which belong to sincerity and enthusiasm.

From the historical point of view the book contains nothing new. Dean Harris re-works the well-known material, which he apparently accepts without criticism. This is specially true of the Jesuit *Relations*. We have noted a few errors. On page 7, the title of Father Campbell's book is incorrectly given. In the title of M. Buies' book, "la Basin" (p. 44) ought to be "le Bassin". There is an apparent contradiction about the first mass said in Canada between the text of page 24 and the note on page 51. Some of the few references are vague: *e.g.*, "Father G. Marest, Lettres Edif." (p. 121).

The illustrations are interesting. The mechanical side of the book is excellent. There is no bibliography, and there is no index.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Histoire du Canada. Par FRANÇOIS-XAVIER GARNEAU. Cinquième Edition, revue, annotée, et publiée par HECTOR GARNEAU. Tome II. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. xii, 748. (30 fr.)

THE appearance of this, the second and concluding volume of Mr. Hector Garneau's revised edition of his grandfather's work, has been delayed by the war, part of it having been in print since 1914. It merits the same praise as did the first volume, which appeared in 1913, and was reviewed in the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, Vol. XVIII, p. 23. The work of F.-X. Garneau has been thoroughly brought up to date, and it is a tribute to its essential greatness that its main features have been retained. The wide reading of Mr. Hector Garneau, alike in published and unpublished sources, has altered numerous details, but the perspective remains largely unaltered. Of course, some important

chapters have been re-written in the light of later discoveries. Thus the account of the siege of Quebec diametrically reverses the rôles of Vaudreuil and of Montcalm. "To complete the disgrace, it was on the evening of the 12th September that Montcalm, without informing the Governor, recalled the regiment, which he had finally consented to send to the Heights two days before" (Garneau: Vol. II, p. 332, edition of 1859). "By a singular fatality, it was on September 12th that Vaudreuil, again setting himself in opposition to the orders of Montcalm, forbade the Guienne regiment to occupy the Anse au Foulon" (Vol. II, p. 246, edition of 1920).

The expulsion of the Acadians is also largely re-written, though Mr. Hector Garneau might have profited even more than he has by the work of Dr. Doughty. He does not make it quite clear that "the thing was done by Lawrence and his Council without the authority or knowledge of the home Government" (Doughty, *The Acadian Exiles*, p. 119), and it would have been fairer to the American colonies, who treated the exiles so harshly, to point out that nowhere were the fugitives pillaged so mercilessly as by Bigot and his gang at Quebec (Doughty, *op. cit.*, p. 151).

But, on the whole, Mr. Hector Garneau has done his work with erudition, and with skill. Such a note as that on Voltaire in Appendix I must have meant hours of work, and is valuable both as giving chapter and verse for the celebrated utterances of the philosopher on the worthlessness of Canada, and also as showing that Voltaire did not stand alone in his opinions, but only in his faculty for expressing them epigrammatically.

The only real criticism to be made is rather of the publisher than of the editor. Both volumes, the second especially, though well printed in admirable type on good paper, are too big to be read with comfort. To have broken them up into three volumes of 500 pages each would have been a real boon. That the publishers did not see their way to do so is the more surprising since the present volume lacks an index, which we are promised under a separate cover.

It is their tenacity after the conquest rather than their valour previous to it which makes the French in Canada really remarkable. Garneau showed his sense of this when he brought his work down to 1840, instead of stopping at 1763, as do to this day most of his competitors. Will not Mr. Hector Garneau, evidently as learned an historian as his grandfather, as true and as enlightened a lover of his race and his religion, yet with the same sympathy for British ideals of liberty and of justice, bring F.-X. Garneau's work up to date, in an even deeper sense than he has done, by writing at least one other volume, if not two, on the story of Canada between 1840 and 1914. He would doubtless bring on himself

much criticism, alike from the Orangemen and from the hierarchy; but did not his grandfather the same?

W. L. GRANT

Histoire du Madawaska. Par l'abbé THOMAS ALBERT. D'après les recherches historiques de PATRICK THERRIAULT, et les notes manuscrites de PRUDENT L. MERCURE. Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionaire. 1920. Pp. xxiii, 448. ($2.50).

IT is a lamentable fact that in many parts of Canada county history has been sadly neglected. In New Brunswick the history of the province as a whole has received some attention, and in this connection the following names are worthy of honourable mention: Peter Fisher, C. L. Hatheway, Robert Cooney, James Robb, Abraham Gesner, Moses Perley, Alexander Munro, Wedderburn, Hannay, Lawrence, Edward Jack, Hay, D. R. Jack and a few others of later date. But county history has not received the attention that it has in the neighbouring province of Nova Scotia.

Until within a year past the only municipal division of New Brunswick of which the history had appeared in book form was the city of St. John. Here the history was attempted, some thirty-five years ago, by the late D. R. Jack, who was then little more than a school-boy.

Some highly creditable attempts have been made from time to time in various periodicals and in local newspapers to supply reliable information concerning the history of certain parts of the province; one of the most valuable contributions of this nature being that of James Vroom on "The History of the County of Charlotte", published in the *St. Croix Courier* some twenty-five years ago.

But the fact remains that until 1920 no county history has appeared in book form save Mr. D. R. Jack's rather inadequate little history of St. John.

It is remarkable that when, "after many days", another book of the kind appears it should deal not with one of the old and well-known counties, but with the youngest of them all, the county of Madawaska. It is no less remarkable that it should be the work of men of Acadian ancestry, natives of Madawaska, and should be printed in their mother tongue, which is not English, but French.

The initial step in this achievement should be credited in all fairness to a young school-teacher, M. Prudent L. Mercure of St. Anne de Madawaska. Some twenty years ago the present writer had the pleasure of furnishing this young man with such information as he then possessed, and of stimulating him in the task of collecting more.

Madawaska, in the course of time, has experienced the fate of the ancient kingdom of Poland, and to-day it recalls the familiar words,

"*Omnis Gallia est divisa in partes tres*". The Madawaska of to-day includes Madawaska, N.B.; Madawaska, Maine; and Madawaska, Quebec. The facts concerning the early history of this three-fold district were gleaned chiefly by M. Mercure, but he had also the valuable help of Senator Thérriault of Lille, Maine, and a few others. The accumulated materials have been discreetly edited and put in good literary form by the Abbé Thomas Albert of Shippegan, Gloucester Co., N.B. The abbé himself—as a native of Madawaska—has doubtless found the writing and editing a not uncongenial task. M. Mercure died recently, while in the employ of the Department of Canadian Archives at Ottawa, and unfortunately did not live to see the publication of the book.

The consummation of the undertaking, therefore, has been due mainly to the public spirit and generosity of Senator Patrick Thérriault.

No attempt can be made here to enter into any elaborate discussion of this very interesting book, but some idea of the value of its contents may be obtained by a perusal of the passage at page 12, unfortunately too long to quote, in which the story is told of the destruction of the Mohawk war-party at the Grand Falls of the River St. John, as it was related to the earliest Acadian settlers of Madawaska by the Indians who lived there one hundred and fifty years ago.

W. O. RAYMOND

Une Maitrise d'Art en Canada (1800-1823). Par EMILE VAILLANCOURT. Avec une préface par E.-Z. MASSICOTTE. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1920. Pp. 115; gravures.

M. VAILLANCOURT'S monograph is a valuable contribution to the early history of the arts and crafts in Canada. His little book gives an interesting account of a group of architects and sculptors, of Canadian birth, who were engaged during the early years of the nineteenth century in the planning, furnishing, and decorating of numerous churches throughout the province of Quebec. The school originated in the atelier of Louis-Amable Quevellon, a self-taught architect and sculptor in wood, established at St. Vincent de Paul, in l'Isle Jésus. He trained a number of apprentices, some of whom were later associated with him in the production of altars, episcopal thrones, baldaquins, pulpits, and other such church furniture. M. Vaillancourt has gathered his information from judicial archives, parish registers, contemporary publications, and oral traditions, with commendable care and thoroughness of detail. His researches throw considerable light upon the beginnings of the arts in Canada, and prove that much of the early work in architecture and ecclesiastical decoration and sculpture was executed by native-born Canadians, and was not, as is commonly supposed, entirely the produc-

tion of European designers and artisans. He touches but the fringe of a large field, as yet undeveloped, but within the limits which he has set himself, his work is excellently done, so far as historical record is concerned.

But his book, from its attitude and general tone, rather than from direct statement, must also in justice be regarded from the standpoint of art criticism. The enthusiasm of the author for his subject evidently has led him into a position of indiscriminating admiration from which it is impossible to get a true view of the character or the value of the art with which it deals. Both M. Vaillancourt and M. Massicotte, who contributes a preface, seem to claim qualities for the productions of these early craftsmen which are perhaps not substantiated by the evidence. One finds in the interior features of most of the churches of French Canada little or nothing original in conception or execution. One sees, for the most part, only imitative work of a conventional character, copied from the late Renaissance or Rococo style of the eighteenth century.

We still await an authoritative work dealing with the ecclesiastical and domestic architecture of French Canada, which will combine historical research, such as M. Vaillancourt has given us in his interesting monograph, with the critical appreciation which it lacks. May we hope that he will continue his investigations over a wider area, and, at some future time, give us a larger study of the development of the really typical French Canadian architecture, as exemplified in some of the manor houses and many of the older and less pretentious parish churches throughout Quebec? These frequently display, in their exterior constructive features, a charming simplicity, a grace, and an adaptability to their surroundings, their uses, and the climatic conditions—in short, a character of their own,—which carries them far on the road toward a true, native and creative art. M. Vaillancourt's present venture into this hitherto unexplored historical territory would seem to indicate his fitness for further researches in this direction.

C. W. JEFFERYS

A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation. By ROY PALMER BAKER, Ph.D. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1920. Pp. xi, 200. ($2.50).

THIS book is a praiseworthy and scholarly attempt to set the beginnings of Anglo-Canadian literature against their appropriate background of history, and we may congratulate the author on the tenacity of purpose which carried to a successful conclusion an investigation so inherently lacking in the elements of interest that we are accustomed to associate

with the study of origins. There is an undeniable charm in the primitiveness that marks the inception of any of the great continental literatures, and even the movements of imitation that open the cultural periods of these literatures were in essence original and creative. But American imitation has always been dull and mechanical, and it is evident that the Canadian pioneers of literature suffered from a still graver disability, inasmuch as they were at two removes from their originals, so that their quaintly laboured productions are no better than an imitation of an imitation. Wigglesworth, Hopkinson, and Trumbull are probably bad enough, but at least they had the merit of standing closer to Dryden, Pope, and Goldsmith than did Cleveland, Stansbury, and Odell, whom on the strength of Dr. Baker's assertion Canadians must to accept as their earliest singers. The Revolution which dispeopled New England of many of its distinguished families should have operated to the advantage of the literature of Canada, but we are unfortunately not able to show for that early period any poet whose achievement measures up even to the humble standard of Freneau's work, nor have we an essayist or pamphleteer who is comparable for vigour and versatility to Benjamin Franklin.

Howe and Haliburton are the first considerable names in Canadian literature, and we cannot grudge the author, burdened as he must have been by the steady pressure of mediocrity on every side, a certain elation of spirits upon encountering them. For neither of them does he make out a better case than their period and circumstances warranted, and even at this remove of time we recognize certain marks of power in both these men. Dr. Baker is quite willing to admit that the fun has faded from everything of Haliburton's but *The Clockmaker* and the *Wise Saws*, and the claims that he makes for Howe as a *littérateur* are not extravagant. He recognized in the latter, and rightly, the great driving force of his time. Howe was master of a vehement rhetoric that was saved from emptiness by the operation of a really powerful mind on a somewhat limited political experience, and we are quite justified in thinking of him as a sort of diminished Burke, stunted of his full stature by insufficient diet.

Dr. Baker's forecast of future developments is reserved for his final paragraph, in which he appears to free Canada from its former dependence on United States models, but dissociates it likewise from all English influences:

> No one who has been in Canada during the last five or six years can have any fear for the future of the Canadian people. What their literature will be I am not rash enough to predict. Until 1867 it was American in its lack of color, its lack of imagination, and its lack of artistry. Since then it has been Canadian. To-day the Dominion, unlike the United States, possesses a perpetual frontier.

Its problems are rural rather than urban, and its literature has all the freshness and sanity of the open. Though it is essentially American, it differs in mood from the work of men born and educated in the South. The novel of Philadelphia and New York has, and can have, no counterpart in Montreal or Toronto. On the other hand, the writers of Great Britain, in spite of the increasing sympathy between the Dominion and the Mother Country and the mutual desire to work out their destiny in common, do not affect Canadian men of letters to any noticeable extent. It would be absurd to think of a Shaw or a Wells in the Maritime Provinces or Ontario.

PELHAM EDGAR

The Life and Work of Sir William VanHorne. By WALTER VAUGHAN. New York: The Century Company. 1920. Pp. xiv, 388. ($5.00.)

CANADIAN literature has hitherto been deplorably lacking in biographies of men who have made their mark outside the field of politics. Yet there is no question that their part in the making of Canada has been as indispensable, and, if it could be told, as full of interest as the oft-told tale of the politician. It was a favourite contention of VanHorne that George Stephen was a greater man and had done more for Canada than any politician of them all. This biography of VanHorne himself is the first adequate treatment of a Canadian captain of industry.

Mr. Walter Vaughan, formerly secretary of McGill University, and for some years connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway, was well qualified to undertake his present task, not only through his literary facility, but through a long friendship with Sir William. His work is to some extent based on preliminary studies by Miss Katherine Hughes and on some notes, unfortunately too brief, prepared by Sir William in his last months, and intended mainly for the eyes of his grandson.

Mr. Vaughan begins by a survey of the forces that went to VanHorne's making—his Dutch ancestry, the freedom and vigour of frontier life in Illinois of the fifties, the apprenticeship in telegraphy, geology, and poker ("not a game but an education"), and his fortunate marriage at twenty-four. His rapid rise from one railway post to another in the west and middle west is shown to have fitted him at the psychological moment for his big opportunity—the building of the Canadian Pacific. We are shown his ruthless and efficient driving of the Canadian Pacific through from lake to coast, his original and unremitting efforts to build up traffic in the lean years that followed, and his fights with the Grand Trunk and "Jim" Hill. Then, once the game is won, his interest in the Canadian Pacific falls away, and he seeks diversion in his hobbies and his private interests until Cuba offers him a second empire-building task in the operations of the Cuba company, a task nearer to VanHorne's

heart than even the building of the Canadian Pacific, because the later conception was his own.

Mr. Vaughan has brought out very clearly VanHorne's outstanding characteristics, his astounding physical vitality, his zest for work, which to him was a game, his courage and persistence and joy in a fight, and the extraordinary versatility which made him not merely a collector of Japanese pottery and of paintings, particularly of the Dutch and Spanish masters, but an authority and a practitioner in this field. His weaknesses are not concealed—the naive egotism which grew with success, and the lack of interest in public affairs except where his own or his company's business interests were concerned—but rightly the emphasis is laid on the qualities that made him a striking personality and a master of constructive achievement.

Mr. Vaughan has written a book which is very well worth the reading. It is hard to say whether it is of more interest as a personal study or as an epic of individualism, a saga of the age that now is passing, when wide frontiers and the free and open chances of an unexploited continent called forth all the initiative and the energy and the pugnacity that have marked the captains of industry of America. One is tempted to generalize upon the influence of frontier conditions in producing the buccaneering ruthlessness of the railway magnates of the last generation until we remember that it was a London and not a frontier financier who publicly declared, "We will now get all we can out of the people of Canada" (p. 207). Rarely, however, does one find more clearly exemplified than in this biography the truth of the paradox, which the socialist will not accept, that the greatest and most constructive good of the community is frequently merely a by-product of individual striving for name and fortune and a winning hand.

In this study of one of the partners in Canada's most romantic enterprise, the building of the Canadian Pacific, Mr. Vaughan has added a new dimension to the history of the time.

O. D. SKELTON

Westward with the Prince of Wales. By W. DOUGLAS NEWTON. New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1920. Pp. xii, 352.

THE tour of the Prince of Wales in Canada and the United States during the autumn of 1919 was a stirring pageant, perhaps of historic importance. Mr. Douglas Newton, special correspondent of *The Times*, who accompanied the Prince throughout, has made a very readable book of the events of the tour. Those curious in such matters may learn here how the Prince said that his hand was "done in" by much handshaking in

Toronto, how a movie-man on the Prince's platform at the Toronto Exhibition transferred the royal guest from horse to platform by pulling him in over the heads of the crowd which hindered him from dismounting and walking up the steps, of the Prince's enjoyment of crowds, and of his zest for dancing and sitting out on the stairs with bright partners, like any other healthy young man, and even may read the story (possibly apocryphal) of the Montreal maiden who boarded his motor car with an autograph album and rewarded him, perhaps sufficiently, for his signature.

Other and more significant incidents are the Labour Day demonstration at Ottawa, when the procession of trades formed themselves of their own accord into a guard of honour, lining the streets through which the Prince was to pass and keeping back the crowd, and the rebuke administered in Mr. Newton's hearing by a labour leader to a follower who was disposed to scoff at demonstrations in favour of royalty. A less acceptable mark of goodwill was the rush of the crowd at Winnipeg, with cries of "Shoulder the boy", which the police had a hard struggle to resist. To the Prince's own initiative were due the open receptions which made so favourable an impression on the mass of the people. At London, where a reception to ticket-holders alone had been arranged, the Prince, when the last of the privileged had shaken his hand, asked for the doors to be opened and the unticketed admitted as well. In the province of Quebec, the Prince's tactful use of French in his public utterances and in friendly intercourse with *habitants* on the roads unquestionably made for his popularity. The universality of the friendly interest excited by the Prince was one of the most remarkable features of the tour. The special train passed many a small town or village on its way from one centre to another, but crowds assembled, cheering and waving flags, merely to greet the train as it sped through the station. "Even during the night," says Mr. Newton, "these crowds and groups were there. As we swept along there came through the windows of our sleeping-car the ghosts of cheers. The cheer was gone in the distance as soon as it came, but to hear these cheers through the night was to be impressed by the generosity and loyalty of these people. They had stayed up late, they had even travelled far to give one cheer only. But they had thought it worth while."

The author's own observations on the country and people are judicious and thoughtful. The multitudes of children in Montreal impressed him with a sense of the potentiality of the province of Quebec in the future of Canada. He was warned when in Eastern Canada that he must not be surprised to find the West "different." It was inhabited by people "further removed from British tradition," not so easily "moved by the

impulses and enthusiasms that stirred the East". And when he reached the West men congratulated him on having left the "cold and rigid East" where the people were "removed from the British tradition". The vast distances and provincial self-sufficiency supply, he thinks, the explanation of the mutual misconception.

H. H. LANGTON

The Right Track: Compulsory Education in the Province of Quebec. By I. O. VINCENT. With an introduction by Professor J. A. DALE. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. [1920.] Pp. 223. ($1.50.)

AN interesting contribution to the history of education in Canada is this little work by the late Principal Irving O. Vincent, a Protestant teacher of Montreal, whose untimely death last year deprived his native province of an earnest and capable educationist. The author relates the story of the campaign for compulsory education in Quebec by leaders of public opinion in the legislature and outside of it. The agitation owes its origin and development to enlightened persons of both races, both religions, and both political parties. Although compulsory attendance is generally upheld in advanced modern communities as essential to the welfare of the state and the progress of the schools, it would be an error to suppose that the opposition to such a law in Quebec is without a basis that appeals to honest minds. The Quebec school system is peculiar to that province. The Catholic majority has dealt tolerantly and fairly with the Protestant school system. The Protestants are naturally loath to interfere with that branch of the system which is not theirs. The harmony which prevails is a good augury. When the leaders of Catholic opinion are convinced that their fears of state lordship over and interference with religious teaching and the rights of parents are groundless, should proper precautions be taken, the whole community will move forward in unity toward a reform which will undoubtedly give a new impetus to the schools. Mr. Vincent wrote with moderation and without narrow bias. The introduction by Professor Dale, now of the University of Toronto and formerly of McGill, is also marked by a wise tolerance and admirable grasp of principles. The leaders of the Liberal party of Quebec, such as M. Mercier, M. Marchand, Sir Lomer Gouin, Senator Dandurand, and Senator David have all been foremost in behalf of educational reforms. Some Conservatives have similarly distinguished themselves. Among Protestants who have at one time or another been in political life, Dr Finnie, Judge Hackett, and others have handled with tact and vigour a question that is difficult for them. The record has been diligently compiled and is, on the whole, a good example of the restraint which should characterize discussions of educational policy.

The Evolution of Parliament. By A. F. POLLARD. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1920. Pp. vii, 398. (21 sh.)

PROFESSOR POLLARD'S new book is the most brilliant study yet written of those parliamentary institutions which Canada has inherited and developed. At a time when grave questions are being asked about "group government", representation, the referendum, liberty, and sovereignty, Professor Pollard's work is timely. Fascinating as a romance, the story of the British Parliament is unfolded, and all the many unhistorical positions which have unfortunately been incorporated in too many text-books are brought face to face with sound and judicial research. Those who write or talk glibly of "the hereditary peerage", of "the three estates", of "the separation of powers", will find many a time-honoured tradition here dissolved.

It is, however, the last chapter of the book, entitled "The British Realms in Parliament", in which Canadians will be most interested. Here Professor Pollard considers whether Parliament will be the means of finding a solution of the problem of Empire.

His approach is careful. He visualizes the Empire as a group of states in which the idea of Empire can never become concrete in uniformity. Indeed, he deplores the use of the word "Empire", because of its associations, for realms "governed by consent, liberty, heterogeneity". The last three factors are essentials, and will always rule out of court any changes which might be made in the direction of an "Imperial Sovereign state". Seeing the problem as it presents itself to-day mainly in connection with the self-governing Dominions, Professor Pollard would make use of common ground in order to advance. From the point of view of England, he would begin with the "moribund" House of Lords, and the rest of the chapter is occupied in dealing with the enquiry whether the House of Lords might not be reconstructed in the interests of the whole British Commonwealth. First of all, heredity and primogeniture would go. But how—seeing that "second chambers are the political failure of the British Empire"—to construct? Chiefly on the fundamental idea of the Senate of the United States—one "single second chamber", with a differential basis from the many first chambers in the Empire. This single second chamber "would have a differential work as well as a differential foundation" from the popularly elected Houses of Commons: its work would be that dealing with imperial questions. Professor Pollard thinks that in such a chamber, drawn from representing "states" in the Empire, there would be independence and impartiality. Finance would not come within its reference. It would merely draw up a statement of the financial needs of the Empire, and the several first chanmbers would control grants, assessments, incidents,

and collections. Greater difficulties appear when Professor Pollard is faced with executive authority. He disarms criticism at once by pointing out the present absurdity of a British Cabinet, responsible to a British Parliament, possessing legally and constitutionally the final word in Empire affairs of the most vital importance. He suggests a single imperial executive "for imperial purposes responsible to the single imperial chamber, with a series of domestic executives for each self-governing realm responsible to their respective domestic legislatures". This imperial executive would, in the final analysis, be responsible to the peoples of the Dominions (which are to include Great Britain and Ireland), since they would be responsible to a single imperial chamber, elected, appointed, or nominated by the Dominions. Professor Pollard prefers appointment similar to that which obtains in connection with the agents-general. Nor is Professor Pollard without faith in the possibility of defining the sphere of his new body. He has studied the Canadian constitution, and he believes that if good-will, faith, and a belief in judicial honesty have succeeded in Canada they can succeed elsewhere.

Finally, Professor Pollard utters a note of warning. He sees clearly that there is no use attempting to frighten the British peoples "into political upheavals by logical dilemmas". He does not believe that the British realms are in a "parlous condition". Historians do not propound such dilemmas as are abroad among "some of our modern imperialists". The Empire "will not split into fragments because its parts decline to fuse." "The partnership is not perfect; but it is none the less real because its terms have not been stated in a written constitution."

The chapter is interesting because of its modesty, its sanity, and its balance. Whether Professor Pollard's scheme would work, only experience could tell. Be that as it may, Canadians will welcome his proposal as coming from the greatest living English constitutional historian, and because there runs throughout it a fundamental conception—the belief that no scheme can successfully anticipate the development of political thinking: "If the peoples of the British realms want a united Empire with a common government, they will get it and will work for it, whatever the defects of its constitution. If they do not, no constitutional machinery, however artistic its construction, will attract them." *O, si sic omnes!*

W. P. M. KENNEDY

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

HALL, H. DUNCAN. *The British Commonwealth of Nations: A Study of its Past and Future Development.* London: Methuen & Co. 1920. Pp. xviii, 393.

To be reviewed later.

HUGHES, EDWARD A. *Britain and Greater Britain in the Nineteenth Century.* Cambridge: At the University Press. 1920. Pp. 295. (6 sh.)

A sketch of the history of the British Empire during the past century, in two parts, (1) "Great Britain and Ireland," and (2) "The British Empire." In the latter part a chapter of 23 pages is devoted to Canada.

KERR, P. H. and A. C. *The Growth of the British Empire.* New impression. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1919. Pp. viii, 204. (3 sh.)

Contains two brief chapters on Canada, one entitled "The Expansion of Canada," and the other "The Federation of Canada."

POLLARD, A. F. *The Evolution of Parliament.* London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1920. Pp. vii, 398. (21 sh.)

Reviewed on page 89.

RANEY, Hon. W. E. *Nations Within the Empire* (Canadian Magazine, February, 1921, pp. 291-295).

An address delivered before the Canadian Bar Association by the attorney-general of Ontario, in which the abolition of Canadian appeals to the judicial committee of the Privy Council was advocated.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(2) General History

BOLTON, HERBERT E, and MARSHALL, THOMAS M. *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783.* New York: The Macmillan Co. 1920. ($4.25.)

A text-book.

CHARBONNEAU, JEAN. *Des Influences françaises au Canada.* Three vols. Montreal: Beauchemin. 1916-1920. Pp. 226; 375; 318. ($3.15.)

Reviewed on page 77.

FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *Nos archives* (L'Action Française, janvier, 1921, pp. 42-47).

A brief account of the various archives collections in Canada, especially that of the province of Quebec.

GAGNON, PHILÉAS. *Nos anciennes cours d'appel* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1920, pp. 342-350; décembre, 1920, pp. 364-375).

A most interesting and valuable essay on the administration of justice in Canada during both the French and the English régimes.

HASSARD, ALBERT R. *Great Canadian Orators: xii.—Sir George Ross* (Canadian Magazine, December, 1920, pp. 170-172).

A slight sketch.

SMITH, W. *The History of the Post Office in British North America, 1639-1870.* London: Cambridge University Press. 1920. (21 sh.)

To be reviewed later.

(2) The History of New France

ALVORD, CLARENCE W. *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818.* (Centennial History of Illinois, vol. I.) Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 1920. Pp. xx, 524.

To be reviewed later.

DE LA RONCIÈRE, CHARLES. *Histoire de la marine française.* Tome V: *La Guerre de trente ans: Colbert.* Paris; Librairie Plan. 1920. Pp. 748. (40 fr.)

Reviewed on page 74.

DESROSIERS, l'abbé ADELARD. *Notes historiques sur Lanoraie* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1920, pp. 337-341).

A chapter on the local history of a parish on the St. Lawrence river.

FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *Le chevalier de la Corne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1920, p. 352).

An important note on the confusion which has apparently arisen among historians between the chevalier de la Corne and his brother, Lacorne St. Luc.

—— —— *Les Rouer de Villeray* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1920, pp. 296-299).

An addendum to the genealogy of the family of Rouer de Villeray, recently published by Mr. P. G. Roy.

GALBREATH, C. B. *The Expedition of Celoron* (Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, October, 1920, pp. 331-334).

A note on the French expedition under Celoron which took possession of the Ohio country in 1749; prefatory to the reproduction of a number of documents relating to the expedition.

GOSSELIN, l'abbé AMÉDÉE. *Fondeurs de cloches au Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1920, pp. 334-336).

A brief paper demonstrating that the art of casting bells was practised in Canada during the French régime.

GROU, Père ARMAND. *Les origines de la paroisse de Saint-Laurent dans l'Ile de Montréal* (Revue Canadienne, décembre, 1920, pp. 721-737).

An essay in French-Canadian local history, especially full on the ecclesiastical side.

HARRIS, Very Rev. R. W. *The Cross-Bearers of the Saguenay.* London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1920. Pp. 202. ($2.00.)

Reviewed on page 79.

LAMBING, Rev. A. A. *Celoron's Journal* (Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, October, 1920, pp. 335-396).

A translation of the journal of Celoron describing his expedition down the Ohio in 1749, now reproduced from the *Catholic Historical Researches* for 1886, a very rare publication where it first appeared.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Un testament du docteur Sarrazin* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1920, pp. 317-320).

A document relating to Michel Sarrazin, a *Médecin du roi* in Canada under the French régime.

—— —— *Nouvelles notes sur la foi et hommage* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1920, pp. 300-303).

Notes on a dozen or more *actes de foi et hommage* preserved in the archives of the Palace of Justice at Montreal.

METZGER, CHARLES H. *Sebastien Louis Meurin* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, January, 1921, pp. 241-259).

An account, based on research, of the life of a Jesuit missionary who began to labour among the Indians of the Illinois district in 1742.

ROY, P. G. *A-t-on calomnié M. de la Jonquiere?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1920, pp. 289-295).

A defence of La Jonquière against the charge made against him, by Montcalm in his *Journal*, that he was a miser.

—— —— *Ce que le gouverneur de Callières pensait de nos officiers militaires en 1701* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1920, pp. 321-333).

Notes on the military officers serving in Canada in 1701, extracted from a report made in that year by the governor of New France to the king's minister.

—— —— *Les deux capitaines de Saint-Martin* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1920, pp. 353-358).

Biographical details concerning two officers of the name Saint-Martin, the first of whom served in Canada between 1684 and 1722, the second of whom makes his appearance about 1750, and was killed at Ste. Foy in 1760.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Nos origines* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1920, pp. 304-306).

Lists of the names of unidentified girls married in Canada between 1638 and 1656, with the dates of their marriage and their places of origin.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

BAKER, RAY PALMER. *A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1920. Pp. x, 200. ($2.50.)

Reviewed on page 83.

BURRAGE, HENRY S. *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy.* Published by the State Librarian. 1919. Pp. xiv, 398. ($3.50.)

A contribution to the history of the Maine boundary dispute, in which the Maine archives have been used by the author.

CHAPAIS, THOMAS. *Les Quatre-vingt-douze Résolutions* (Canada Français, décembre, 1920, pp. 220-239; janvier, 1921, pp. 273-283).

An admirable critical account of the events which preceded the passing of the Ninety-Two Resolutions in Lower Canada in 1834, an analysis of the platform which the Resolutions embodied, and an account of the debate which they provoked.

FAUTEUX, AEGIDIUS. *Jocelyn Waller* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1920, pp. 307-310).

An account of an English journalist of Montreal who, between 1820 and 1830, took the side of the French *patriotes*. The greater part of the paper is taken up with a reprint of rare hand-bill about Waller, circulated after his death, and probably written by A. N. Morin.

JONES, E. ALFRED. *The History of a Picture* (Canadian Magazine, December, 1920, pp. 106-112).

A critical account of the history of Benjamin West's famous painting, "The Death of Wolfe."

KELLOGG, LOUISE P. *The Perrault Papers* (The Wisconsin Magazine of History, December, 1920, pp. 233-235).

An account of a group of letters and papers, dating from the period immediately following the rebellion of 1837, which belonged originally to Louis Perrault, one of the French-Canadian exiles, and which have now come into possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Among Perrault's correspondents were E. B. O'Callaghan and Ludger Duvernay.

LACASSE, Z., O.M.I. *Une Mine de Souvenirs.* [St. Boniface. 1920.] Pp. 180.

The early recollections of a French-Canadian priest of over seventy years of age.

MCDONALD, Judge HERBERT S. *Memoir of Colonel Joel Stone, a United Empire Loyalist, and the Founder of Gananoque* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 59-90).

A detailed study of the life of one of the leading United Loyalists who settled on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River above Montreal. It is based on a narrative written by Joel Stone himself—from which, unfortunately, only extracts are quoted—and on old family letters, as well as on independent research.

RIDDELL, Hon. WILLIAM RENWICK. *A Trial for High Treason in 1838* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 50-58).

An account, based on original research, of the trial of a number of suspected rebels at a special assize held after the rebellion of 1837.

SPENCER, Rev. Canon P.L. *Ship and Shanty in the Early Fifties* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 25-31).

Reminiscences of the author's arrival in Canada in 1853, and his early experiences in Canada West in the following years.

STURGIS, WILLIAM. *The Northwest Fur Trade and The Indians of the Oregon Country, 1788-1830.* (Old South Leaflets, edited by S. E. MORISON: No. 219.) Boston: The Old South Association. 1920. Pp. 20. (5c.)

A reprint of "parts of two lectures on the North-west Fur Trade and the Indians of Oregon Country delivered in 1846 by William Sturgis, who had been actively engaged in the North-west Fur Trade since 1798; and extracts from his journal on his first voyage, written before he was eighteen years old."

VAILLANCOURT, EMILE. *Une Maîtrise d'Art en Canada (1800-1823).* Avec une préface par E.-Z. MASSICOTTE. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1920. Pp. 112; gravures.

Reviewed on page 82.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

[ANONYMOUS.] *The Agrarian Movement in Canada* (Quarterly Review, January, 1921, pp. 84-101).

A frank and hostile discussion of the farmers' movement in politics in Canada.

AUCLAIR, L'abbé ELIE-J. *Le discours d'un Cartier au fêtes de Cartier* (Revue Canadienne, janvier, 1921, pp. 51-59).

An account of the speech delivered by M. Louis-Joseph Cartier at the celebration held in honour of Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier on September 28, 1919, at the village of Saint-Antoine, in Quebec.

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT.] *Canada's Work for Disabled Soldiers.* Ottawa: Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment. [1920.] Pp. 149; illustrations. (Gratis.)

An account of the work of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, compiled by the heads of the various branches of the department.

MACNAUGHTON S. *My Canadian Memories.* London: Chapman and Hall. 1920. Pp. 270. (12 sh. 6d.)

An account of a visit paid to Canada by the author before the war.

NEWTON, W. DOUGLAS. *Westward with the Prince of Wales.* New York and London: D. Appleton and Co. Toronto: George J. McLeod. 1920. Pp. xii, 352. ($2.50.)

Reviewed on page 86.

PORRITT, EDWARD. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Quarterly Review, January, 1921, pp. 21-35).

An interesting and sympathetic survey of the life and work of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

SEGSWORTH, WALTER E. *Retraining Canada's Disabled Soldiers.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1920. Pp. 193. (Gratis.)

A valuable account of the work of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment in the industrial rehabilitation of disabled soldiers. It is supplemented by an excellent selected bibliography.

VAUGHAN, WALTER. *The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne.* New York: The Century Co. 1920. Pp. xiv, 388. ($5.00.)

Reviewed on page 85.

WILLISON, Sir JOHN. *From Month to Month* (Canadian Magazine, February, 1921, pp. 353-360).

A monthly *causerie* on current affairs, in which is included, in the number under review, an account of the boundary dispute between Canada and Newfoundland over the Quebec Labrador.

(5) The History of the Great War

DUTHIE, WILLIAM SMITH and FOSTER, CHARLES LYONS (eds.). *Letters from the Front: Being a Record of the Part Played by Officers of the Bank in the Great War, 1914-1919.* Vol. 1. [Toronto: Canadian Bank of Commerce. 1920.] Pp. clix, 344. (For private circulation.)

A memorial volume published by the Canadian Bank of Commerce to commemorate the part played by those of the officers of the bank who saw service in the war. The volume contains, besides copious extracts from letters, photographs of those who died and those who were decorated.

EDMONDS, W. EVERARD. *Canada's Red Army* (Canadian Magazine, February, 1921, pp. 340-342).

A brief account of the part played by the Indians of Canada in the Great War.

GUNN, Lieut.-Colonel J. N., and DUTTON, Staff-Sergt. E. E. *Historical Records of No. 8 Canadian Field Ambulance: Canada, England, France, Belgium, 1915-1919.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1920. Pp. xiii, 169; illustrations.

The history of a Canadian medical unit during the war; well planned and well written.

KAY, HUGH R., MAGEE, GEORGE, and MACLENNAN, F.A. *Battery Action! The Story of the 43rd Battery, C.F.A.* With sketches by JAMES FRISE. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter. [1920.] Pp. 305. ($3.25.)

A battery history to which attaches an unusual degree of interest. Begun by one author, who was killed, it was taken up by a second, who was also killed, and it has been completed by a third who has survived. For the greater part it is written from the standpoint of the private soldier.

SHELDON-WILLIAMS, INGLIS and RALF F.L. *The Canadian Front in France and Flanders.* London: A. and C. Black. 1920. Pp. xiv, 208; illustrations. (25 sh.)

To be reviewed later.

WILLSON, Lieut.-Col. BECKLES. *Ypres: The Holy Ground of British Arms.* London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd. 1920. Pp. xiii, 83; illustrations. (3 sh.)

A guide-book which contains a succinct and accurate account of the Canadian fighting near Ypres during the war—especially of the engagements of Sanctuary Wood, St. Julien, and Passchendaele.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Maritime Provinces

ALBERT, abbé THOMAS. *Histoire du Madawaska.* D'après les recherches historiques de PATRICK THERRIAULT, et les notes manuscrites de PRUDENT L. MERCURE. Québec: Imprimerie Françiscaine Missionaire. 1920. Pp. xxiii, 448. ($2.50.)

Reviewed on page 81.

BIRKENHEAD, the Right Hon. Lord. *The Story of Newfoundland.* New and Enlarged Edition. London: Horace Marshall & Son. 1920. Pp. 192. (5 sh.)

A second and revised edition of a book on the history of Newfoundland, published over twenty years ago by the author in a series known as "The Story of the Empire Series."

CABOT, WILLIAM B. *Labrador.* Boston: Small, Maynard & Company. [1920.] Pp. xiii, 354; illustrations.

A book of travel and description, based on an acquaintance with Labrador and its Indians extending over twenty years. "The larger part of the material presented in this book was issued in my 'Northern Labrador,' and is here given in revised and amplified form."

EATON, A. W. H. *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia.* No. XVI: *The Great Tragedy of 1917* (Americana, vol. xv, no. 1, pp. 38-53).

An account of the disastrous explosion in Halifax harbour on December 6, 1917.

DUBOIS, l'abbé EMILE. *Chez nos frères les Acadiens: Notes d'histoire et impressions de voyage.* Montréal: Bibliothèque de L'Action française. 1920. Pp. 176. (75c.)

A little book embodying the results of a month's visit to the "land of Evangeline." The aim of the author is described in the preface as being the awakening of "a healthy historical curiosity," especially among the young.

MACMECHAN, ARCHIBALD. *The Log of a Halifax Privateer.* (Nova Scotia Chap-Books, No. 6.) Halifax: H. H. Marshall. 1920. Pp. 21.

A paper which appeared originally in *Acadiensis,* in July, 1902, and which has now been revised and added to by the author.

ROUILLARD, E. *A Travers le Nouveau-Brunswick* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Décembre, 1920, pp. 275-292).

A study of place-names in New Brunswick.

WALDO, FULLERTON L. *With Grenfell on The Labrador.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. [1920.] Pp. 189; illustrations. ($1.50.)

A vivacious account of Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell and his work on the Labrador coast, written by an American journalist.

(2) The Province of Quebec

FOISY, ALBERT. *Le Commandeur Alphonse Desjardins* (Le Canada Français, janvier, 1921, pp. 284-300).

An account of the life of the founder of the "Caisses Populaires" in the province of Quebec.

ROY, RÉGIS. *Migeon de Bransat* (Bulletin de recherches historiques, octobre, 1920, pp. 313-316).

A genealogical study of an early inhabitant of Montreal.

(3) The Province of Ontario

CADOT, Rev. J. C., S. J. *Bruce County and Work among the Indians* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 21-24).

A paper, containing miscellaneous matter, written by a Jesuit missionary working among the Indians of Bruce County.

CLARK, J. MURRAY. *The Municipal Loan Fund in Upper Canada* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 44-49).

An interesting and important chapter in the financial history of Upper Canada.

EAMES, FRANK. *Pioneer Schools of Upper Canada* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 91-103).

Notes, derived mainly from printed sources, regarding the beginnings of education in Upper Canada.

HAMMILL, J. D. *Early History of Meaford and its District* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 42-43).

Local details.

HARTMAN, C. W. *Early History of the Beaver Valley* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 37-41).

Notes on the history of part of Grey County, Ontario.

KILBOURN, J. M. *Reminiscences of the First Settlers of Owen Sound* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 7-9).

Local history of a distinctly parochial character.

REVILLE, F. DOUGLAS. *History of the County of Brant.* Published under the auspices of the Brant Historical Society. Brantford: Hurley Printing Co. 1920. Pp. 385.

A voluminous history of the County of Brant in Ontario containing much biographical and other local material.

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *The Information Ex-Officio in Upper Canada* (Canadian Law Times, January, 1921, pp. 4-11).

A note on an obsolete feature of early Upper Canadian criminal law.

———————— *The Sad Tale of an Indian Wife* (Canadian Law Times, December, 1920, pp. 983-992).

An account of a curious and interesting case in Upper Canadian legal history connected with the forfeiture of lands by disloyal subjects of the Crown during the War of 1812-14.

RUTHERFORD, JAMES H. *Early Navigation on the Georgian Bay* (Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. xviii, 1920, pp. 14-20).

Mainly an account of steam navigation in the Georgian Bay.

(4) The Western Provinces

JUDSON, KATHARINE BERRY. *The Hudson's Bay Company and the Pacific Northwest* (Century Magazine, December, 1920, pp. 197-209, illustrations).

A popular account, based on original materials, of the work of the Hudson's Bay Company in old Oregon.

WADE, F. C. *British Columbia* (United Empire, January, 1921, pp. 63-65).

A graphic summary of the resources of British Columbia.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

ALCOCK, F. J. *The Origin of Lake Athabasca* (Geographical Review, December, 1920, pp. 400-407).

A geological inquiry.

BIGGAR, E. B. *Hydro-Electric Development in Ontario: A History of Water-Power Administration under the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario.* Toronto: The Biggar Press, Ltd. [1920.] Pp. 202.

An excellent account of the history of "the largest generator and distributor of electric energy in existence."

[CANADA: DEPARTMENRT OF LABOUR.] *Labour Legislation in Canada for the Calendar Year 1919.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1920. Pp. 181 (Gratis.)

The annual survey of labour legislation, both federal and provincial, in Canada during 1919, with an admirable cumulative index which goes back to the annual survey of 1915.

CANADA: DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS. *The Canada Year Book, 1919.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1920. Pp. xvi, 697.

The official statistical annual of the Dominion of Canada for 1919, dealing with area and population, education, climate, production, trade and commerce, transportation and communications, finance, administration, and legislation. It includes also a special article by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank on the "History of the Great War, 1914-1918;" and one by Mr. Wyatt Malcolm, of the Department of Mines, Ottawa, on the "Physical Characteristics of Canada."

FISK, HARVEY E. *The Dominion of Canada.* New York; Bankers Trust Company. 1920. Pp. 174. (Gratis.)

An account of Canada, published by the Bankers Trust Company of New York, which aims at familiarizing the business men of the United States with Canada's "growth and achievement; its relation to the British Empire; its form of government; its natural and developed resources; its home and foreign trade; its national finances; its banking and currency system; and its railroads and its shipping." The most valuable parts of the book are the statistical chapters.

FRASER, THOMAS M. *The Budget System in Canada* (Political Science Quarterly, December, 1920, pp. 621-636).

An account of the working of the Canadian budget system, intended mainly for American readers.

KINDLE, E. M. *Arrival and Departure of Winter Conditions in the Mackenzie River Basin* (Geographical Review, December, 1920, pp. 388-399).

A study, by a member of the Geological Survey of Canada, of the climatology of the Mackenzie Valley in North-western Canada.

——————— *Mackenzie River Driftwood* (Geographical Review, January, 1921, pp. 50-53).

A discussion of the source of driftwood found along the Arctic coast of America.

LETOURNEAU, FIRMIN. *Les pêcheries de la Gaspésie* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, Novembre-Décembre, 1920, pp. 293-295).

A brief study, by an Oka professor, of the fisheries of Gaspé.

LOW, FLORENCE B. *Openings for British Women in Canada.* London: William Stevens. [1920.] Pp. 96. (2 sh.)

A little book intended to "give British women some idea of the immense field open to them in Canada, and of the means whereby they may take possession of it."

MCLEISH, JOHN. *The Production of Iron and Steel in Canada during the Calendar Year, 1919.* (Canada: Department of Mines, Mines Branch.) Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1920. Pp. 45.

A statistical abstract by the chief of the Division of Mineral Resources and Statistics.

MASSEY, ALICE VINCENT. *Occupations for Trained Women in Canada.* London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1920. Pp. 94. (4sh. 6d.)

An admirable little handbook which aims at answering the questions, "first, what occupations in Canada are open to trained women; secondly, what provisions exist for their training?"

MEURIOT, P. M. G. *L'industrie manufacturière au Canada et spécialment la grande industrie d'après les recensements de 1910 et de 1915* (Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris, October, 1919, pp. 313-317).

A brief study of Canadian manufacturing.

MONTPETIT, EDOUARD. *L'Indépendance économique des Canadiens français* (L'Action Française, janvier, 1921, pp. 4-21).

A discussion of the economic future of French Canada.

MORRIS, KEITH. *The Story of the Canadian Pacific Railway.* London: William Stevens. 1920. Pp. 128. (1 sh.)

A popular account of the building and development of Canada's first transcontinental railway.

PALMER, HOWARD. *Topography of the Gold Range and Northern Selkirks, British Columbia* (Geographical Journal, January, 1921, pp. 21-28).

A paper which aims "to report briefly the results of a month's reconnaissance" of the valley of the Columbia River north of Revelstoke, British Columbia, as well as of the outlying foothills of the Selkirks, which border it on the east, and of the Gold Range which borders it on the west.

REID, the Hon. J. D. *Transport Facilities in Canada* (United Empire, December, 1920, pp. 663-666).

A paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute by the Canadian minister of railways and canals.

ROBERT, ERNEST. *Voyages au Canada Français et aux Provinces Maritimes: Le Canada et la Guerre.* Genève; Edition Atar. 1919. Pp. 224. (5 fr.)

An account of a visit paid by the author to Canada before the war, now published to serve either as a guide-book for intending visitors or as a means of familiarizing the French public with French Canada.

STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT, BOARD OF TRADE. *Statistical Abstract for the several British Overseas Dominions and Protectorates in each Year from 1903 to 1917.* Fifty-fourth number. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1920. Pp. 485. (3s. 6d.)

A British blue-book containing a summary of Canadian statistics from 1903 to 1917 which will be found useful by students of Canadian economics.

V. ECCLESTICAL, AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

ADAM, abbé LEONIDAS. *L'histoire religieuse des Cantons de l'Est* (Revue Canadienne, janvier, 1921, pp. 19-34).

A sketch of the work of the Roman Catholic Church in the Eastern Townships.

BIDWELL, Right Rev. EDWARD J. *The Church of England in Canada and Reunion* (Hibbert Journal, July, 1920, pp. 729-736).

A discussion of church union in Canada, by the Anglican Bishop of Ontario.

CHARTIER, le chanoine ÉMILE. *Le Canada français: L'Enseignement libre et chrétien* (Revue Canadienne, janvier, 1921, pp. 7-18).

A sketch of the history of education in French Canada.

GROULX, abbé LIONEL. *Veillons sur notre histoire* (L'Action Française, novembre, 1920, pp. 515-520).

A warning, by a French-Canadian Nationalist, against a revision of the history text-books of the province of Quebec.

LENHART, JOHN M., O.M. Cap. *The Church of Canada after the British Conquest (1760-1775)* (Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, June, 1920, pp. 162-173).

A study of the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the province of Quebec during the first years of British rule. The article is in part a review of the late Abbé Auguste Gosselin's *L'Eglise du Canada après la Conquête*, but it is apparently based also on independent study, and is written in a somewhat critical vein.

MAURAULT, OLIVIER. *Notre-Dame de Montréal* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, September, 1920, pp. 240-252).

A detailed study, embodying much research, of the history of the church of Notre Dame in Montreal.

VINCENT, I. O. *The Right Track: Compulsory Education in the Province of Quebec.* With an introduction by Prof. J. A. DALE. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. [1920.] Pp. 223. ($1.50.)

Reviewed on page 88.

VI. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND FOLK-LORE

(*Contributed by D. Jenness.*)

ANDERSON, Lieut.-Col. W. P. *Micmac Place-Names.* Geographic Board of Canada. 1919. Pp. 116.

A study of Indian place-nomenclature in the Maritime Provinces.

BOAS, F. *The Social Organization of the Kwakiutl* (American Anthropologist, April-June, 1920, pp. 111-126).

A supplement to the author's treatise on the social organization and secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, published by the U.S. National Museum in 1897. Dr. Boas shows that the west coast tribes were not nearly so isolated and distinct as was once supposed, but have reacted on one another both in language and culture. In particular he shows that the Kwakiutl and the Coast Salish tribes are closely related in the matter of social organization.

CADZOW, DONALD A. *Native Copper Objects of the Copper Eskimo* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, vol. ii, no. 5, 1920, pp. 1-22).

An interesting account of a genuine native industry.

GASCOIGNE, MARGARET. *Chansons of Old French Canada.* Québec: Château Frontenac. [1920.] Pp. 31.

In this booklet the author has harmonized a few of the more familiar folk-songs of French Canada. Very wisely she has been careful not to drown the original melodies. By using script instead of printed characters, and adding quaint illustrations in three-colour line drawing, she has succeeded in making her work very attractive.

GEERS, G. J. *The Adverbial and Prepositional Prefixes in Blackfoot.* Leiden. 1917 Pp. 130.

This is an analysis, by one of the few European students of American languages, of some of the fundamental features in the structure of the Blackfoot dialect of Algonkian. Like many other Indian languages Algonkian presents a peculiar difficulty to the philologist because the ordinary grammatical categories with which we are familiar—differentiation into nouns, adjectives, adverbs, distinctions of gender, number and case, etc.—are often inapplicable. It is hard to decide, for instance, in Blackfoot, whether certain elements are to be regarded as adverbial prefixes or as initial verb stems, yet our whole perspective of the history of Algonkian and its relationship to other linguistic stocks depends on the solution of this and similar problems. Dr. Geers, who bases his study on the texts of Professor Uhlenbeck, frankly adopts an attitude suggested by his Indo-European studies, therein joining issue with some American philologists. His treatise, however, is rather a catalogue of these so-called prefixes in Blackfoot than an investigation of their character.

LOWIE, E. H. *Primitive Society.* New York: Boni and Liveright. Pp. 463.

A highly serviceable introduction to the general and comparative study of social organization in primitive levels. Its chief value consists in its being a competent and up-to-date presentation of the anti-evolutionary viewpoint which has gradually come to be typical of present-day students of social science. In other words, the phenomena of intertribal influence and the independent development of superficially similar institutions in utterly distinct ways are stressed in opposition to the more mechanical evolutionary standpoint of the classical anthropologists. The book is of particular interest to Canadians because of its frequent reference to the aborigines of the Dominion.

ORR, Dr. R. B. *Thirty-First Annual Archaeological Report, being part of Appendix to the Report of the Ministry of Education, Ontario.* Toronto. 1919. Pp. 120.

PECK, Rev. E. J. *Eskimo Grammar.* Geographic Board of Canada. 1919. Pp. 92.

A grammatical sketch of the dialect of the Little Whale River Eskimos on the eastern shore of Hudson Bay. As it was intended mainly for missionaries, the ordinary English alphabet has been used without diacritical marks of any kind to indicate the real pronunciation. Philologically, therefore, the work is of little value. On the other hand, Dr. Peck's thorough familiarity with the language and his clear presentation of its fundamental grammatical features make his sketch an excellent handbook for the lay student.

PRUD'HOMME, L. A. *Carmel, une légende de la tribu des Cris* (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XIII, 1920, Section I, pp. 95-100).

A folk-tale or romance illustrating Cree life and manners.

SAPIR, E. *Nass River Terms of Relationship* (American Anthropologist, July-September, 1920, pp. 261-271).

A paper indicating, what later researches confirm, that the Nass River Indians must have intermarried with and been deeply influenced by the Haida.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Penobscot Shamanism* (Memoir of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. VI, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1919, pp. 238-288).

A discussion of some of the more fundamental features in the now obsolete shamanism of the north-eastern Indians, including not only the Penobscot, but their neighbours the Micmac, Malecite, and Abenaki of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

SKINNER, ALANSON. *Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa and Wahpeton Dakota, with Notes on the Ceremony among the Ponca, Bungi, Ojibwa and Potawatomi* (New York, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. IV, 1920, pp. 357).

The religious life of many Algonkian and Siouan tribes centred in the Midewin or Medicine Lodge, a secret society, with usually four grades of members, the avowed purpose of which was the prolongation of human life and the disposition of the souls of the dead in their proper abode. The society may possibly have originated with the Ojibwa Indians of Canada, but in the present volume Mr. Skinner has confined himself to the surrounding tribes. His detailed descriptions and analyses of the ceremonies should prove a valuable contribution towards a final history of the society, whenever that comes to be written.

—— —— *The Pre-Iroquoian Algonkian Indians of Central and Western New York* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. II, No. 1, 1919, pp. 37).

—— —— *An Antique Tobacco Pouch of the Iroquois* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. II, No. 4, 1920, pp. 107-8).

—— —— *A Native Copper Celt from Ontario* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. II, No. 4, 1920, pp. 6).

—— —— *Two Antler Spoons from Ontario* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. II, No. 4, 1920, pp. 6).

—— —— *An Iroquois Antler Figurine* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. II, No. 5, 1920, pp. 113-4).

These five monographs are for the most part descriptions of Iroquoian archaeological specimens acquired by the Heye Museum.

TREMBLAY, JULES. *La Vente de la Poule Noire* (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XIII, 1920, Section I, pp. 87-94).

An amusing folk-tale about an aspirant to the black art.

Veillées du Bon Vieux Temps à la Bibliothèque St. Sulpice à Montréal, les 18 mars et 24 avril, 1919. Montréal. 1920. Pp. 102.

This booklet claims to be nothing more than the complete programme, with music, texts, and illustrations, of two folk-lore entertainments organized by Messrs C. M. Barbeau and Z. Massicotte in Montreal in the spring of 1919. The authors, however, have so far exceeded the limits of an ordinary programme as to produce a real introductory text-book of the folk-lore, folk-music, and antiquities of French Canada.

WATERMAN, T. T., and COFFIN, GERALDINE. *Types of Canoes on Puget Sound* (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 43).

This monograph describes and illustrates some of the rapidly disappearing types of west coast canoes that have never been fully studied. It should be combined with Mr. F. W. Waugh's article on Canadian Canoes (Ottawa Field-Naturalist, Vol. XXXIII, May, 1919) to obtain a summary account of the various types of water-craft that were employed by the aborigines of Canada.

WINTEMBERG, W. J. *Lord Lovel and Lady Nancy: a Traditional Ballad* (Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XIII, 1920, Section II, pp. 19-36).

A paper discussing the variants in England and America of one of the best-known Canadian ballads, tracing its underlying *motif* through European and Asiatic folk-lore.

The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. II. TORONTO, JUNE, 1921 No. 2

NOTES AND COMMENTS

IT is seldom that one finds in the pages of Hansard an historical essay; but the speech delivered by Sir Robert Borden in the Canadian House of Commons on April 21, 1921, on the subject of "Canadian Representation in the United States", contained so much careful historical research into some of the phases of Canadian constitutional growth since Confederation that it easily falls within this description. Taking advantage, during the debate on supply, of an item in the estimates for a Canadian representative in the United States, Sir Robert Borden seized the opportunity to view the history of Canada's relations with the Mother Country since Confederation, so far as the subjects of diplomatic representation and the negotiation of commercial treaties are concerned. He illuminated his survey of the subject with copious references to state-papers and previous parliamentary debates—references that must have necessitated a very wide range of reading in the source-material of the subject; and he placed on the pages of Hansard, as a result, an account of one phase of the recent consitutional history of Canada which is perhaps fuller and more exhaustive than anything hitherto published. Of particular interest is the account given of the debate on the subject of Canadian representation at Washington in the Canadian House of Commons in 1892, and the objections raised to the idea at that time—objections which, Sir Robert Borden contends, are met by the proposal now approved by both the British government and the Canadian parliament.

A week later, on April 27, Sir Robert Borden again touched on the subject of imperial relations in the debate on the forthcoming Imperial Conference. On this occasion he devoted his attention mainly to the history of inter-imperial consultation. His account of this was comparatively slight; but as an estimate of the position which Canada now occupies in the Empire, by a statesman who has been largely instrumental in obtaining for Canada the recognition of her new status, the speech should be of great interest and value to students of Canadian history.

We have had occasion before to refer to the amount of work being done in Canadian history in the universities of the United States. A signal illustration of this may be found in the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in progress at the chief American Universities*, recently issued by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. A considerable number of these dissertations deal with phases of Canadian history; and since their titles may be of interest to readers of the REVIEW, we make no apology for reproducing them here:

1. INNIS, H. A. *History of the Canadian Pacific Railway.* (Chicago.)
2. RIFE, C. W. *Vermont and Great Britain, 1779-1791.* (Yale.)
3. STEWART, B. M. *Immigration and Settlement in Canada before Confederation.* (Chicago.)
4. MACDONALD, NORMAN. *Scottish Settlements in Canada (East of the Great Lakes), 1774-1781.* (Harvard.)
5. HOWE, J. E. *Historical Antecedents of the Unicameral System in New Brunswick.* (Yale.)
6. BANCROFT, E. C. *Trade Relations of Canada with the United Kingdom.* (Yale.)
7. WHITELAW, W. M. *French Catholics in Canada since 1791.* (Columbia.)
8. WILSON, G.E. *The Life of Robert Baldwin; a Study in Canadian Politics.* (Harvard.)
9. CLARK, W. C. *The History of the Canadian Grain Trade.* (Harvard.)
10. VINER, JACOB. *The International Trade of Canada with Particular Reference to the Period Since 1890.* (Harvard.)
11. HYDE, D. C. *Canadian War Finance.* (Harvard.)

The present number of the REVIEW contains, in addition to

reviews and book-notices, three articles and a document. The first article, on *The Nature of Canadian Federalism*, is by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy of the University of Toronto, and is an attempt to answer the question, hitherto never fully explored, whether the Dominion of Canada should properly be called a federation or a confederation. The second paper, on *The New Provincial Archives of Quebec*, is by Colonel William Wood of Quebec, the author of many well-known contributions to Canadian history. Incidentally, the article serves as a review of the splendid volumes of documents which the Quebec Archives have been publishing, under the direction of Mr. P. G. Roy. The third article is a review, from the Canadian standpoint, of *The Literature of the Peace Conference*, by Professor R. Hodder Williams of the University of Toronto. Lastly, the document, which is edited by Professor W. B. Munro, of the Department of Government in Harvard University, is a hitherto unpublished official account of what Professor Munro calls *The Brandy Parliament* of 1678—an interesting experiment in the constitutional history of New France. Professor Munro's introduction to this document, summarizing the arguments advanced by the members of the *parliamentum* for and against the prohibition of the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, will be found not only valuable for the light which it throws on the social history of New France, but also entertaining in itself.

THE NATURE OF CANADIAN FEDERALISM

Suggestions looking toward some form of union among the provinces of British North America are frequent in Canadian history from 1784, when the idea was first mooted by Lieutenant-Colonel Morse,[1] to the eve of 1867. Little, however, of the nature of the suggested union can be gained from a study of the extant proposals. If we except the abortive Act of Union[2] for Upper and Lower Canada in 1822, no one except Chief Justice Smith seems to have worked out a scheme in any detail,[3] and his proposals are so vague that it is impossible to decide whether he had in mind a legislative union, a confederation, or a federation. John Beverley Robinson[4] desired to unite the provinces by "giving them a common legislature and erecting them into a kingdom." The phrase seems to point to a legislative union, and this assumption is strengthened by the emphasis which Robinson laid on the fact that the new government would be clearly distinguished from the republican institutions of the United States. There was, however, no political discussion, no examination of the nature and essence of the scheme. With Lord Durham we are in a clearer atmosphere, and he at least defines his terms:

> Two kinds of union have been proposed—federal and legislative. By the first the separate Legislature of each Province would be preserved in its present form, and retain almost all its present attributes of internal legislation, the Federal Legislature exercising no power save in those matters which may have been expressly ceded to it by the Constituent Provinces. A legislative union would imply a complete incorporation of the Provinces included in it under one Legislature, exercising universal and sole legislative authority over all of them in exactly the same manner as the Parliament legislates alone for the whole of the British Isles.[5]

[1] Canadian Archives Report (1884), p. iii.

[2] Kennedy, *Documents of the Canadian Constitution*, pp. 307 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 203 ff.

[4] Quoted in Egerton and Grant, *Canadian Constitutional Development*, p. 147. Cf. Sewell and Robinson, *Plan for a General Legislative Union of the British Provinces in North America* (London, 1824).

[5] *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (Montreal, 1839), p. 116.

By a "federal union" Durham meant the creation of a central government to which the constituent provinces would delegate certain powers. In other words, the national government would be a delegation from the provincial governments for the carrying out of certain specific purposes. Such a conception raises the question, can such a government be called " a *federal* government"? This question must be discussed at this point, because, as will appear later, such a duscussion is germane to any consideration of the debates in the parliament of Canada in 1865.

Without examining the nature of political unions in the ancient world, on which historians and jurists differ, in American history such a union as that proposed by Lord Durham appears to have been called a *confederation.* "The perpetual Confederation" of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and New Haven (1643-1684), and Franklin's "Draft for Union" in 1754, are cases in point.[1] In both cases, the general or national government was a delegate. It existed on sufferance of creating principals. The best illustration, however, is found in the Articles of Confederation proposed in 1777 and ratified in 1781. Owing their immediate origin to the necessity for military union, they have in addition behind them a political philosophy based on experience. The earliest signs of democratic tendencies in North America are to be found in local government. Here was the pregnant school of political training. As a consequence it is not surprising to find a mistrust of a strong central government running through the whole conception of the union. The unifying machinery created for the purposes of the Revolutionary War was not only weak in those aspects known to every school-boy, but was deliberately made a delegation from states which retained, not theoretically but actually, their political sovereignty. A clear-cut relation of principals and delegate was set up, such a scheme of government being known as a *confederation.* In other words and in legal language, the national government was not sovereign, nor was it endowed with plenary powers within its sphere. It was, as Robert Morris, superintendent of finance for the Thirteen Colonies in 1781-1784, said, "A government whose sole authority consists in the power of framing recommendations." When Hamilton proposed the conference at Philadelphia which framed the constitution of the United States, it was with the idea of creating "an adequate federal government". The new government

[1] Macdonald, *Select Charters*, vol. I, pp. 94 ff.

which took the place of that under the Articles of Confederation was not the agent of the states. It springs, in theory and in statement at least, from the people, and over them within its sphere it has sovereign and plenary power. Allowing that the convention was called merely to revise the Confederation and allowing that the general tone of the convention pointed to something quite different from the constitutional theory superficially found in the written document and elaborated by the Supreme Court, the fact remains that the convention created something new—a federation —as James Wilson of Pennsylvania saw at the time.[1] This is the view taken of the constitution by the courts. A federation may originate historically in many ways; but once the federation is formed, the current of historical and legal opinion is that the central and the provincial or state governments have co-ordinate authority. Nor does the fact that the powers given to the national government may be specifically enumerated, and the residue of undefined powers reserved to the states or to the people enter into the discussion. To the uncritical student the fact might point to delegation. But a federal government is created for national purposes and for the undertaking of international obligations; and if those purposes are to be carried out and those obligations enforced—as they could not be under a confederation —then the national government must be endowed with the plenitude of sovereignty within its sphere. That sphere may be defined, or implication may widen its definition, because of the "incidental and instrumental powers", as Judge Cooley said, necessary to its effectual functioning, but definition or non-definition is immaterial. Finally, in this connexion, it is significant that, when the Civil War arose to test the nature of the American constitution, the Southern States called themselves "the Confederate States of America". Their actual constitution may not point to either looseness of union or to weakness of coöperation. Military success alone could finally have tested it; but they deliberately chose a name for their political organization pointing to the loosely cemented régime before the creation of the United States, and their army was known as the "Confederate Army" as distinguished from "the Federal Army of the United States."

When we come to consider the unification of the provinces of British North America, the first thing which strikes us in the

[1] Elliot's Debates, I., p. 119; II, p. 440.

documents is the mixed and confused use of terms. In the confidential memorandum [1] drawn up in 1864, which was the basis for the Coalition Ministry pledged to carry out the unification, "federal principle", "federal union", and "confederation" are all used to describe the political scheme which brought Conservatives and Liberals together. The inexactitude of the phraseology might be put down to lack of political training were it not for the fact that, during the debates[2] on the Quebec Resolutions in the Parliament of Canada in February, 1865, "federation" and "confederation" seem to have been deliberately used to confuse the issue. It is clear that there was a certain amount of *camouflage*. Macdonald's attitude can be judged from two quotations, taken widely apart, from his speech of February 6:

> The Conference having come to the conclusion that a legislative union, pure and simple, was impracticable, our next attempt was to form a government upon federal principles, which would give to the General Government the strength of a legislative and administrative union, while at the same time it preserved that liberty of action for the different Sections which is allowed by a Federal Union.[3]
>
> We . . . . strengthen the Central Parliament and make the Confederation one people and one government, instead of five peoples and five governments, with merely a point of authority connecting us to a limited and insufficient extent . . . . this is to be one united Province with the Local Governments and Legislatures subordinate to the General Government and Legislature . . . . .[4]

In the first quotation, "federal" is used when the "liberty" of the provinces is referred to; in the second, "confederation"—the designation historically connected with loosely organized unions—is used, when the real nature of Macdonald's proposal is referred to. That real nature was nothing else than a thinly-veiled legislative union—a "federation" or a "confederation" (Macdonald did not care what it was called)—in which the provinces should be merely municipal agents of the national government. It is not without significance that in the title of the official debates

[1] Pope, *Memoirs of Sir John A. Macdonald*, vol. I, p. 344.

[2] *Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces* (Quebec, 1865).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 41 ff.

the word "Confederation" appears. The object was to carry the proposals. It remained for the astute mind of Antoine Dorion to challenge the ambiguities:

> The Confederation I advocated was a real confederation giving the largest powers to the Local Governments and merely a delegated authority to the General Government—in that respect differing *in toto* from the one now proposed, which gives all the powers to the Central Government and reserves for the Local Governments the smallest possible amount of freedom of action.[1]

Dorion's clearness may have influenced the official title, and it cannot have been entirely an accident that during the ministry of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who himself came from Dorion's *cénacle*, provincial legislation was largely free from Dominion interference, a matter to which I shall return later in another connexion.

For many years after 1867 the provinces held a subordinate position, as Dorion feared. Until the advent to power of the Liberal party in 1896, "provincial rights" had a small place in Conservative policy, dominated as it was by the personality or memory of Macdonald. But, however much party politics may have forced issues in constitutional law—a matter with which we have no concern—there was a safeguard independent of politics, of the opinions expressed or implied by the Fathers of Canadian unification, and of the fact that they had to be content with an agreement which was but a skeleton and could not embody Macdonald's real aims if it were to be accepted by the provinces. That safeguard is found in the fact that the Privy Council has always considered the British North America Act as a British statute, has held that its interpretation must begin from that point of view, and that all its parts must be given their natural sense when read in conjunction. As a consequence, and without for the moment considering the light which that interpretation has thrown on the nature of the Canadian constitution, we have been saved from much emotional challenge, from the so-called invasion of sacrosanct instruments, and from any attempt to confine interpretations within a preconceived Canadian notion of the essence of the Canadian system. These facts are neither academic nor legal. They are of practical importance. Canada has accepted the principle:[2] but it has been rejected by the High Court of Australia, of which the majority tends to believe in the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[2] *Abbott* v. *City of St. John*, 40 Supreme Court of Canada Reports, 597.

immunity of instrumentalities. There are thus grave clashes of interpretation, because the Australian High Court maintains that the Australian constitution cannot be subject to the ordinary rules governing a British statute, which must be modified by the conception of the constitution in the minds of the founders of the Commonwealth.

The almost necessarily incomplete nature of the *British North America Act* has resulted in a series of legal decisions on which it is possible to found some idea of the nature of Canadian federalism. First of all, the Dominion parliament is not a delegation from the imperial parliament or from the provinces.[1] It has full and complete powers within its reference. Secondly, the provincial parliaments are not delegations from the imperial parliament:

> When the British North America Act enacted that there should be a Legislature for Ontario and that its Legislative Assembly should have exclusive authority to make laws for the Province and for provincial purposes in relation to the matters enumerated in Sect. 92, it conferred powers not in any sense to be exercised by delegation from or as agents of the Imperial Parliament, but authority as plenary and as ample within the limits prescribed by Sect. 92 as the Imperial Parliament in the plenitude of its power possessed and could bestow. Within these limits of subjects and area, the local Legislature is supreme and has the same authority as the Imperial Parliament or the Parliament of the Dominion.[2]

Thirdly, the provincial parliaments are not delegations from the Dominion parliament:

> The Provincial Legislature of New Brunswick . . . . derives no authority from the Government of Canada, and its status is in no way analogous to a municipal institution, which is an authority constituted for purposes of local administration. It possesses powers not of administration merely, but of legislation, in the strictest sense of that word; and, within the limits assigned by S. 92 of the Act of 1867, these powers are exclusive and supreme.[3]

From these interpretations it is clear (1) that the Dominion parliament is a sovereign parliament within the meaning of S. 91

[1] *The Attorney General for Canada* v. *Cain and Gilhula*, A. C. 542.

[2] *Hodge* v. *The Queen*, 9 App. Cases, 117.

[3] *The Liquidators of the Maritime Bank of Canada* v. *The Receiver General of New Brunswick* (1892), A. C. 437.

of the Act of 1867; and in no sense a delegate, related to the provinces as principals; (2) that the provincial parliaments are in no sense delegates either of the imperial parliament or of the Dominion parliament.

Further light is thrown on the matter by a famous passage in the judgment delivered by Lord Watson in the last case:

> The Act of 1867 . . . nowhere professes to curtail in any respect the rights and privileges of the Crown or to disturb the relations then subsisting between the Sovereign and the Provinces. The object of the Act was neither to weld the Provinces into one, nor to subordinate Provincial Governments to a central authority, but to create a Federal Government in which they should all be represented, entrusted with the exclusive administration of affairs in which they had a common interest, each Province retaining its independence and autonomy . . . As regards those matters which by S. 92 are specially reserved for provincial legislation, the legislation of each Province continues . . . as supreme as it was before the passing of the Act.

A fourth conclusion emerges. The provinces remain "independent and autonomous". They have not been destroyed. They possess the executive power "before Confederation minus the powers surrendered at Confederation".[1] In all these cases the court did not discuss the nature of that surrender. It accepted the fact. It interpreted that fact, however, in the sense of a *federation* and not of a *confederation*. The conclusion we can come to seems to be that Canada is a federation in essence; that is, that the central national government is in no sense a delegation; that the provincial governments are in no sense "municipal"; and that national and local governments exercise coördinate authority and are severally sovereign within the sphere specifically or generically or by implication constitutionally granted to them. This construction agrees with the preamble of the British North America Act, "Whereas the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united," however loosely that preamble may originally have been constructed; and it seems to override any idea that Canada is a confederation. In the incidences of construction—to which I shall return—the federal conception may not be complete, but the essence seems to be established.

[1] Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, I, p. 124.

Unfortunately, however, in an Australian case[1] before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1914, Lord Haldane made some remarks which appear to contradict views previously laid down and to re-open the whole question. It is well to quote him at length. During the pleadings he said:

> With deference to a great many people who talk on platforms just now of the "Federal System", in Canada there is no federal system. What happened was this: An Act was passed in 1867 which made a new start and divided certain powers of government, some being given to the Parliament of Canada, and some to the Parliament of the Provinces. The Provinces were created *de novo*. The Provinces did not come together and make a federal arrangement under which they retained their existing powers and parted with certain of them and an Imperial Statute has got to ratify the bargain; on the contrary the whole vitality and ambit of the Canadian Constitution was a surrender, if you like, first, and then devolution . . . The meaning of a federal government is that a number of States come together and put certain of their powers into common custody, and that is the Federal Constitution in Australia, but in Canada not at all.[2]

In the judgment he said:

> But there remains a question which goes to the root of the controversy between the parties. Were the Royal Commissions Acts *intra vires* of the Commonwealth Parliament? This is a question which can only be answered by examining the scheme of the Act of 1900, which established the Commonwealth Constitution. About the fundamental principle of that Constitution there can be no doubt. It is federal in the strict sense of the term, as a reference to what was established on a different footing in Canada shows. The *British North America Act* of 1867 commences with a preamble that the then Provinces have expressed their desire to be federally united into one Dominion with a Constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingsom. In a loose sense the word "federal" may be used, as it is there used, to describe any arrangement under which self-contained states agree to delegate their powers to a Common Government with a view to entirely new constitutions, even of the States themselves. But the natural and literal interpretation of the word confines its application to cases in which these

[1] *Attorney General for the Commonwealth of Australia* v. *Colonial Sugar Refining Co., Ltd.* (1914) A.C. 237.

[2] *Times Law Reports*, XXX, p. 205.

> States while agreeing on a measure of delegation, yet in the main continue to preserve their original Constitutions. Now, as regards Canada, the second of the Resolutions passed at Quebec in 1864, on which the British North America Act was founded, shows that what was in the minds of those who agreed on the Resolutions was a general Government charged with matters of common interest, and new and merely local Governments for the Provinces. The Provinces were to have fresh and much restricted Constitutions, their Governments being entirely remodelled. This plan was carried out by the Imperial Statute of 1867. By 91st Section a general power was given to the new Parliament of Canada to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada without restriction to specific subject, and excepting only the subjects specifically and exclusively assigned to the Provincial Legislatures by S. 92. There followed an enumeration of subjects which were to be dealt with by the Dominion Parliament, but this enumeration was not to restrict the generality of the power conferred on it. The Act, therefore, departs widely from the true federal model adopted in the Constitution of the United States, the tenth Amendment to which declares that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to their people. Of the Canadian Constitution the true view appears, therefore, to be that, although it was founded on the Quebec Resolutions and so must be accepted as a treaty of union among these Provinces, yet when once enacted by the Imperial Parliament, it constituted a fresh departure, and established new Dominion and Provincial Governments with defined powers and duties both derived from the Act of the Imperial Parliament which was their legal source.

Lord Haldane's statements can be broken up and considered under several heads. First, he defines a federal state as one in which "States while agreeing to a measure of delegation yet in the main continue to preserve their original Constitutions"—"a federal arrangement under which they retained their existing powers and parted with certain of them". It cannot but be a surprise to constitutional students to find a federal constitution defined as one in which the central or national government is a delegation from the constituent states or provinces. I believe that Lord Haldane's definition is based on an entirely wrong view of the essence of a federation, and that he has confused a federation with a confederation. Secondly, it need not be denied that a federation may originate as he suggests; but it is surely illogical to confuse a

constitution with the historical processes by which it originated. Lord Haldane would have us assume that unless certain antecedent procedure takes place it is improper to describe the result as a federal state. Such a position cannot seriously be maintained. Political definitions must be confined to facts as they are, and must not be made meaningless by the dead hand of historical or social movements out of which the facts grew. Thirdly, he cites the United States as a true type of federation because it fulfills his processes. It is obvious to ask, is the United States no longer federal because it has admitted to the original "measure of delegation" new states other than the original colonies which alone were parties to the original "federal agreement"? Would Lord Haldane have us believe that the admission of newer states, which made no pact, has destroyed the federal character of the American constitution? Finally his history of the formation of the Canadian constitution is too partial and incomplete to be entirely true. If we concede that old rights were entirely surrendered, and that their retention, minus those conceded to the national government, is necessary to a federal union, then we have no federation in Canada. But it is impossible to make this a rule of constitutional law. In the Dominion the provinces were not formed *de novo*. Canada was divided and the executive authority was maintained in the divisions expressly by the Act of 1867, subject to those changes necessary for the general union. The constitutions of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were also, subject to the provisions of the Act, continued as they existed at the Union.[1] It was doubtless with these sections in mind that Lord Watson laid down the principle already quoted,[2] which is completely at variance with Lord Haldane's opinion. Lord Watson's conception has been acted on to such an extent that to abandon it would upset much of the structure of the constitution. It has established the generally accepted theory that Canada is a federation in which sovereign power is divided among co-ordinate governments, none of which are delegations and among which the provincial governments are not new creations, but retain "their independence and autonomy".

The real questions to decide, shorn of all theories, are these: Are the national and provincial governments related to one another as principal or delegate? What is the real and precise

[1] B.N.A. Act, §§ 64, 65, 88.

[2] *Supra*, p. 112.

nature of the authority which they may exercise within their spheres? We have seen that it has been laid down that the various parliaments in Canada are sovereign within the orbit of their established jurisdictions, and that they compel obedience as such. Lord Haldane's opinions, therefore, cannot be accepted as overthrowing the federal essence of the Canadian constitution.

When we come, however, to consider some particular features of the constitution—the Canadian Senate, the office of the Lieutenant-governor, and the Dominion power of disallowing provincial Acts—we may find modifications in the actual working of the federal idea, which yet do not destroy the essence. There is evidence, too, of tendencies to bring these features into accordance with the federal idea.

It must at once be conceded that the Canadian Senate is not the product of a single and intelligible political principle. Indeed, it attempts to embody two ideas—nomination by the Crown, and a timid hankering after representation of grouped provinces. It may be that this attempt has caused it to become almost "a cipher" surrounded "with derisive state" and "the trappings of impotence";[1] but once an elective second chamber was ruled out of the range of possibilities, if federation were to take place, and once the constituent provinces decided on the necessity of a second chamber,[2] it is hard to see how the Senate could have embodied the single federal principle. On the other hand, Macdonald went out of his way to emphasize how, even with nomination, the provinces would be protected: "In order to protect local interests and to prevent sectional jealousies, it was found necessary that the three great divisions into which British North America is separated should be represented in the Upper House on the principle of equality."[3] With temporary obscurity, into which we need not here enter,[4] this plan has been adhered to, and in 1915 when a reconstruction of the Senate was necessary for political and geographical reasons, the Dominion parliament accepted the principle and it was embodied in an imperial Act.[5]

To Macdonald's prophecy, however, of the impossibility of the senate being filled with "partisans and political supporters",[6]

[1] Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question* (1891), p. 164.
[2] *Confederation Debates*, pp. 34 ff.
[3] Cf. B.N.A. Act, §§ 21, 22.
[4] Keith, *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*, pp. 394 ff.
[5] *Parliamentary Papers*, Cd. 7897: 5 and 6 George V. c. 45 (Imp. Act).
[6] Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 609.

his own political life gave the initial lie. Dorion and Dunkin saw the party possibilities and the weakness in construction. The latter also made an interesting forecast:

> I think I can defy them to show that the Cabinet can be formed on any other principle than that of a representation of the several Provinces in that Cabinet, for it is admitted that the Provinces are not really represented to any federal intent in the Legislative Council [i.e. the Senate]. The Cabinet here must discharge all that kind of function, which in the United States is performed, in the federal sense, by the Senate. And precisely as in the United States, wherever a federal check is needed, the Senate has to do federal duty as an integral part of the Executive Government. So here, when that check cannot be so got, we must seek such substitute for it as we may in a federal composition of the Executive Council [i.e. the Cabinet]; that is to say, by making it distinctly representative of the Provinces.[1]

While Dunkin's fears that the cabinet would be weakened by sectional differences, and by rendering insecure the constitutional principle of united cabinet responsibility, have not been realized, yet he foretold what has become an interesting federal by-product in Canada, most federal cabinets being formed, as far as possible, on a recognition of the claims of the constituent provinces.[2] On the other hand, it is not uninteresting to note that in the midst of many suggestions for reform, if not abolition of the Senate, the quasi-federal aspect has not been obscured. Sir George Ross, for example, maintains that "the first and only duty of the Senate is to consider the treaty rights of all the Provinces under the Constitution".[3]

When we come to consider the Dominion power[4] of appointing the lieutenant-governors of the provinces and of disallowing provincial Acts in relation to the nature of Canadian federalism, we approach a problem to which no adequate consideration can be given here. The difficulty is as old as Federation. On the one hand Macdonald in 1865 emphasized the necessity "that the chief executive officer in each of the Provinces must be subordinate", because the intention was to create subordinate local governments and legislatures. Dorion saw here the negation of any such

[1] *Confederation Debates*, p. 497.

[2] Porritt, *Evolution of the Dominion of Canada*, pp. 357 ff. Cf. Laurier's opinions on the principle, *House of Commons Debates*, May 15, 1909.

[3] Ross, *The Senate of Canada* (1914), p. 51.

[4] B.N.A. Act, §§ 56, 58, 90.

thing as responsible provincial government, while Dunkin found in the provision for disallowance the impossibility of any real provincial autonomy.[1]

Before attempting to consider the question, it is well to recall that Hamilton, who may be said to have originated the federal as opposed to the confederate constitution of the Thirteen Colonies, deliberately proposed at the Philadelphia Convention that the President should appoint the Governors of the various States, and that he should have an absolute veto on the Acts of the State Legislatures.[2] Diplomatic reasons prevented the suggestion from being incorporated in the constitution, but it is important to note that no one considered it opposed to the essence of a federal constitution, least of all Hamilton, who had the clearest conception of the nature of a federation. The power, at least over state legislation, was soon vested in the Supreme Court.[3]

It is unnecessary to linger over questions raised concerning the appointment of the lieutenant-governors. Two of them have been dismissed in Canadian history since Federation by the governor-general, and at first there was a general disposition to consider them mere creatures of the Dominion government. That view has been entirely abandoned. The method of their appointment is evidence of the federal link; but it has been decided that they possess in full the provincial executive authority,[4] that there is no constitutional anomaly in their appointment, and that when once appointed they are as much representatives of the Crown for every purpose of government in the provinces as the governor-general is for all purposes of Dominion government.[5]

The Dominion power of disallowance is of more vital interest.[6] The governor-general on the advice of responsible ministers (in this case, the federal minister of justice) has the power to disallow a provincial Act within one year after the receipt of the Act from the lieutenant-governor of a province. We can well understand a principle of disallowance where a constitutional question arises; but it would be safer if the decision in such cases were left

[1] *Confederation Debates*, pp. 42, 225, 502.

[2] Elliot's Debates, V, App. 5.

[3] *Statutes at Large* (U.S.A.), I, September 24, 1789.

[4] *The Attorney General of Ontario* v. *Mercer*, 8, App. Cas. 767.

[5] *The Liquidators of the Maritime Bank of Canada*, v. *The Receiver-General of New Brunswick* (1892), A.C. 437.

[6] See in detail Keith, *Responsible Government*, II, pp. 725 ff.; *Imperial Unity*, pp. 432 ff.; Lefroy, *Canada's Federal System*, I, pp. 30-34, 42-46.

to the courts as in the United States, since in a federation differences on constitutional law must frequently arise. The resolution of the problem of *intra vires* or *ultra vires* ought not to be left to the Minister of Justice. This tends to make him too supreme, and to detract from the character of the Supreme Court of Canada or of the Privy Council[1]. For many years, however, after 1867 the Dominion government considered it was justified in disallowing provincial Acts which appeared unjust or oppressive—through, for example, interference with vested rights without compensation, or through the impairing of contractual obligations. Provincial Acts were disallowed under these principles. Protests from the provinces forced the federal government to reconsider its position, especially as they emphasized the fact that local autonomy was apparently insecure, even in spheres where the provinces claimed exclusive jurisdiction. In 1908, Sir Allen Aylesworth, then minister of justice, made a Report, which was approved by the governor-general, in which he said:

> It is not intended by the *British North America Act* that the power of disallowance shall be exercised for the purpose of annulling Provincial Legislation even though your Excellency's Ministers consider the Legislation unjust, or oppressive, or in conflict with recognized legal principles, so long as such Legislation is within the power of the Provincial Legislature to enact it.[2]

In 1912, however, on two occasions[3] the present minister of justice, Mr. Doherty, while refusing to disallow for reasons stated, claimed that he entertained no doubt

> That the power is constitutionally capable of exercise, and may on occasion be properly invoked, for the purpose of preventing, not inconsistently with the public interest, irreparable injustice or undue interference with private rights or property through the operation of local Statutes *intra vires* of the Legislatures.

On May 30, 1918, Mr. Doherty disallowed, with the approval of the governor-general, an Act of the British Columbia legislature

[1] See a protest in these terms from the government of British Columbia, August 22, 1905, *Provincial Legislation, 1904-1906* (Ottawa, 1907), pp. 148 ff.:—"The effect of disallowance . . . is to make the Minister of Justice the highest judicial dignitary in the land for the determination of constitutional questions, and in reality above the Supreme Court of Canada. The decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada are open to question in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. From the decision of the Minister of Justice there is no appeal. He stands alone."

[2] *Provincial Legislation, 1904-1906*, p. 8.

[3] Lefroy, *Treatise on Canadian Constitutional Law*, pp. 63-64; 172, n. 47.

(7-8 George V. c. 71), because it diminished substantially the consideration of a contract. He did this after hearing an argument before the Dominion prime minister, the minister of public works and himself, and after notifying the attorney-general for British Columbia and hearing counsel for the petitioners. There are two passages in this Report[1] which deserve attention. Firstly, Mr Doherty lays it down that he does not consider the Dominion veto obsolete in cases where hardship, inequality, injustice, interference with vested rights or contracts are brought forward. While preferring as a rule to leave such cases, where the legislation is *intra vires* of the province, to be redressed by the local legislature, yet he maintains that there are "principles governing the exercise of legislative power other than the mere respect and deference due to the expression of the will of the local constituent Assembly, which must be considered in the exercise of the prerogative of disallowance." He refuses to lay down those principles or to formulate general rules, but he suggests that "interference with vested rights or the obligation of Contracts except for public purposes, and upon due indemnity are processes of legislation which do not appear just or desirable." Secondly, upon the submission of the attorney-general for British Columbia that disallowance would involve a serious interference with provincial rights, he says:

> Provincial rights are conferred and limited by the *British North America Act*, and while the Provinces have the right to legislate upon the subjects committed to their legislative authority, the power to disallow any such legislation is conferred by the same constitutional instrument upon the Governor-General in Council, and incident to the power is the duty to exercise it in proper cases. This power and the correspondent duty are conferred for the benefit of the Provinces as well as for that of the Dominion at large . . . . The mere execution of the power of disallowance does not therefore conflict with Provincial rights, although doubtless the responsibility for the exercise of the power which rests with Your Excellency in Council ought to be so regulated as not to be made effective except in those cases in which, as in the present case, the propriety of exercising the power is demonstrated.

This opinion is in direct contrast with that expressed by Sir Allen Aylesworth, and thus elaborated by him in the House of Commons:

> I was not, as advising His Excellency in Council, called upon to think at all of the injustice, of the outrageous character, it might

[1] P. C. (May 30, 1918), 1334.

> be, of the Legislation; but . . . my one inquiry ought to be whether or not there was anything in the legislation itself which went beyond the power of the Provincial Legislature.

Sir Allen Aylesworth considered that the provincial legislatures within the scope of their jurisdictions were on an absolutely level footing with the parliament of Canada, and that protest against such provincial legislation as was under consideration ought to be fought out at the Provincial polls, as must be done in case of similar Dominion legislation.[1]

In December, 1909, a similar line was taken by the province of Ontario. The Ontario government conceded, as it was compelled to do, the right to disallow; but it maintained that that right was technical and must be judged in conjunction with the interpretation of the British North America Act, as a whole, which gave to the provincial governments sovereign powers within their jurisdictions. Any other view would mean that the people of the provinces had not the full enjoyment of their civil rights with reference to those subjects within their well-defined jurisdiction.[2]

The divergence of opinion is not one merely between two ministers of justice. Professor Lefroy, with a strong catena of cases behind him, maintained that the courts could not disallow a Dominion or provincial Act "merely because it may affect injuriously private rights, or destroy vested rights or be otherwise unjust or contrary to sound principles of legislature".[3] Mr. Justice Riddell, in a famous judgment, lays down the principle that

> The Legislature within its jurisdiction can do everything which is not naturally impossible, and is restrained by no rule human or divine ... The prohibition "Thou shalt not steal" has no legal force upon the sovereign body, and there would be no necessity for compensation to be given.[4]

The Courts may, and often must, determine whether or not any Act is constitutional; but once a decision is arrived at establishing the right of a province to legislate on the subject matter of the

[1] *House of Commons Debates* (1909), pp. 1750 ff. Cf. Mr. Justice Riddell in *Smith* v. *City of London* (20 Ont. Law Reports 1909, 133): "An Act of Parliament can do no wrong, though it may do several things that look pretty odd."

[2] Attorney-general of Ontario, to the governor-general of Canada, December 9, 1909.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

[4] *Florence Mining Co.* v. *The Cobalt Lake Mining Co.* (1909) 18 Ontario Law Reports, 257.

Act "arguments founded on alleged hardship or injustice can have no weight".[1]

On the one hand is the opinion which holds that the provinces of Canada are sovereign within their established spheres, and that a Court, and *a fortiori* the Dominion cabinet, ought not to disallow a provincial Act except when it is clearly unconstitutional. On the other hand is the opinion which holds that the Dominion cabinet can veto a provincial Act, otherwise *intra vires*, when it comes within such description as that made by Mr. Doherty or Professor Lefroy.

Lay opinion is of little worth, but certain criticisms can be submitted. If the constitution is "similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom"[2] and if the provincial legislatures are in reality what the Privy Council has already defined them to be—sovereign powers with as full and ample authority as the imperial parliament within their jurisdictions—certain conclusions seem to follow. The rule of British constitutional law must hold that, granted the legislative power, it is impossible to question the justice of that legislation. This is Mr. Justice Riddell's opinion. Redress lies with the people "who are the best judges of the laws they are governed by".[3] This conception, too, fits in with a federal idea of the nature of Canadian government, suggested, as we have seen, by Lord Watson. Of course, it would not destroy a federal constitution had the Canadian constitution contained a clause like that in the constitution of the United States,[4] prohibiting the provinces from impairing the obligation of contracts or from interfering with matters within Mr. Doherty's description. The suggestion merely is this: once it is clear that the Act is constitutional, then its consequences and results in actual life are open to judgment by the electorate alone.

On the other hand, with due deference and respect, it is submitted that, if Mr. Doherty's position is the correct one, then the federal idea is overthrown, for the legislatures of the provinces cease to be the bodies described by the Privy Council and take that

[1] Moss, C. J., in *ibid*, p. 293. See, *inter alia*, Mr. Justice Riddell's *The Constitution of Canada* and the valuable notes on Chapter III.

[2] Cf. Edward Blake: "a single line imported into the system that complex and somewhat indefinite aggregate called the British Constitution" (*St. Catharines Milling and Lumber Co.* v, *The Queen*, 14 App. Cas. 46).

[3] Riddell, *op. cit.*, p. 98. Mr. Justice Riddell's opinion was approved by the Court of Appeal for Ontario and by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (*Ibid.*, p. 112).

[4] Article I, §§ 10.

subordinate position which Macdonald meant them to hold and Professor Dicey appears to believe they possess.[1] I have not forgotten that it is possible for such Acts as Mr. Doherty has in mind to be drawn into a clearly defined constitutional issue, and disallowed because they may infringe on the Dominion power to legislate for "the peace, order and good government of Canada." That is a matter for interpretation legally constituted, and it does not appear open to the Courts in this connexion "to substitute their own opinion, whether a particular enactment was calculated as a matter of fact and good policy to secure peace, order and good government, for the decision of the Legislature".[2] It is quite a different thing, however, that the supporters of this opinion mean. Again, I would submit that the emphasis laid on this position seems to magnify one power allowed by the British North America Act to the Dominion government at the expense of the construction of the Act as a whole and of the general elasticity of its terms. The difficulty of the position is obvious, but it is interesting to note that Cartier supported Mr. Doherty's point of view:

> The presumption is it [the power of disallowance by the Federal Government] will be exercised in cases of unjust or unwise legislation.

He drew from Dunkin apt criticism:

> The hon. gentleman's presumption reminds me of one perhaps as conclusive, but which Dickens tells us failed to satisfy Mr. Bumble. That henpecked beadle is said to have said, on hearing of the legal presumption that a man's wife acts under his control: "If the law presumes anything of the sort, the law's a fool—a natural fool." If this permission of disallowance rests on a presumption that the legislation of our Provinces is going to be unjust or unwise, it may be needed; but under that idea one might have done better either not to allow, or else to restrict within narrower limits, such legislation. If the promised non-exercise of the power to disallow rests on the presumption that all will be done justly and wisely in the Provincial Legislatures, the legislative power is well given; but, then there is no need, on the other hand, for the permission to disallow.

Dorion, however, with this power of disallowance among other

[1] *Law of the Constitution* (8th Ed.), Ch. III. Cf. Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, pp. 267, ff.

[2] Keith, *Responsible Government*, I, p. 419.

things in his mind, followed with the conclusion that there was "no real autonomy allowed to the Provinces", that "disallowance of all autonomy to the Provinces" characterized the scheme.[1] If that be conceded, the nature of Canadian government is that of a thinly veiled legislative union; and this position is difficult to maintain considering the history, the legal decisions, and the actual results worked out because of them.[2] It challenges the authority of provincial legislation, otherwise sound, and, it is submitted, it re-opens the whole question of local government within any province. If it be correct, it is inevitable that the binding force of local regulations may be disputed on the principle *delegatus non potest delegare.* Provincial regulations of factories or of public health, for example, may well be called in question by the citizens of a province. And yet this "big County Council"[3]—this province—has the constitutional power to change its own constitution. The two things seem incompatible.

In conclusion, there are two further distinctions between a federation and a confederation which have been made. They are not important, but need not be overlooked. Firstly, "a federal state is one all parts of which are represented, for international purposes, by one Government; and a confederation of states one whose governments retain the right to be separately represented and considered."[4] Without discussing the definition it is obvious that, in so far as Canada is allowed international relations by the imperial tie, Canada is a federation. The Dominion government acts for Canada as a whole in any international affairs, including those of the Empire. Secondly, a federation is "a union of component states, wherein there is a central legislature which has authority to pass laws directly obligatory upon the people, the component states also having legislative power. In confederations, on the other hand, the

[1] *Confederation Debates*, p. 502, Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 661.

[2] Cf. Attorney General of British Columbia to the Federal Minister of Justice, December 20, 1901: "In the early days of Confederation the Dominion Executive appear to have been imbued with the notion that the relation between the Dominion and the Provinces was analogous to that existing between parent and child, and to have acted accordingly. That view of the status of the Provinces has been overthrown by a series of Imperial Privy Council decisions which have clearly established that the Provinces acting within the scope of their powers are almost sovereign States." *Provincial Legislation, 1901-1903* (Ottawa, 1905), p. 56.

[3] Riddell, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[4] Lewis, *On the Use and Abuse of some Political Terms* (ed. Raleigh, 1898), p. 97.

central body has relations with the component states only, and not directly with individuals, *e.g.*, Austria-Hungary".[1] The inference in relation to Canada is obvious. From another aspect we may accept Judge Clement's opinion of the nature of Canadian government: "The true federal idea is clearly manifest, to recognize national unity with the right of local self-government; the very same idea that is stamped on the written Constitution of the United States."[2]

W. P. M. KENNEDY

[1] Scott, *The Canadian Constitution Historically Explained* (1918), p. 3.
[2] Clement, *The Law of the Canadian Constitution*, p. 337.

THE NEW PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF QUEBEC

EVERY student of history knows that an ideal Archives Branch should be able and willing to guide him toward the truth in these four essential ways: first, by having as much as possible of the original evidence in its original form; secondly, by having authentic copies of the most important originals which are kept elsewhere; thirdly, by having a descriptive catalogue of all the original evidence on the special subject with which the Branch is concerned; and fourthly, by having a guidebook to show the archival connections between this special subject and the greater whole of which it forms a correlated part.

That the province of Quebec has not reached such an ideal is no great matter for surprise; and the more the obstacles are studied the less the surprise will be. But that this "Ancient" and "Historic" province, this "Cradle of New France", this "Heart of Old Canada," should only now be forming its first regular Provincial Archives is something that does seem to need an explanation. The present article is really an explanation from beginning to end. Yet we might as well understand at once that Quebec is a follower instead of a leader among her sister provinces on account not of her poverty but her embarrassing wealth. The archives of what was once the whole of Canada, and of what must always be its most historic part, are not only greater in bulk and more complex in kind than those of other provinces but by far the most intimately correlated with those of the Dominion. Moreover, many large and well-arranged collections exist in Montreal and Quebec, each serving its own special purpose so well that the need of a unified provincial reference scheme has been the less acutely felt. It is, however, time that the many and very different parts (though each retaining its complete autonomy) should be correlated by means of some simple scheme of handy reference. It is also time that the province and the Dominion should each control an entirely separate, though likewise correlated, sphere of influence.

The first regular Provincial Archives Branch was established at Quebec in September, 1920. But, like the Public Archives at Ottawa, it has a history behind it. Each has passed through

a neglected infancy and a rather troubled childhood before attaining man's estate. The Dominion Archives date from 1872, when Dr. Brymner issued his first report. For the next thirty years he worked devotedly with woefully insufficient means and absurdly inadequate accommodation. Many a student not yet old can remember the sort of converted furnace room in which priceless documents had to be stacked like so much fire wood; and many who are still comparatively young can remember the grubby little rooms in which the nation's archives were afterwards shoved aside to be out of the way. At last, in 1904, a happy conjunction of the four proper men took place, with the magnificent result which everyone can see at Ottawa to-day. Lord Minto and Sir Wilfrid Laurier took the keenest personal interest in making the Canadian Public Archives what they ought to be. The Hon. Sidney Fisher, perceiving the new importance of the Archives, took them under his administrative wing. And in Dr. Doughty both Lord Minto and Sir Wilfrid found a man who is all the better Archivist for being so very much more.

By another happy conjunction these four men were particularly keen about the archives connected with Quebec. In a letter marked *Private*, written from the Viceregal Lodge at Simla five years after he had left Canada for good, Lord Minto said: "How I wish I could have been present at the Tercentenary! There never was such a place for such a pageant as Quebec: so full of old memories; and the very atmosphere seeming to take one back to the Chien d'Or and all the surroundings of that time. There is a fascination about it all which I have never met anywhere else. I hope perhaps some day I may wander back as a quiet tourist." Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fisher both represented Quebec constituencies; and this was Sir Wilfrid's answer when asked to join the Historic Landmarks Association, which was founded at a meeting of the Royal Society in Ottawa, but according to suggestions from Quebec: "It is a matter of absolute rule with me not to belong to any organization of any kind, however meritorious the object may be; but in this case I think I will make an exception." Those who were behind the scenes know that Lord Minto's and Sir Wilfrid's words were no mere expression of the polite interest which public men feel bound to show on perfunctory occasions, but the genuine expression of what they really thought and felt.

Dr. Doughty's inspiring connection with the Dominion Archives is so well known on both sides of the water and the line

that his equally long connection with Quebec is apt to be forgotten. Yet, it was during his stay there that he and Dr. G. W. Parmelee, the well-known Quebec educationist, produced their six splendid volumes of text and archives on *The Siege of Quebec*. It was also Dr. Doughty who edited *The King's Book of Quebec*, which formed the Viceregal souvenir of Tercentennial Quebec. And it is under Dr. Doughty's fostering care that the Quebec part of the Dominion Archives has become a source of original evidence without which no verdict can even be considered on Canadian history as a whole.

Dr. Doughty, again, was the chief whose Quebec specialist, Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, has now most worthily become the new Provincial Archivist. This is another fact that augurs well for the correlations between the province and Dominion. So, too, are the facts that Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, and the Hon. Athanase David are respectively the lieutenant-governor, the prime minister, and the secretary under whom the new Provincial Archives begin their promising career. The "Fitzpatrick Edition" of *The Siege of Quebec* implied far more than a compliment to the new Chief Justice of Canada; for it associated with the city the name of a native citizen who knows and loves her history through and through, and who, by his great experience of Canadian, imperial, and international affairs, can also see how city and province are connected with things more complex than themselves. Mr. David, the enlightened minister to whose department the Archives Branch belongs, comes from Montreal, and is intimately acquainted with the intellectual life of the greatest city in the province and Dominion. Mr. Taschereau, like Sir Wilfrid Laurier, is a prime minister who zealously promotes everything that enhances the practical value of a proper Archives Branch. He is, indeed, the actual founder of the present system. *Bon chien chasse de race:* and a personal interest in archives should come naturally to Mr. Taschereau, whose family has been so long and intimately connected with the making of Canadian history. From the provincial prime minister of the twentieth century the Taschereaus go back to the first Canadian cardinal of the nineteenth and to the French-Canadian officer who mustered his compatriots on the Esplanade at Quebec in the eighteenth century to assist Carleton against Montgomery and Arnold. In the seventeenth we find "Gabriel Taschereau, sieur de Baudry et de Linière, maître des eaux et forêts en Touraine"—*ce doux pays de la Touraine*, which Belleforest so aptly called *le jardin de France*

et le Plaisir des Roys; while in 1492, the year this New World was discovered, "Pierre Taschereau, marchand de drap de soie," was an alderman of Tours.

French-Canadian genealogy brings us into immediate touch with Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, new as provincial archivist, and in the prime of life so far as age is concerned, but a very old hand at archival research. We shall presently meet him as the indefatigable and highly expert compiler of those nine volumes of *Archives de la Province de Québec* which we shall review at the end of this article. Here we need only remind our readers that he has already edited twenty-seven annual volumes of his well-known and highly valued *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, and that, by means of this periodical and his further experience as a French-Canadian specialist in the Dominion Archives, he comes to his present labour of love fully equipped for the great foundational task which we shall explain later on. His appointment is, in certain ways, of even more importance to the province than Dr. Doughty's was to the Dominion; because the new provincial system differs more widely from the old than new from old in the case of the Dominion. There was a centralized Dominion Archives Branch at Ottawa for thirty-two years before Dr. Doughty took it over. But, in any proper sense of the words, there was no regular centralized Provincial Archives Branch before Mr. Roy's appointment in September, 1920. Mr. Eudore Evanturel served the province with devoted zeal for thirty years. But he was never given the means of forming a real Provincial Branch. From his time back to Confederation a deputy registrar looked after such archives as the government deemed sufficiently provincial and otherwise neglected for his care.

By this time the hypercritic who has read *Candide*, and who has also seen the single fire-proof room in which the Quebec Provincial Archives are at present stored, will doubtless be inclined to quote from its famous opening chapter: *M. le baron de Thunder-ten-tronckh était un des plus puissants seigneurs de la Westphalie; car son château avait une porte et des fenêtres.* But may I ask this hypercritic to remember that, as he will presently see for himself, Mr. Roy's new Archives Branch is only the well and truly laid foundation of what it will yet take many years to build, and that even the building itself is not designed to be more in correlation

with the whole vast mass of provincial archives in different hands or places, than is the axis to a globe?

A moment's consideration of the many different things the province of Quebec has been throughout the last three hundred years must convince every student of the immense complexity of the archives recording its multiform activities, and of the impossibility, as well as the inadvisability, of trying to concentrate them under any one official authority, much less in any one official place. The most, and perhaps the best, that can be done is to extend the system of Mr. Roy's official *Inventaires*, and combine it with mere reference catalogues in the case of privately owned archives which have good special catalogues, so that eventually a student will be able to find in the Provincial Archives Branch at Quebec either the original evidence itself or a ready reference to the exact place where it can be found elsewhere.

From New France to New Quebec this province has been a dozen different things; that is, if the four chief ecclesiastical differences are added to the eight which happened under civil rule; and of course every one of these twelve changes has left its mark on provincial and Dominion archives.

(1.) 1608-1763. Quebec was Canada—in the old restricted sense of the word Canada—throughout the French régime. Louisiana and Acadia differed from Canada, so far as civil government was concerned, in much the same way as one of the contemporary British American colonies differed from another. Race, language, war, and, above all, the church, were the general bonds of union. But in administration, and in certain ways of daily life as well, Acadians, Louisianans and Canadians thought and spoke of themselves as different varieties of the same specific stock. This sense of difference is not yet extinct even in confederated Canada; for a Cape Breton fisherman will talk of going to Canada, if he sails for Montreal, in almost the same way as Greeks and Russians still talk of going to Europe when they take train for France.

(2.) 1763-1774. Quebec continued to be Canada during the first eleven years of British rule. Carver's *New Map of the Province of Quebec according to the Royal Proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763* (reprinted in Doughty and Shortt's *Constitutional Documents*, published by the Dominion Archives in 1907), shows the boundaries to have been the following: North: from the S. E. extremity of Lake Nipissing, through Lake St. John, and thence to the upper reaches of the St. John River,

which enters the estuary of the St. Lawrence opposite the west end of Anticosti. Labrador, Anticosti, and the Magdalens belonged to Newfoundland. The southern boundary (allowing for the disputes that lasted till the Ashburton Treaty of 1842) was much the same as it is to-day. But the western line, by crossing the St. Lawrence at the head of Lake St. Francis and making straight for Lake Nipissing, took in the whole west bank of the Ottawa.

(3.) 1774-1783. A portentous change was effected by the famous Quebec Act of 1774. This Magna Charta of the French-Canadian clergy and seigniorial class not only roused fierce debates in the imperial parliament, but was regarded by the American revolutionists as the final clincher of what they called the "Five Intolerable Acts," because it barred their way beyond the Mississippi. It took from Newfoundland the Atlantic coast of Labrador, the Magdalens, and Anticosti. It likewise added to Quebec practically all but the new north part of what is now Ontario. And it included everything between the Mississippi and Ohio, that is to say, the modern states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota.

(4.) 1783-1791. With the recognition of the United States the province naturally lost all this country between the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Lakes.

(5.) 1791-1840. When the U. E. Loyalists had settled down the province was divided into the Upper and Lower Canada which have persisted to the present day as Ontario and Quebec. Moreover the beginning of parliaments introduced another and an altogether new element into provincial archives.

(6.) 1840-1867. The Act of Union again made Upper and Lower Canada a legislative whole, with one parliament instead of two, thus effecting an important change in some of the governmental archives. But, as before and afterwards, the French-Canadian ways of life developed along their own lines within what is now Quebec.

(7.) 1867-1912. Confederation, and the subsequent concentration in Ottawa of all that concerns Canada as a whole, naturally raised the question we shall presently discuss about the proper line of demarcation between the provincial and Dominion archives.

(8.) 1912-1921. When New Quebec was added to the existing province, under the statesmanlike administration of Sir Lomer Gouin, the Provincial Archives became entitled to all the public archives of the Labrador peninsula, except those concerned with

Dominion matters or with whatever part of the Atlantic coast may be adjudged to Newfoundland after the final boundary is settled.

To these eight different Quebecs in the eyes of the law, we must add four in the eyes of the church.

(1.) Up till 1783 Quebec was the diocesan headquarters of all the French-speaking Roman Catholics in the whole of North America. Even now, if a student of ecclesiastical history wishes to see the original evidence about any question of diocesan importance concerning a pre-Revolution church or mission down in New Orleans he must come to find it in the Cardinal's Palace at Quebec. Neither the cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1762 nor that of Canada to Great Britain in 1763 ended the diocesan connection of Quebec with the whole country between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. Nor did the re-cession of Louisiana by Spain to France in 1800 cause a reconnection during the three years that preceded the Louisiana Purchase. The final disconnection came in 1783, after Great Britain's recognition of the United States. (2.) Thenceforth the Bishop of Quebec exercised authority over no more than what remained of British North America. (3.) As new bishoprics were gradually established in other parts of British North America, and in the province of Quebec itself, the old diocesan boundaries gradually shrank until they assumed (4) their present archidiocesan limits. Thus, in Church and State together, Quebec has been twelve different things during the last three hundred years.

Each change is of course reflected in provincial archives; and the whole question is further complicated by the essential differences which have developed between the separate jurisdictions of the province and Dominion. The fact is that no precise line of demarcation can be drawn between provincial and Dominion archives. Nor, as it most fortunately happens, is there any pressing need to draw one. The *entente cordiale* between the two Branches is so complete that each can supplement the other as the occasion may require, and in these days of rapid facsimile reproductions the mutual exchange of documents is a cheap and easy matter.

In a general sense it may be said that the line of demarcation between the two kinds of archives should correspond with the jurisdictional differentiation between the province and Dominion. Whatever concerns Canada as a whole, and more especially her relations with the Empire and the world at large, should be

substantiated by Dominion archives. Whatever concerns Quebec alone, or even most of all, should be provincial. The French régime and all forms of French-Canadian life are naturally of special interest to Quebec, even when concerned with what may have happened beyond the exact provincial boundaries, simply because Quebec is, *par excellence*, the French-Canadian province. Therefore, to make this long and complex story short, the new Quebec Provincial Archives under Mr. Roy are concerned not only with what is officially provincial but with all things French and French-Canadian too.

War, however, is a more or less modified exception, because war has always been an all-Canadian, imperial, or international affair, no matter how much or little the French or French-Canadians were concerned. Yet it is better to err on the side of inclusion when doubtful cases are at issue, especially in what concerns the *personnel*. Who would exclude Mr. Roy's archival biographies of *Les Officiers d'Etat-Major des Gouvernements de Québec, Montréal, et Trois Rivières sous le Régime Français*, especially in view of the many civil functions these officers performed?

Coming to the field of work that lies before the new Branch at Quebec, and beginning with all things officially provincial, it is obvious that government documents claim first attention, whatever period is concerned. Going back to origins, a student wishing to ground himself thoroughly should get his bearings from the compilation made by the late Mr. J. Edmond Roy (Mr. P. G. Roy's brother) out of the accumulated researches of the best French archivists, and published by the Dominion Archives in 1911 as a *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'Histoire du Canada*. This portly volume, of nearly 1,100 pages, not only gives much direct information but opens the way to further original evidence of every useful kind. Some of the early government documents preserved in Canada itself and catalogued by Mr. P. G. Roy form the subject of the review with which we close this article. But these are only a few of even those concerned with the French régime alone. The entire activities of all governments down to the present day should have their appropriate documentation; and, as a general rule, the moment any important document ceases to be an active office paper it should become an archive.

To take a single concrete case in which archives and office papers are happily combined in fire-proof buildings and under expert care; (though not a case which differs from what is done

in other provinces). The Attorney-General of Quebec presides over twenty-three judicial districts, each with its own prothonotary, who assembles, inspects, and files away all notarial acts as well as other legal documents. The fact that copies of all parish registers must also be sent in to him connects Church archives with the state in this particular way. But not even copies of other Church archives have to be sent in; and all originals of course remain Church property. This is equally true, whatever form of religion is concerned. But, for the moment, we are speaking of French-Canadian Roman Catholics alone.

Before returning to archives which are the property of the provincial government we should take a glance at some non-governmental archives; so as to understand the great value and variety of all the archives relating to Quebec.

Without a knowledge of the Church archives no one can understand the innermost recesses of French-Canadian life. And these archives are less known than even students think. For instance, everyone knows *Les Relations des Jésuites;* but how many know that the originals of these missionary *comptes rendus* form only a very small part of the great mass of Jesuit archives in the Collège de Ste. Marie in Montreal, and that very little besides the Relations has ever been published at all? The Montreal Sulpicians, again, have enormous masses of unpublished archives. And, as we have seen already, the archdiocese of Quebec possesses archives of a still more varied kind. Add the great collections accumulated by long-established orders, like the Ursulines and Hospitalières; by orders prominent in earlier days, like the Récollets; by orders of later times in Canada, like the Oblats and Eudistes; and by the many orders of still more recent arrival in the province of Quebec; and add to all these again the vast accumulations of diocesan and parochial archives: and the student will begin to see what fields of research there are which must be worked by those who would understand the French-Canadians from an inside point of view.

Except for the parish registers, strictly so-called, the government has nothing to do with religious archives—neither these nor any others; and there are some others of peculiar interest, Anglican, Presbyterian, and the rest. Nor, by the way, is English the only other language in which archival records may be found: Indian and Gaelic are two more. There once was a militia battalion with all four different native tongues in which the detail

had to be explained; though the actual words of command were given in English only.

Counties, as such, play little part in the provincial life of Quebec: nothing, for instance, like the part they play in Nova Scotia, where some Bluenoses occasionally regard other Bluenoses almost as one military borderer is apt to regard another, all the world over, if the frontier runs between them. But certain towns have had a long municipal history of their own; and we must not forget that Montreal and Three Rivers were once little capitals of (if we may coin the word) Lieutenant-Governments, and that Quebec has been a sub-provincial and super-provincial capital as well as the simply provincial capital it has again become.

Seigniories have been another source from which important archives have grown up independently of government ownership, though in some ways more intimately connected with the government than even the Church was, in spite of all the State's continued care for her "accustomed dues". The seigniorial system flourished for nearly two centuries; and what archives it produced as a whole may be inferred from the six volumes published by Mr. J. Edmond Roy on the single *Seigneurie de Lauzon*. There are few Canadian families whose private papers have anything like the national interest of those examined by Historical Manuscript Commissions in Canada's two mother countries. But there are some family records, as well as individual collections, which should at least be noted for reference in connection with the Provincial Archives.

Business done more or less within provincial limits must also have produced some interesting archives—mostly, no doubt, destroyed as hopelessly "back-numbered"; or perhaps surviving only in emasculated government reports and the files of forgotten periodicals. Take fur and the fur-lords of Montreal; or the wonderful activity of the timber trade and ship-yards at Quebec; or the newer provincial interests in mines, manufactures, and the sporting side of fish and game; or the perennial interests of the forest and the farm: there must be some archives still ungleaned.

Or take societies connected with different forms of race-patriotism, or those of a more or less "learned" kind. There once was an Agricultural Society whose meetings were attended by Carleton. Montreal has its Société Historique, and Château de Ramezay as the headquarters of its Numismatic and Antiquarian Society. Quebec city has what seems to be the senior of all the learned societies in the British Empire overseas—the

Literary and Historical Society, which will celebrate its centenary in 1924. All these, and a few more, can make some contribution to provincial archives, at all events by supplying references to what they have in their possession.

Finally, take such archives as originate in English—not that they otherwise form a separate class or that many of them are not included in the classes mentioned already. The arrival of the U. E. Loyalists, the establishment of the Eastern Townships, the records of garrison life on the non-official side, the documents of various religious bodies, are only some of the activities of English-speaking people in the province of Quebec that should find substantiation in provincial archives.

This rapid glance at the archives of Quebec will give some idea of the need for making a general survey of all the records that exist, no matter whether owned by the provincial government or in other hands. Such a survey would have little trouble in obtaining the proper information in the case of archives belonging to the government. But it would take a good deal of time, more trouble, and most skill to discover and describe everything of any real importance that belongs to others. Moreover, some tact would be required, in certain cases, to reassure suspicious owners that the government harboured no ulterior designs against their property and that, so far as getting the mere information was concerned, the members of the government survey were only asking as a favour what they could not claim as a right. Of course, private owners (using the word "private" to include everything not belonging, as of right, to the provincial government) would have nothing to lose and, in most cases, something to gain by having their archives entered in a general catalogue; for this all-inclusive guide would not only show official recognition of their ownership (thus furnishing a universal system of identification in case of loss), but would also save them the trouble of explaining to enquirers what they had as well as what they did not have.

Moreover, to be able to find in the Provincial Archives Branch the proper clues to everything elsewhere as well as on the spot is a consummation devoutly to be wished, for an even higher reason than convenience of research; because whatever brings the truth about the province into living touch with the correlated truth about the Dominion and both its Mother Countries must help all true historians to restrict the area of darkness, prejudice, and misunderstanding in which so many scribbling partizans can still

mislead their readers. There are three stages in the study and writing of history. The first is that of little archives and much prejudice. The second is that of more archives; but not enough to lighten truth and blacken prejudice. The third is that in which the original evidence of the archives is strong enough to convince all but those who shut their eyes.

The discussion of history and histories, however, is going rather far afield to-day. So we shall return to the present new Provincial Archives Branch, its very able Archivist, and his special line of work. Mr. P. G. Roy's own words will best explain his first great aim. "Sous le titre collectif d'*Archives de la Province de Québec* nous espérons inventorier, d'ici à une dizaine d'années, les principaux dépôts d'archives de la province de Québec. Les deux premières séries de cette publication seront entièrement consacrées aux Archives Provinciales (Palais législatif) et aux Archives Judiciaires de Québec (Palais de Justice)." Four years ago Mr. Roy thought twenty-two volumes would suffice for these inventories; but, as what he had thought would fill the first six has really filled nine, it seems certain that thirty at least will be required for the whole. These thirty volumes or so are only the descriptive catalogues of two collections of government archives in the city of Quebec. To catalogue, in the same descriptive way, the rest of the government archives in the province at large, and all the privately owned archives as well, would fill at least three hundred volumes, if not a great many more. There is, however, no need for this, provided that the Provincial Archives Branch has a very condensed general catalogue giving the proper references to the special catalogues of private collections. The Church archives now in the Cardinal's Palace at Quebec alone fill more than 15,000 dossiers. But Monseigneur Gosselin, the accomplished veteran Archivist of Laval University, has them all ready for reference on the spot. And so with many other private Church and lay collections; though it must be borne in mind that nearly all these catalogues exist in manuscript only.

Again, it must be remembered that only the originals of many archives exist. When they are really important they should be facsimiled by and for the new Branch: and this speedily; for some are in danger of fire. The idea of *verbatim* publication has been wisely given up, except in a few extraordinary cases of great importance and limited length. The publication of the *Jugements et Délibérations du Conseil Souverain* did not justify the nearly

eighty thousand dollars spent on the first six volumes. After this the work was stopped at the year 1716. The money could be put to far greater use by making one or more facsimiles and by extending Mr. Roy's system of *Inventaires* to every important collection, public or private, that has no such thing of its own.

The present importance and future significance of Mr. Roy's *Inventaires* lie in the fact that they are the first descriptive catalogues of Quebec Provincial Archives begun as the first step towards the complete catalogue of which we have just been speaking. There have been other good catalogues: witness, Mr. E. Z. Massicotte's *Répertoire des Arrêts, Edits, Mandements, Ordonnances et Règlements conservés dans les Archives du Palais de Justice de Montréal, 1640-1760.* There have also been many good volumes of extracts or *verbatim* documents published by the Dominion, the province, societies, and individuals. But Mr. Roy's *Inventaires* are the first promise of what, if carried out in its entirety, will be the single master-key to all the archives of or in any way concerning the province of Quebec. They must, of course, be supplemented by the guides to which we have referred so often: one guidebook giving general references to all provincial archives which have their own *Inventaires;* and any other giving still more general references to all the archives that correlate Quebec with the rest of Canada as well as with its French and British fatherlands.

Mr. Roy's nine published volumes of Quebec archival *Inventaires* are simply "ouvrages honorés d'une souscription du Gouvernement de Québec," because they were all undertaken before he had been transferred from the Quebec part of the Dominion Archives to the sole charge of the new Provincial Branch in September, 1920. His remaining *Inventaires* will be published as regular provincial bluebooks. The whole thirty or so will then form the pregnant nucleus round which the entire provincial *Inventaires* and guides will grow. The present series, as we have seen before, has the general title of *Archives de la Province de Québec.* The first nine volumes are uniform in size (10½x7) and general appearance. They are all admirably printed by La Compagnie de l' Eclaireur, Beauceville, P. Q. And only the dates and special titles differ. The first two volumes were published in 1917 under the special title of *Inventaire d'une Collection de Pièces Judiciaires, Notariales, &c., &c., conservées aux Archives Judiciaires de Québec.* Then, in 1919, came four vol-

umes called *Inventaire des Ordonnances des Intendants de la Nouvelle-France conservées aux Archives Provinciales de Québec.* In 1920 came two volumes of *Lettres de Noblesse, Généalogies, Erections de Comtés et Baronnies insinuées par le Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France.* In 1921 we have a single volume: *Inventaire des Insinuations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France.*

We shall now take them all together, as the unconscious self-revelation of certain aspects of French and French-Canadian life under the Old Régime, marking the particular collection (with its volume and page) in every case as follows: (JN) indicates the *Pièces Judiciaires, Notariales, etc.;* (OI) the *Ordonnances des Intendants;* (LN) the *Lettres de Noblesse;* and (CS) the *Conseil Souverain.*

A word about the language might not be amiss to start with, because a study of the seventeenth century documents gives the clue to so much that now seems strange in the French-Canadian ways of speaking French. The speech of New France (and of Quebec to-day) of course followed the universal principles of evolution in remaining comparatively fixed among those that used it in a remote and simple community, while the French spoken in the Mother Country changed much more rapidly in response to the ways of a far more complex life. The same is equally true of all other oversea communities of a similar kind. The language of New England is still, in some ways, older than that of old England to-day; and there is more of the old West-Country speech alive in parts of Newfoundland now than in Devonshire itself. People who wonder why French Canadians say Franças instead of Français might like to know that the old French Army rhyme set to the dinner call known as *La Soupe* runs thus:

C'est pas d'la soup', c'est du rata;
C'est assez bon pour le soldat,
Pour le soldat françа's—

And perhaps they might remember that just about the same time as the French of France were still calling themselves *franças* Alexander Pope was amusing the Augustan English with this famous (or notorious) couplet:

And thou, great Anna, whom three Realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes tea.

We might begin picking out characteristic bits almost anywhere in Mr. Roy's most interesting volumes. But we may as well

make some attempt to proceed decently and in order by beginning with the source of all authority in France, taking up, first, Jurisdiction, then *Lettres de Cachet*, and so on. And here we must offer, for what it may be worth, the only adverse criticism we can manage to scrape up against Mr. Roy. The *Ordonnances des Intendants* are only complete from 1705. Those of the previous forty years are scattered about piecemeal in different collections, and suffer from many gaps. But is it not just a little meticulous of Mr. Roy to begin with 1705 and ignore 1665 till more than half way through Volume III?

JURISDICTION. The *Ordonnance pour la levée des Dîmes et l'Entretien des Curés en Canada* (OI, iii, 246), promulgated on August 23, 1667, begins with reciting the commissions of Tracy, Courcelles, and Talon. "Alexandre de Prouville, Chevalier Seigneur de Tracy, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Lieutenant-général des armées de Sa Majesté et dans les Isles et terre firme de l'Amérique méridionale et septentrionale, tant par mer que par terre . . . . Daniel de Rémy, Seigneur de Courcelle, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Lieutenant-général et gouverneur de Canada, Acadie, et Isle de Terre Neuve. . . . . Jean Talon, aussy Conseiller de Sa Majesté en ses Conseils, Intendant de justice, police et finances de la Nouvelle-France." An ordinance of the previous 9th of September (OI, iii, 225) is worth study as it gives the king's answers to M. Le Barroys, "Agent-Général de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales," touching the relations of this company to the Crown and its representatives in Canada. Senator Chapais's excellent preface (OI, i, iii) gives a very succinct description of the intendant. "Le gouverneur et l'évêque seuls étaient au-dessus de lui. Il présidait au Conseil Supérieur. Il pouvait juger souverainement en matières civiles. Tout ce qui concernait la direction, le maniement, et la distribution des deniers royaux, et aussi des vivres, les munitions, les réparations, les fortifications, les contributions, la voirie, le commerce, etc., étaient de son ressort. Ses vastes attributions faisaient de lui la cheville ouvrière de notre système gouvernemental. On ne saurait écrire l'histoire économique et administrative de la Nouvelle-France sans recourir. . . . aux ordonnances. . . . des intendants." The governor could report to the king without the consent, or even the knowledge, of the intendant; while the intendant had to report through, or concurrently with, the governor. But there was nothing to prevent the intendant from reaching the king's ear by private means; and little to check him in

Canada when he had a stronger will and less scrupulous character than the governor's. We all know what happened in the last sad days under Bigot and Vaudreuil, who together made the great Montcalm's naturally difficult position simply impossible. The root trouble in time of war was division of command, civilian interference at every turn, overlapping authority, and all the evils of the autocratic system without any of its advantages, owing to the absence of any autocrat on the spot. The system of intendants worked better in France, where they were in close touch with the king, helping him, in accordance with the principles of their inventor, Richelieu, to make all parts and parties work together in spite of local obstacles. Far off in Canada it was apt to be a different story; and continual admonitions were required to readjust from France the respective functions of these two prime officials: for instance, on April 10, 1684 (CS, 96), "Difficultés qu'il plaira à monsieur le marquis de Seignelay de décider sur les fonctions du gouverneur et de l'intendant du Canada. Ces difficultés sont au nombre de dix et ont rapport aux déserteurs français, aux congés pour aller en traite, aux établissements nouveaux, aux concessions à accorder, aux sauvages, aux gouverneurs particuliers de Montréal, des Trois-Rivières et de l'Acadie, aux cas d'amirauté à la juridiction de l'intendant . ."

LETTRES DE CACHET generally seem to suggest the Bastille, if not extinction in an *oubliette*. But they were of milder general use than that; and even full of paternal benevolence towards scape-grace members of great families who had to leave their country for their country's good, with the hope that they would do better for themselves and for society in the adventurous wilds of Canada. When a scape-grace was sent out, a *lettre de cachet* would also be sent, asking the Canadian authorities to keep their eye on him, partly with a view to his own good, and partly to prevent his wandering off among *les Anglais* to the south, and perhaps taking ship for France again: *e. g.* (OI, ii, 201), ". . . . défense à toutes personnes venues en ce pays par lettres de cachet d'en sortir. . . . à peine. . . de trois mois de prison pour la première fois et de peine corporelle en cas de récidive."

THE KING occasionally sent a personal message to his faithful Canadians, usually on the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, or an important event in the royal family, such as his own marriage (CS, 177: September 5, 1725) with the "princesse Marie" whom his (Louis XV's) "oncle le duc d'Orléans a épousée en mon nom dans ma ville de Strasbourg. C'est pourquoy j'écris

au sieur évesque de Québec de faire chanter le *Te Deum* . . . et pour vous dire d'y assister et d'y faire aussy assister le Conseil Supérieur, que vous fassiez ensuite allumer des feux de joie, tirer le canon et donner les marques de réjouissance accoutumées . . je prie Dieu qu'il vous ayt, monsieur le marquis de Vaudreuil, en sa sainte garde. LOUIS."

WAR does not figure largely in these volumes devoted mostly to civil government and legal affairs. On November 15, 1709 (OI, i, 89), the "habitants du gouvernement de Montréal" were ordered to bring "la pierre et la chaux nécessaires pour la bâtisse en pierre du fort de Chambly," as well as other materials. It must be remembered that supply and transport, ordnance stores, the materials for military works, etc., were under the intendant. On May 30, 1711, there was passed an "Ordonnance qui fait défense aux prisonniers anglais qui sont dans la ville de Québec de s'attrouper tant dans les rues que dans les maisons, de sortir des maisons de leurs maîtres après le soleil couché, de fumer ou porter du feu dans les rues, le tout à peine d'être mis dans les cachots et de 50 livres d'amende contre ceux qui les retireront chez eux ou leur donneront à boire ou à fumer." English readers will remember that Bishop St. Vallier of Quebec was then a prisoner of war in the Tower of London, where he became quite a social lion. Under date of April 16, 1672 (CS, 25), we find the "Déclaration de guerre contre les Etats-Généraux des Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas." The signing of the momentous Treaty of Utrecht is also duly entered (CS, 249).

THE NAVY is not forgotten. We learn (OI, iii, 261) that man-of-war oak, as well as other wood "propres à la construction de vaisseaux," was watched with a careful eye from an early period; while the following (OI, ii, 289: March 20, 1740) shows that this vigilance was renewed from time to time: "Ordonnance qui défend aux propriétaires des terres de l'île Jésus et ses seigneuries du Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, d'Argenteuil, de Vaudreuil, et de l'île Bizard d'y couper ni faire couper aucuns chênes jusqu'à ce que l'intendant les ait fait visiter et marquer afin de retenir les chênes propres à la construction des vaisseaux de Sa Majesté." The *Pièces Judiciales, Notariales, etc.*, come down to the nineteenth century, when, in 1801, an entry was made (JN, 400) about "*l' Elizabeth* saisi et pris par *la Résistance*, vaisseau de guerre anglais". Prizes from *les Anglais* appear earlier (JN, 26 and 32, in 1691 and 1698).

SHIPPING figures much more largely. Here (JN, I, i: May 3,

1642) are orders for a living lighthouse: "aux sieurs Marsollet et Pierre de Launday, commis de MM. de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, de se rendre vers la Pointe aux Alouettes et d'y demeurer jusqu'au ler juillet pour faire garde et découvrir les navires et autres vaisseaux qui pourraient venir en ces quartiers afin de l'en avertir le plus diligemment possible." Wreck enquiries frequently occur (JN, i, 24: June, 1688). So do questions of average (JN, i, 151, etc.). The man who called his vessel *L'Infortuné* (JN, 351: in 1757) deserved to get into trouble. An early entry about navigation on the Great Lakes is that of October 31, 1680 (OI, iii, 281), giving permission to "François Pollet, marchand, de Paris, de faire construire à ses dépens une barque au Fort Frontenac." A crew is ordered not to quit a salvageable wreck (OI, ii, 304). People living below Quebec are forbidden to board incoming vessels (OI, iii, 73). Masters are ordered to declare their cargoes within twenty-four hours (OI, iii, 161). And landsmen are ordered to "buoy" (*baliser*) the winter roads (OI, i, 9). French-Canadian French is still full of nautical terms. You steer your course about the country by the points of the compass. If you miss the channel buoyed out for you in winter through the snow you will founder (*caler*) and perhaps become *dégradé*, like a derelict. You must *embarquer* into and *débarquer* out of a vehicle of any kind. A well-dressed woman is said to be *bi'n gré-yée*, that is, quite fit to go foreign. Horses are moored (*amarrés*), enemies reconciled by being *ramarrés*, and winter heralded by a broadside of snow on the 25th of November—*la bordée de la Ste. Cathérine.*

APPOINTMENTS in Canada required certificates of *vie et moeurs* (JN, 193, etc.). *Précédence* was a subject of much concern to all parties, especially precedence in church (JN, 91, etc. and OI, ii, 297, etc.). Such precedence depended on official, not nobiliary, rank.

NOBLESSE is the subject of two volumes (LN) which should go far towards correcting the usual mistakes about the so-called Canadian nobility. As a matter of fact, apart from the barony of Longueuil, now recognized by the British Crown, there never was any real landed nobility in Canada of the same kind as the great landed nobility of France. Moreover, the many noblemen who at different times came out to Canada nearly all went home again. The seigneurs resident in Canada formed a landed gentry or squirearchy, a sort of *petite noblesse*. But there never was any *haute noblesse* rooted in the soil. Mr. Roy's own preface explains

the whole case. His two volumes form a kind of biographical *Burke*. Names and signatures of the old régime are very puzzling without a key. The head of the family signed the family name alone. Other members used their Christian names with that of their estate, if they had one. If they had no estate, they simply used the Christian and family names with a *de* between them. One of the curiosities of the times was the co-existence of three "marquis de Vaudreuil", all signing simply *Vaudreuil*, though two must assuredly have had no such right whatever, as there was only one marquisate. Canada never seems to have had any "Commissaire nommé par le roi pour la recherche des faux nobles."

Though there was no *haute noblesse* there were many scions of very ancient families; and it should be borne in mind that many an untitled man is of infinitely more aristocratic antecedents than some newly titled people are. Mr. Roy's *Lettres de Noblesse* have another charm in the mere names of certain men or places, names which alone can conjure up a vision of the old régime. Does not *la Baronnie des Islets* remind one of that glorious appellation now merged in the minor titles of the Heir to the British Throne—the Lord of the Isles? And is there not something of "that other harmony of prose" about *Lafontaine de Belcour*, *Le Gardeur de Repentigny*, *Le Moyne de Châteauguay*, *Chartier de Lotbinière*, *Arnolet de Rochefontaine*, and *Marie-Madeleine de Verchères?*

SEIGNIORIES and SETTLEMENT naturally fill many entries. The seigniorial system was no bad way of settling a new country exposed to Indian raids and intercolonial wars. The harsher feudal features were omitted or softened down; and even the *corvées* and seigniorial dues, with all their imperfections, worked pretty well throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fact that seigniories became anachronistic in the nineteenth century does not disprove their comparative success in earlier times, that is, of course, considering the peculiar conditions then obtaining. The *Ordonnance pour la Confection du Papier Terrier de la Terre et Seigneurie de Montréal* (OI, iii, 240: November 1, 1666) is a good specimen document beginning "Monseigneur l'Intendant, supplie humblement Gilles Perot, prestre," on behalf of "Alexandre Le Rageois de Bretonvilliers, Prestre Supérieur du Séminaire de St. Sulpice, seigneur de la d. Isle de Montréal," and ending with Talon's approval: "Soient les vassaux, censiers, tenanciers, et autres redevables. . . . assignés par affiches publiques, pr. proceder sur les fins de la presente requeste . . ." The nomenclature is redolent of life on the old concessions; and

much of it lives on in modern documents, though things themselves have changed. Open almost anywhere at random (*e.g.*, OI, ii, 40; November 4, 1729), and note how the "commissaire du Grand Voyer décide qu'un chemin qui montera droit du quatrième rang de la seigneurie de Maure au chemin royal de la côte Saint-Ange . . ."; or (OI, ii, 217: November 10, 1735) where the "habitants de la seigneurie de la Pocatière" are ordered to pay arrears to "leur seigneur, le sieur d'Auteuil," including "les cens, rentes, et lods et ventes." The seigneurs, in their turn (CS, 41: May 29, 1673), though enjoying their rights over "les dites terres à perpétuité en tout droit de fief et seigneurie portant la foi et hommage au château de Québec, suivant la coutume de la Prévôté et Vicomté de Paris," had to do their duty to the state in peace and war.

CONCESSIONS were of all sizes and many kinds. See (CS, 33: May 13, 1675) "Concession par Sa Majesté à Robert Cavelier de la Salle . . . du dict fort, appelé de Frontenac, et quatre lieues de pays adjacent, à compter deux mil toises pour chacune lieue le long des lacs et rivières au-dessus et audessous du dit fort, et d'une demie lieue, ou mil toises, au-dedans des terres, les isles nommées Gan8nk8esnot et Ka8enesgo et les isles adjacentes, avec le droit de chasse et de pesche dans le dict lac Ontario et rivières circonvoisives, le tout en tiltre de fief et en toute seigneurie et justice . . . . " Smaller men had smaller lands and smaller rights, like "Jacques de la Mothe, marchand, étant à présent en la ville de Paris," who got only "dix arpents en l'île d'Orléans" (JN, i, 6-7: March 22, 1661).

Other typical entries relating to settlement are: (OI, ii, 24) the *corvées* required then, instead of municipal taxation now; (OI, iii, 271-3) the report required in 1672 from "tous ceux qui ont reçu plus de quatre arpents . . . . d'indiquer la quantité et la qualité des terres possédées, défrichées et non défrichées"; the regulations (OI, iii, 286: April 28, 1685) permitting soldiers to "travailler chez les habitants; défense aux dits soldats de travailler avec leurs uniformes, et défense aux habitants de payer aux dits soldats plus de dix ou douze livres par mois"; the survey (OI, ii, 96) of lands; prospecting for lead (OI, ii, 176); gathering pitch (OI, ii, 184); and exploring new country (OI, ii, 256).

THE LAW followed the progress of settlement to the best of its ability. Theft opens the record (JN, i, 1) on December 13, 1638, when nine men stole some boards from no less a personage than Jean-Baptiste Le Gardeur de Repentigny. Next comes "Chicane de voisins" (JN, i, 1, March 9, 1642). It is not till 1671

that we rise to the height of murder (JN, i, 11), nor till 1690 that we find a "procès criminel contre le cadavre du nommé Saint-Germain, soldat de la compagnie de La Groix, accusé de s'être étranglé dans son cachot" (JN, i, 25). Meanwhile the seventeenth century equivalent of "Please, Sir, he's got my rifle" appears in the "Plainte d'Oliver Chotart contre François Boivin à propos d'une arquebuse" (JN, i, 3: May 20, 1647). In 1739 (JN, i, 112) a merchant and an officer of French-Canadian regulars have "Chicane à propos d'une partie de billard." Three years later "Edouard Hamilton, irlandais de nation", gets into trouble with "Ignace Gamelin, des Forges Saint-Maurice" (JN, i, 120). In 1740 (JN, i, 113) there is a case in the Court of Admiralty against the "fermier des traites à Tadoussac à propos d'une baleine trouvée par des sauvages à Manicouagan." In 1745 (JN, i, 128) "Michel Senneville de Bussy, soldat de la garnison de Montréal" actually had the temerity to "fabriquer des ordonnances."

Sexual troubles appear (JN, i, 14) in 1673, when Jeanne Poireau "déclare qu'elle ne peut plus supporter les mauvais traitements qu'elle reçoit de son mari, ni ses débauches continuelles." In 1732 (JN, i, 89) the king himself thunders forth an edict against the concealment of births. Illegitimacy does not appear with undue frequency; and it seems to have been sensibly dealt with. In 1735 (OI, ii, 191) Jean Pepin had to pay Marie-Madeleine Desrochers "cinquante livres de provision alimentaire pour servir aux frais de gesine et en outre se charger de la nourriture et entretien de l'enfant qui naîtra d'elle, et apporter tous les trois mois au procureur du roi un certificat de l'état du dit enfant, et jusqu' à ce que le dit Pepin ait satisfait au paiement de la somme de cinquante livres il gardera prison." In 1739 Louis Briquet, dit Lefèbvre, was finally brought to book, after having escaped the just vengeance of a widow for more than a year (OI, ii, 292). He then had to "payer une nourrice, puis nourrir et élever la dite fille dans la religion catholique, apostolique, et romaine, jusqu'à l'âge de dix-huit ans."

In 1704 (JN, i, 295) the minor children of the late Jean Le Picard had to have a new tutor to replace M. Fromage, "qui s'est embarqué pour le voyage de la filibustre." On September 20, 1663, it required the intervention of the Sovereign Council to appoint Jean Glòria first Notary Royal of Quebec "après deüe information faicte de ses vie, moeurs, religion catholique, apostolique, et romaine." Thus began a vast mass of documents redolent of the good old Law-French phraseology, full of the settled places

in Canada proper, where you could "tenir feu et lieu," of references to that "Coutume de Paris" which is still quoted in Quebec courts, and to "les pays d'en haut" which only adventurers and missionaries had ever seen when Gloria first handled the notarial pen.

Defamation has its usual place. In 1727 (OI, ii, 17) Marie-Thérèse Houymet not only had to pay Marie-Madeleine Roullois twenty livres but give her "un acte par écrit par lequel elle la reconnaît pour fille de bien et d'honneur non tachée." In 1707 (OI, i, 41) "la fille Poitras, dont le commerce scandaleux avec le sieur Delorme continue depuis longtemps", was ordered back to her father, who was ordered to receive her, while Delorme was forbidden to keep her and she to stay with him. At the same time the "sieur Martin, curé de Sainte-Foy," was permitted to remove her from the bad house to the good in case of her contumacy, while naughty Delorme had to pay her board until such time as the court saw fit to make him marry her. Blasphemy, sometimes indistinguishable from common swearing, excited the wrath of the authorities from a very early date. In 1665 (OI, iii, 218) Jacques Bigeon had to pay "dix livres pour avoir juré et blasphemé" and remember that if he dared to "récidiver" he would suffer "punition corporelle." Arson raised a tremendous hue and cry in 1734 after "un nommé Thibault, grandement soupçonné, avec la négresse de la veuve Francheville, d'avoir allumé le grand incendie qui a dévasté Montréal le 10 avril dernier." On October 1, 1749 (JN, ii, 359), two great characters in the romance of the *Chien d'Or* step into real life "au sujet de la grâce du sieur de Repentigny, assassin du sieur Philibert". And is there not some pathos, mixed of course with bathos, in the final entries made in the solemn tomes of the Old Régime, about the little things of daily life, when the world they had so long and faithfully recorded was crumbling into the dust of death? On July 8, 1758, the day that master-strategist, Montcalm, fought so well at Carillon (Ticonderoga), the intendant Bigot was appointing (OI, iii, 210) "Jacques Gouget huissier à la place de Ferdinand Lebrun." And in the fatal 1760 (OI, iii, 212) Repentigny makes his final appearance in a squabble with Joseph Duprat over a stable and a barn.

MUNICIPAL REGULATIONS of all kinds constantly appear in the ordonnances: Building regulations (OI, iii, 288), orders about stray pigs (OI, iii, 294), garbage (OI, i, 112), the numbers to be borne on vehicles (OI, ii, 9), orders regarding the drain for which

the Hôtel-Dieu was responsible (OI, ii, 33), the very primitive fire brigade of Quebec (OI, ii, 208), and the heinous offence of making home-brewed ale in your own back-yard (OI, iii, 185). DRINK was repeatedly regulated; though more with regard to trade with the Indians than among the whites at home. One regulation (OI, ii, 6 and 7) put bars out of bounds for soldiers and out of bounds for everybody during divine service. Another (OI, ii, 217) forbade serving those who were already drunk; a third (OI, iii, 48) allowed drink to be given only to those that "needed it"; and a fourth (OI, iii, 49) was an ordonnance "qui défend à toutes personnes de donner à boire aux matelots de l'équipage du vaisseau du Roi *le Rubis* qui sont à Hôtel-Dieu de Québec et commencent à se mieux porter." DOCTORS engaged the attention of the Sovereign Council as early as 1651 (CS, 6), when Jean Madry was made barber-surgeon of Quebec as "lieutenant et commis" of no less a personage than "François de Barnoin, conseiller du roi, son premier barbier et chirurgien ordinaire de Sa Majesté." Canadian doctors were protected in 1710 (OI, i, 105) against interloping ships' surgeons, and in 1731 (OI, ii, 89) "le nommé Mas du Passage" was ordered to pay "au sieur Bertier, chirurgien du roi entretenu en ce pays, la somme de vingt-quatre livres pour pansements faits à leur fille blessée dangereusement à la tête par un coup de pied de cheval."

FOOD CONTROL, of which present-day Europe knows so much and even America a little, was a pathetic necessity in May, 1667 (OI, iii, 243), when the starving colonists were forbidden "d'enlever aucun grain semé, de jour ou de nuit; les propriétaires pourront cependant en cueillir avant la maturité à cause de la disette, mais en plein jour." But the sinister figure of Bigot had more than even the war to do with food control from 1755 to 1760, when one ordonnance followed another in rapid succession (OI, iii, 193, 200, 209, etc.).

FISH and GAME were plentiful in early days simply because white men were not. In the seventeenth century the hunters were apt to become the hunted if they went too far afield among the Indians; so in 1678 we find one of several orders issued by the Sovereign Council (CS, 40) against going beyond the "terres défrichées et une lieue à la ronde, à la peine de deux mille livres d'amende." Fur, fish, and game reserves were often granted for a term of years, *e. g.* in 1738 (CS, 234-5) to "Jean-Baptiste Pommereau . . . cinq lieues de front à la côte du Labrador depuis la pointe du gros Mecatinat . . . avec le privilège d'y faire,

à l'exclusion de tous autres, la pêche du loup marin, chasse, et traitte avec les Sauvages pour dix années." The intendant (OI, ii, 257: in 1738) then turned his paternal eye on "le dit Pommereau," warning him "de ne débaucher directement ni indirectement les sauvages dépendants du poste de Mingan exploité par le sieur Volant d'Haudebourg." Interest in porpoises exceeded that in seals, the latter not being fur seals, while the former were really the little white whale from which much oil and "porpoise hide" could be obtained. In 1707 "une société sur la rivière Ouelle" was authorized "pour faire la pêche des marsouins" near the place known to modern summer visitors as the one where you take the ferry for Murray Bay. Game laws, more honoured in the breach than the observance, were promulgated from time to time. In 1727 (OI, i, 296) the close season for the Canadian "partridge" was fixed from mid-March to mid-July, with "cinquante livres d'amende"; while Pierre Poulin and Étienne Morel, of the famous Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, were guaranteed in their rights against "toutes personnes" who had the audacity "de toucher à la chasse" thereabouts, "sous peine de dix livres d'amende envers le roi et de restitution du double de la valeur envers les dits Poulin et Morel."

BUSINESS QUESTIONS occupy a good many of Mr. Roy's archives, such affairs being then "controlled" at all times in much the same way as they were in the worst areas during the recent War. Regulations about apprentices (JN, 12), the seizure of contraband furs (JN, 13), and ferry services (JN, 96) were of the normal kind. But the *Ordonnance* of 1671 "contre le meunier de la Touche-Champlain, qui, au mépris d'une ordonnance précédente, vend le blé cent sols le minot" has the true smack of profiteering. In 1707 (OI, i, 25) five tanners were licensed for Quebec with the solemn warning not to expose for sale any leather not up to standard. One of them rejoiced in the name of Larchevêque, another in that of Dedieu. In 1709 (OI, i, 80) "chaque habitant des côtes du gouvernement de Montréal ne pourra avoir plus de deux chevaux ou cavales et un poulain." An ordinance of 1727 (OI, ii, 24) "fait défense aux habitants, meuniers, et autres de livrer leurs farines, pois, et autres grains autrement que dans des sacs; seuls, les marchands et négociants mettront les farines et grains dans des quarts, barriques, et futailles, qui devront être neuves, de bonne qualité, et marqués d'une marque particulière." The exasperating system of going shares in every individual item, dead or alive, is the subject of several fulminations.

One of these (OI, ii, 56: of 1730) "condamne Charles Campagna à fournir à son voisin Asselin la moitié du harnais qui leur appartient en commun, c'est-à-dire un boeuf et un cheval, pour être employés pendant quatre journées entières aux labeurs et travaux de la terre du dit Asselin: défense aux dits Campagna et Asselin d'user l'un envers l'autre d'aucunes voies de fait et mauvais procédés." Standard weights and measures are insisted on (OI,ii, 129) in 1732, when "tous marchands, négociants, boulangers, bouchers, cabaretiers, regrattiers, et toutes autres personnes qui se mêlent de commerce" have to bring their "aulnes, poids, et mesures pour être vérifiés sur les étalons déposés au dit greffe et y être marqués d'une fleur de lys." Protection against foreign goods required the august intervention of the Sovereign Council. For instance, in 1709 (CS, 117), "Edit de Sa Majesté qui porte défense de faire commerce et le transport du castor chez les habitants des colonies anglaises au préjudice des intérressés en la Compagnie des Castors." Again, in 1716 (CS, 137), "Sa Majesté, ayant esté informé qu'il se vend des marchandises de fabrique étrangère, ce qui cause un grand préjudice aux manufactures de son royaume . . . fait très expresses inhibitions et défenses" in the best style of the colonial system then followed by every country that had any colonies at all.

MONEY and PRICES exercize official vigilance at every turn. Card money (OI, iii, 287) required in 1686 the usual threats of "150 livres d'amende" to get it into circulation among a people who in many places, within living memory, had no faith in anything but *l'argent dur*. Currency questions were what Dr. Johnson would have called as anfractuous as ever in 1690 (OI, iii, 289), when the intendant "fixe de nouveau le cours des louis d'or, des demi-louis", and so on down the long and fluctuating line. In 1705 (OI, i, 1) it was ordered that in future "les droits d'entrée sur l'eau-de-vie, les vins et le tabac seront payés en monnaie de France." In 1723 (OI, i, 249), it was ordained that "tous les castors qui seront livrés à Montréal [where the name of Beaver Hall Hill preserves the memory of the Fur Lords under the British régime] après le dernier jour de septembre ne seront payés que l'année suivante en lettres de change sur France"—which reminds one of the old Hudson's Bay pound notes payable at twelve months on the Company's account in London. Students of economics—and *toutes autres personnes* too; for who isn't interested in the cost of living now?—will find many tit-bits of information in reference to prices. One document (OI, iii, 293) gives the price

of meat in 1701 as "cinq sous la livre, de Pâques à la Saint-Michel au carême à cause de la guerre." Another (OI, i, 33: in 1707) gives hide prices as follows: "peau de boeuf neuf livres, celle de vache six livres quinze sols, celle de veau douze sols." The price of meat in 1748 (OI, iii, 113) was "le veau cinq sols la livre et le mouton quatre sols." When Bigot and Cadet began operating the market ("Joseph Cadet seul, à l'exclusion de tous autres") "la viande de boucherie" was "trois sols six deniers la livre" (OI, iii, 137); but it soon went up, till, at the end of their nefarious reign, it stood at famine prices, when obtainable at all. Land values varied greatly. But it must be remembered that fiefs were different from the tenures of to-day. In 1730 (OI, ii, 80) the price "d'un fief sis à Chambly consistant en une demi-lieue de front sur une lieue de profondeur" was "3240 livres." Imagination fails to grasp an adequate idea of the "petite maison de bois" which "Lagneau, dit Poitevin, soldat," bought in 1727 (OI, ii, 4) from "Rhéaume, charretier" for "vingt-quatre livres." A very different kind of property—slaves—is duly mentioned here and there; with humane suggestion in 1736 (OI, ii, 209), when "tous les particuliers de ce pays qui voudront affranchir leurs esclaves seront tenus de le faire par un acte passé devant notaire."

INDIANS, and especially the trade with them, appear again and again. The first "Requête des habitants des Trois-Rivières au Conseil" in 1647 (JN, 3) "s'agit de la traite avec les sauvages." In 1705 (OI, i, 17) "les habitants de Notre-Dame des Neiges, en l'île de Montréal" are warned that "leurs terres seront confisquées s'ils donnent de l'eau-de-vie aux sauvages." In 1707 (OI, i, 32) fines and confiscations are threatened for all who trade "en aucuns autres endroits que dans les villes de Québec, Villemarie, et Trois-Rivières." In 1746 (OI, iii, 81) muskets, powder, lead, "et autres effets qui peuvent être nécessaires pour le service du Roi" are put under special ban as goods for the truck trade. An amusing entry (CS, 113) in the *Insinuations* for 1705 shows the Sovereign Council vainly trying to get the Indian place-names into official French with a liberal use of the letter 8. "La rivière Chach8mayk8sispy" must have puzzled the clerk who had to read the minutes.

VAGABONDAGE is a convenient term to cover everything that the authorities considered absence without leave. In 1678-9 (OI, iii, 280) the prohibition had to be renewed against going "à la traite dans les habitations des sauvages et dans les profondeurs des bois"; and while the second *ordonnance* "commet le

sieur Migeon de Branssat pour informer contre les personnes qui retirent les coureurs des bois et les favorisent en leur fournissant des marchandises." Then in 1681 (CS, 48) the king himself sent "Lettres d'amnistie pour les coureurs de bois qui ont fait commerce sans permission." But whether the wind of governmental doctrine blew hot or cold the *coureur de bois* remained a vagabond. Going to the south "à Manatte, Orange, et autres lieux appartenants aux Anglais et Hollandais" was considered infinitely worse. The Sovereign Council in 1684 (CS, 57) promulgated an "Edit de Sa Majesté pour la punition des Français . . . . qui comme chefs auront enterpris de déserter et se retirer chez les dits Anglais et Hollandais soient condamnés à mort, et à l'égard de ceux qui auront suivy les dits chefs soient condamnés aux galères à perpetuité." Nevertheless the intendants had to keep up a running fire of *ordonnances* about evasive trading with "Orange, Manatte, Boston, et autres lieux." In 1716 (OI, i, 160-1) the penalty was "deux mille livres pour la première fois et punition corporelle en cas de récidive." By 1732 the fine had been reduced to "cinq cents livres pour avoir été à Sarasto, Orange, La Menade, et Boston sans permission," and there was no mention of corporal punishment "en cas de récidive."

The NATURALIZATION of foreigners was not very common, but commoner than many suppose. The "Brevet de naturalité pour le sieur Feltz, allemand, chirurgien-major des troupes au Canada" (CS, 278: February 3, 1758) is interesting when we remember that this was in the middle of the Seven Years' War. Five years earlier (CS, 265) "Claude Thomas, anglais, établi au Canada depuis quarante-cinq ans" (and, like Feltz and all those who were naturalized in 1710 professing "la religion catholique, apostolique, et romaine") gives as one of his many reasons the fact that twenty-two of his children were all "établis dans la d. colonie." The 1710 lot fills nearly three of Mr. Roy's big pages, and probably was the greatest single haul New France ever made from New England and its Mother Country. There is what Mrs. Malaprop would have called "a nice derangement of epitaphs" in the spelling of the English and Irish surnames: witness, among the Irish, Jean Lara, Jean-Baptiste Ohé, and Jean-Baptiste Lorcol; and among the English, Scavlor, St. Oburn, Sloutz, 8tozer, Stobberer, Shrurer, Ohr, Goffurier, Tarbol, Fuin, and Furie. The reason probably is that, in those illiterate days, most of the English-speaking people naturalized in Canada had lived there long enough to forget even the proper sound of names they never knew how to spell.

THE CHURCH—*catholique, apostolique et romaine*—appears in these volumes only as one among the many other factors that made up the curious problem of New France. The Church's own archives deserve a separate study of their own, for no one can understand Quebec without understanding her French-Canadian children's real connection with their Mother Church. Here we need only end an article which has already passed its proper limits by noting a few typical entries which show how Church influence permeated the layman's life in the times which Mr. Roy's revealing volumes bring so vividly before us.

The French-Canadian bishop took the following oath of allegiance to the Crown of France (CS, 233: of 1741): "Sire, Je Henry Marie DuBreuil de Pontbriand, evesque de Québec, jure le très Saint et Sacré nom de Dieu, et promets à Votre Majesté que je luy seray tant que je vivray fidel sujet et serviteur . . . ." But, from Laval's day to our own, the French-Canadian clergy have been Ultramontane through and through. Gallicanism, discouraged under the French régime, never revived under the British, during which the French Revolution and all that followed tended still more to make Quebec derive from Rome direct, and not by way of France.

Church and State sometimes fell out: witness (CS, 6 *et seqq.*, 15-16; OI, iii, 221 *et seqq.*, etc.) the troubles raised in 1664 by "M. de Mézy, lieutenant-général et gouverneur de la Nouvelle-France," when he said that "les sieurs de Villeray et Dauteuil nommés pour conseillers et le sieur Bourdon pour procureur du Roy, à la persuasion du dict sieur de Pétrée [Bishop Laval] qui les connaissait, et entièrement ses créatures," were foisted on New France against the interests of the king and the public by Laval, etc., etc. Laval wished to make an attempt to settle matters quietly. But Mézy insisted that his *ordonnance* should be "lüe, publiée, et affichée au son du tambour aux lieux accoutumés de ce pays." Next year (1665) Mézy stuck to his point in a letter to Tracy, who was coming out as the king's personal representative in all French America. Mézy was then a rapidly dying man. But he forgot none of the troubles "de ce qui s'est passé entre M. l'Evesque de Pétrée, les Pères Jezuittes et moy" (CS, 15). He ends with a little human touch (CS, 16): "Vous aurez aussy pour agréable un petit présent que je vous faicts qui est une petite baricque de vin d'Espagne." The year following (1666) the story of the trouble is told again (OI, iii, 221) from a different point of view in the "Ordonnance de MM. de Tracy, Courcelles et Talon

sur une requête du Père LeMercier, Supérieur des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France, au sujet des Choses qui ont été écrites par feu M. de Mézy sur le compte des dits Jésuites." Father LeMercier wielded his caustic pen with such effect (OI, iii, 221-4) that by the end of the same month (May, 1666) the Sovereign Council ordained that all its records concerning the trouble should be immediately "biffés et rayés" for ever.

Orders for *corvées* to build or repair churches appear in both JN (*e.g.*, 378 and 293) and OI (*e.g.*, ii, 281). "Tous les habitants . . . chacun leur quote-part . . . en présence du missionaire, par le capitaine de la côte, le marguilliers, et les deux plus anciens habitants . . ." Mr. Roy's documents come down to the British régime, both before and after the Quebec Act of 1774. In 1761 (JN, 392) Murray "ordonne aux habitants de Saint Thomas de rembourser à leur curé" what had been spent on "travaux faits au presbytère." And in 1791 Dorchester appoints "Adam Mabane, John Fraser, Thomas Dunn, Hertel de Rouville, Pierre Panet, Gabriel-Elzéar Taschereau, et Pierre-Louis Descheneaux, Ecuiers, commissaires en vertu de l'acte concernant la construction et la réparation des églises." Tithes of course frequently occur. An interesting early entry is to be found in the *ordonnance* of Tracy, Courcelles, and Talon in 1667 (OI, iii, 246), where the following definition is laid down: "toutes les dixmes de quelque nature qu'elles puissent estre . . . se payeront seulement de treize portions une," that is, the "good old rule": "one for the Church and a dozen for yourself."

Daily life had churchly regulations, enforced by the civil power: *e.g.*, one (JN, 10) against eating meat in Lent, another (JN, 64) against holding markets during mass, and others (OI, i, 97; ii, 112; and iii, 1) against bad behaviour of various kinds in or near a church. These three regulations about behaviour are: (1) "Défenses à toutes personnes de causer dans les églises . . . ni de fumer à la porte . . . défense de sortir dans le temps que les curés font leurs prônes . . ." (2) "Très expresses défenses de sortir pendant le service et le prône pour fumer et causer au scandale des autres paroissiens." (3) "Défense aux habitants de la Nouvelle-France de s'injurier ni de se battre au devant de l'église."

WILLIAM WOOD

THE LITERATURE OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

FROM the army of English-speaking experts who laboured during 1919 at the *Majestic* and the *Crillon* there came during 1920 the beginnings of a bibliography of the new diplomacy. Mr. Keynes[1] was early in the field with his influential criticism of the peace and its makers, a criticism which has been not unfairly described by an American delegate as "a political pamphlet disguised as an economic analysis."[2] His American colleague, Mr. Baruch,[3] examined the reparation and economic clauses without permitting himself the luxury of a pyrotechnic Chapter III, and gave a valuable statement of the position adopted and maintained by Mr. Wilson's advisers, adding a verbatim report of an important debate on war costs, in which Mr. Dulles, one of the few "discoveries" of the Conference, clearly overwhelmed Mr. Hughes of Australia and M. Klotz in logical disputation. In 1920 came too the first serious efforts to explain the territorial solutions. In addition to the second of the volumes edited by Mr. Temperley, which will be noticed later, appeared a series of lectures delivered at Harvard by the two professors of history from that university who played leading parts in the Saar and Polish settlements;[4] and a small and quite unprovocative study of the new map was made by an acknowledged geographical expert,[5] though not one of those who so profoundly influenced certain sections of the treaty.

It is, however, the present year that has already seen the most striking increase of Peace Conference literature. Mr. Lansing has published his *pièce justificative* against the charge that he should have resigned his position when he found his views diametrically

[1] J. M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (London, 1920).

[2] C. H. Haskins, in the *Literary Review* (New York Evening Post), Jan. 8, 1921.

[3] Bernard M. Baruch, *The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty* (New York, 1920).

[4] C. H. Haskins and R. H. Lord, *Some Problems of the Peace Conference* (Cambridge, 1920).

[5] M. I. Newbigin, *Aftermath: a geographical study of the Peace Terms* (Edinburgh, 1920).

opposed to those of his chief.[1] The "revelations" of an apologist seldom throw a wide beam, and Mr. Lansing's are hardly an exception to the rule. He was admittedly a minor figure at Paris, and his contribution to the history of the Peace is far inferior in importance to the few pages on "Diplomacy by Conference" by Sir Maurice Hankey,[2] who speaks with great authority as the first and last secretary of the Council of Four, to whose regular sessions Mr. Keynes, for example, was, according to the official interpreter, not once admitted.[3] A statement of the French point of view, prepared for the American public by M. Tardieu, has also just come from the press.[4] Even propaganda (and this work is evidently more) commands attention when blessed by M. Clemenceau, who writes a foreword, and sponsored by "perhaps the most widely learned of all the Plenipotentiaries".[5] There are other names that the historical student will hope to see on title pages at the proper time. Mr. Headlam-Morley, whose influence on territorial questions was so great; Professor Shotwell, who, though an American commissioner, may fairly be called an outstanding Canadian at the Conference;[6] Mr. Philip Kerr, whose reputation stands not merely on his close association with the British Prime Minister, but on the brilliant reply to the German protest, for which he was primarily responsible[7]—these and many others well qualified by training and experience to help in the writing of history are still silent. Mr. George Louis Beer, lamented apostle of Anglo-American solidarity, left behind him much material on the subject which was his special study at Paris, and serious judgment on the problem of mandates may well be held in abeyance until the fruits of his research can be prepared for publication.

Considerable wealth of first-hand material, however, is now available, and we have perhaps as much knowledge already of the problems, the motives, and the *mise en scène* of Paris as of the Congress of Vienna. But the reader who is concerned with the care-

[1] R. Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations: a personal narrative* (Boston, 1921).

[2] Sir Maurice Hankey, *Diplomacy by Conference* (*Round Table*, March, 1921).

[3] M. Mantoux in *The Times*, Feb. 14, 1920: quoted by Haskins and Lord, *op. cit.* p. 27, n.

[4] André Tardieu, *The Truth about the Treaty* (Indianapolis, 1921).

[5] Temperley, *op. cit. infra*, vol. ii, p. 7.

[6] *Ibid*, vol. i, p. 245, n. Professor Shotwell's contribution to this work, in which nothing is signed, is not identifiable.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 271.

ful valuation of Conference literature is constantly hampered by the difficulty of appreciating perspective. He must know why it is not necessary to "scrap the treaty" because the reparation section is not, and was never meant to be, feasible; why Great Britain and the United States gave way to France over the admission of Germany to the League and the exclusion of German Austria from a Teutonic confederation; why President Wilson did one thing at Fiume and another at Shantung; why he insisted on the Covenant preceding and being incorporated in the treaties; why "open covenants openly arrived at" were after all born in his private apartment—and so on. Two composite works which attempt to give this wider view far outweigh the contributions hitherto mentioned. Each of these symposia has an unusual history. *What Really Happened at Paris*[1] is an all-American production. Under the direction of Colonel House, the *Public Ledger* has conducted in Philadelphia during the past winter a "forum on the peace conference." Before it a dozen of the leading figures of the House Commission delivered papers which were published verbatim at the time and are now appearing in book form. Varying in quality and breadth of vision, these addresses all contain much authoritative information. The best of them are concerned neither with making sensational revelations nor with developing the thesis that this or that personality or delegation monopolized wisdom. Occasionally, perhaps inevitably, the writer catches the atmosphere of his original audience and panders for a moment to the slight self-consciousness naturally characteristic of our North American communities that have had so little experience in international affairs, or to the general tendency on this side of the Atlantic to associate great matters with personal considerations. Thus Mr. Gompers can hardly be taken too seriously when he not only claims that "American labor wrote into the labor section the heart and soul of that section," but goes on to say that "what others were able to do was to soil in some measure the garb, the expression."[2] He ignores the known fact that the Commission for Labour Legislation was only saved from the dilemma of preparing impossible projects, in a Treaty which was supposed to be final, by the scheme for reconciling the functions of national legislative bodies and the International Labour Conference that was worked

[1] E. M. House and C. Seymour (eds.), *What Really Happened at Paris* (New York, 1921).

[2] S. Gompers, in *What Really Happened at Paris*, p. 327.

out by the British Delegation and became the framework upon which the whole of Part XIII was constructed.[1] The best of these papers make no such errors. Mr. David Hunter Miller, the President's legal adviser in the drafting of the Covenant, has a chapter on the making of the League of Nations distinguished by great breadth of view and sympathy with the arguments and services of other peoples. Mr. Lamont and Dr. Young reiterate without rancour the American attitude on finance and economics. Dr. Bowman and Dr. Douglas Johnson, respectively Chief Territorial Adviser and Chief of Division on Boundaries on Mr. Wilson's delegation, whose influence with him on such questions as Fiume is known to have been very great, command attention, if not always agreement, as they expound the American Commission's geographical arguments. Professor Haskins, the colleague of M. Tardieu and Mr. Headlam-Morley on Western European affairs, and Professor Lord, who fought for a great Poland against British insistence on the internationalization of Danzig and the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, both elaborate the arguments that appear in their earlier lectures. It would be premature to pass judgment on the arguments advanced until they can be collated with those of delegates from other countries. But the book, at a first reading, is plainly *sérieux*, and conceived for the most part in a judicial temper, with the determination that the American public shall know the whole truth as their representatives saw it.

Finally, and first in importance, there is the *History of the Peace Conference* edited by Mr. H. W. V. Temperley,[2] of which three large volumes have been available, but all too little studied, for some months past. These volumes cover exhaustively the situation when the Conference met (Vol. I), and the German Treaty (Vol. II), with a collection of documents (Vol. III) which include the treaty, the new German constitution, a complete chronology of the Conference, and several speeches by Mr. Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and General Smuts. Two more volumes are expected during the present year on the subsidiary treaties of St. Germain, Neuilly, Versailles (with Hungary), and Sèvres. This work is of great historical interest as a monument to the close co-operation of many members of the British and American delegations at Paris in the days when an

[1] Temperley, *op. cit. infra*, vol. ii, p. 36.

[2] H. W. V. Temperley (ed.), *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, vols. I-III (London, 1920).

Anglo-Saxon *bloc* really dominated world politics. The linking of the two groups of experts owed its origin to an informal suggestion, almost a chance remark, made by President Wilson to a vigorous Anglophile of the American delegation. Out of this beginning came the Institute of International Affairs and the planning of the present work by Lord Eustace Percy and Mr. G. L. Beer. Though Mr. Beer was able to complete a short chapter on mandates, which bears all the authority that attached to the chairman-designate of the Mandatory Commission and one of the most widely respected delegates of any nation, and though several other members of the House Commission contributed in one way or another, British experts are in the main responsible for the writing, and Professor Haskins pays them no small compliment in describing them as "candid and fair-minded to a degree which it is difficult to achieve."[1] These volumes will never be popular, for they make few piquant disclosures, and put forward both parts of every question dispassionately, even when one part is mere German sophistry. But here alone, among the books so far available to the student, achievements are placed first, failures second, and personalities last. Here alone is a really satisfactory attempt made to tell the whole story of the greatest effort of compression ever attempted—the reconstruction of the world in six months. The American stand for a fixed reparation sum receives insufficient emphasis, but this shortcoming has been rectified by the lecturers at Philadelphia. The absence of adequate reference to the part played by the British self-governing Dominions is a more serious omission. Apparently the book neither quotes nor comments upon the highly important and controversial point raised by Sir Robert Borden about Dominion status which drew from the "Big Three" a signed letter conceding the position taken up by the leading Canadian representative.[2] Mr. D. H. Miller comments thus upon the incident:

> The British Dominions were concerned about their status as members of the league. It seemed to them that the use of the word "states" in certain places in the text limited their rights, particularly

[1] In the *Literary Review*, *loc. cit.* Those parts of the settlement which are regarded in the United States as more especially advantageous to Great Britain—e.g., Constantinople, Mesopotamia, Danzig—are discussed in the later volumes. It will be interesting to note whether the contributors maintain with the American delegation their reputation for impartiality.

[2] This important document is printed at the end of the Canadian sessional paper on the League of Nations, No. 41 h, 1919.

in the matter of eligibility as members of the council; and this view was correct, for the language had been very carefully chosen in that regard; so the dominions urged that the wording be changed.

The question was a difficult one; that the dominions and India should be separately represented had been early conceded; [1] any other decision would have been impossible; . . . . to ignore the importance of Canada as compared with Haiti would be absurd; but while the international status of the British dominions has greatly changed and is still changing, that status could not yet be asserted by any lawyer to be technically that of independent states with a common sovereign.

President Wilson yielded to the wishes of the dominions against the views of some of his advisers.[2]

The position of Canada at the Conference was particularly interesting. The great powers were frequently known, even semi-officially, as "Powers with General Interests."[3] To this grouping Canada, almost alone among the self-governing Dominions and the minor independent powers, really belonged. This position gave Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues special opportunities of which we know little in detail, but of which judicious use seems to have been made. All the Dominion delegations had considerable prestige at Paris. Sir Maurice Hankey "asserts with confidence" that no important decision was taken by the Conference in which they were not consulted. Sir Robert Borden formulated the most powerful of the arguments against Article X.[4] On the League of Nations commission General Smuts spoke little, but exerted much influence. Both he and Mr. Hughes were prominent in the war costs controversy. Sir Robert Borden was vice-president of the important commission on Greek and Albanian affairs, Mr. Sifton of the commission on international communications, and Mr. Doherty president of the sub-committee on pre-war contracts. South African representations about German South-West Africa considerably modified the wording of clause 22,[5] and the attempt of the Japanese to obtain an amendment for

[1] It was agreed upon between President Wilson and Lord Robert Cecil before the first meeting of the League of Nations Commission (Miller, *What Really Happened at Paris*, p. 403).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

[3] Preston Slosson, *The Peace Conference* (Political Science Quarterly, vol. XXXV, p. 366).

[4] Miller, *loc. cit.* p. 411.

[5] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 233.

racial equality failed primarily, it seems, "because Australia had more influence with London than had Tokio."[1] There is more than enough material here for an important section in a general history of this nature. Dominion influence was a new phenomenon in diplomacy, and the failure sufficiently to emphasize its effect is the one noticeable omission in this most comprehensive scheme.

The impression made by the contribution of expert delegates to the literature of the Conference is well summed up in Dr. Young's fine-spirited lecture on the economic provisions:

> The Peace conference has been over-dramatized. Interpretation of it in terms of tactics and strategy and dramatic incidents is superficial. Mere cleverness had very little to do with it, one way or the other. Judgment, courage and understanding were the qualities that counted for most.[2]

Over-emphasis of the mistakes about reparation is largely responsible for the lack of restraint against which this protest is made. It was proper that the Central Powers should be made to feel that they are commanded to pay but a fraction of what they owe to humanity.[3] The great failure was that "judgment and courage and understanding" deserted the Council of Four when it came to telling the European peoples the simple truth about how much Germany could pay. The Americans throughout took the ground very strongly that the sum total to be collected should be stated from the first and estimated without interest charges.[4] Their economic arguments are now generally recognized by British authorities as sound, in spite of the serious objection to eliminating interest considerations in dealing with a people which has had no very conspicuous change of heart and is liable to take full advantage of any opportunity of eluding an honourable engagement.[5] It is clearly dangerous to try to extract from a conquered country huge sums, which, in the last analysis, can only be paid by the establishment of a great export trade. Where-

[1] Miller, *loc. cit.*, p. 415.

[2] A. A. Young, in *What Really Happened at Paris*, p. 296.

[3] Cf. the German treaty, articles 231, 232 (first paragraph), and Annex III, i.

[4] But Dr. Young agrees that in the political temper of the hour "the fixing of a maximum sum that would have been anywhere within the bounds of reason was definitely impossible" (*loc. cit.*, p. 301).

[5] "The attitude of Brockdorff-Rantzau damaged the legend that Germany was a regenerated and repentant democracy" (Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 2).

ever these exports go, they must necessarily be sold somewhat under the established market. It is not to be believed that Germany, if she could succeed in carrying out the engagements of the treaty, would not seriously embarrass the trade of other countries and ultimately establish so powerful a hold on world trade as to be immensely formidable again when the debt had been paid. A Spartan *régime* of economy and stern devotion to building up, at all hazards, a great surplus of export trade would be a powerful engine for re-developing a Chauvinistic nationalism. On the other hand, the point at which payment of an indemnity becomes dangerous to the recipients is not established. The French indemnity of '71 was of the greatest possible advantage to Prussia in laying the foundations of great industries. The money panic that occurred in Germany shortly after the payment is not a sound argument to the contrary, for it did not affect the national wealth, but merely necessitated a re-distribution of that wealth and a revaluation of commodities among the Germans themselves.[1] American critics are less disposed than Mr. Keynes to minimize the amount that the Germans can pay, and at the present time their government is disinclined to give Germany any support. This is in full accord with Mr. Wilson's general attitude at the Conference. He was never concerned with "letting the Germans off," and his constant references to "justice" as a criterion of settlement suggest the "theological, not intellectual" temperament with which Mr. Keynes makes such effective play.[2] The President was in fact particularly sensitive about the epithet "pro-German";[3] but not more so than scores of bankers and other men of business who chose to remain silent rather than incur the suspicion of considering the interests of the enemy.[4] In this way the whole financial settlement was vitiated by the intrusion of popular politics. It is needless any longer to belabour the khaki election with the club of Mr. Keynes. It is widely recognized as one of the outstanding blunders of the peace-making, like Mr. Wilson's Italian letter, the inability to foresee the result of the break-up of the Hapsburg monarchy, and the failure to realize

[1] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, cap. i, section iii, *passim.*

[2] Keynes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[4] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 57. Dr. Bowman shows the same forces at work in the territorial discussions: "At every turn one must give documentary evidence of hating the Germans, or one might be thought pro-German" (*What Really Happened at Paris*, p. 164).

that unless France were made absolutely secure she might be forced to retread the paths of nineteenth century Chauvinism. The muddying of the waters brought the scum to the surface in the pension claims, plainly irreconcilable with the Allied note of November 5, 1918. It is not clear why France accepted their inclusion without protest, for they largely increased the British share of the indemnity at her expense; nor is it at all understandable why the claim was sponsored by General Smuts, whom none can accuse of vindictiveness towards Germany.[1] Both Mr. Dulles[2] and Mr. Lamont[3] show that the American experts were unanimous against the claim. Yet it was Mr. Wilson who saved the situation for the governments who would not tell the truth to their peoples about German capacity to pay:—"Logic! Logic! I don't give a damn for logic! I am going to include pensions."[4] It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the President, who usually paid the greatest attention to the opinions of his experts (the weight of evidence is all against Mr. Lansing and Mr. Keynes on this point), had made up his mind to help Mr. Lloyd George out with his election promises. Mr. Temperley's contributor is in substantial agreement with all the other critics of this conspiracy of silence:

> By their refusal to face facts at the beginning, and to make the public understand that, however desirable this might be, it was impossible to throw more than a very small proportion of the costs of the war onto Germany's shoulders, the Allied statesmen had very greatly increased the difficulty of their tasks at the Conference. For from the beginning it was impossible for them to fulfil the pledge to which in popular expectation they were bound.[5]

This is not enough, however, to "scrap the treaty." The worst of Mr. Keynes's prophecies have not been fulfilled, except in Russia, which could not possibly be touched, and in Austria, where a grave mistake was undoubtedly made in dissociating the German treaty from the Central European solution as a whole, in order to hurry the main peace to a finish and meet labour demands for demobilization. Mr. Keynes made much of the parting of Upper Silesia from Germany, which has not occurred, thanks largely to

[1] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 14.
[2] *The Times*, Feb. 15, 1920.
[3] *What Really Happened at Paris*, p. 272.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 58.

the insistence of his own country, of which he so often seems to find it necessary to impartiality to think the worst. The ills of which Austria is the victim cannot properly be laid at the door of the Allies.[1] Certainly they are no more the result of the absence of any economic devices that might have been discovered in 1919 than of the desperate clinging of the treaty-makers, appalled by the complexity of the problems, to the principle of nationality as giving at least some form of logical basis to their endeavours.[2] Mr. Keynes took for granted that the Reparation Commission would carry their powers of interference in German affairs to a point of which neither they nor the treaty-makers ever dreamed.[3] His analysis of the total claim against Germany under Article 232 was a most remarkable feat of computation.[4] But his better remembered picture of Mr. Wilson as the victim of intriguing Imperialists, revarnished though it is in some measure by Mr. Lansing, is very sharply rejected by Colonel House's experts. Dr. Young writes:

> I must record here my emphatic dissent from the notion that the economic clauses were made harsh and intolerable through unnecessary concessions yielded by President Wilson because he was misled and outmanoeuvred by his colleagues in the council of four . . . . those who were associated with the President at Paris will tell you how supremely quick and alert he was in discussion or conference, and how easily and accurately he penetrated to the heart of the most complicated proposal.[5]

Another tells how he and some of his British colleagues kept score of points in a debating match between the President and Mr. Lloyd George, and of how the British conceded that the American scored them all.[6] Mr. Lansing charges his chief with not listening to his colleagues and being "by nature and inclination secretive".[7]

[1] "Nothing has happened that has lifted that reponsibility from the place where from the beginning it has rested. It is a hard thing to be patient with men who point to the economic dissolution war has wrought and say, 'There are the fruits of your peace' " (Young, *loc. cit.*, p. 317).

[2] Newbigin, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[3] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 89.

[4] Keynes, *op. cit.*, p. 161 n. His "low figure" was $32,000,000,000. The actual bill presented by the Reparation Commission on April 27, 1921, was roughly $31,770,000,000.

[5] Young, *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

[6] Dr. I. Bowman, *ibid*, p. 165.

[7] Lansing, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 215.

Mr. Keynes makes almost identically the same charge.[1] Mr. Lamont flatly contradicts them both:

> He is accused of having been unwilling to consult his colleagues. I never saw a man more ready and anxious to consult than he. He is accused of having been desirous to gain credit for himself and to ignore others. I never saw a man more considerate of those of his coadjutors who were working immediately with him, nor a man more ready to give them credit with other chiefs of state.[2]

That Mr. Wilson lacked detailed information of the Adriatic problem is stoutly denied by one of the geographers in whom he placed such reliance.[3] At the same time Mr. Lansing was not the only commissioner who found it difficult to "get at" the President, and this was the more unfortunate in that he had no carefully prepared programme like the French—he had, indeed, no programme at all beyond the Fourteen Points[4]—and no well-organized secretariat like the British.

> But the failure to delegate more of his work was not due to any inherent distrust that he had of men . . . . but simply to his lack of facility in knowing how to delegate work on a large scale. In execution we all have a blind spot in some part of our eye. President Wilson's was in his inability to use men; an inability, mind you, not a refusal. On the contrary when any of us volunteered or insisted upon taking responsibility off his shoulders he was delighted.[5]

This does not seem to have been Mr. Lansing's experience. But none of the "Big Three" relied on state officials as such, and all of them had been "accustomed to work in a loose informal organization, on which their own wills could be clearly stamped."[6]

The efficiency of the British delegation seems to have disposed for good of the tradition of "muddling through." Mr. Lloyd George, if we are to believe Mr. Lansing's rather disparaging judgment, was not the man to carry everything on his own shoulders like his two colleagues. Without the constant aid of his advisers, we are told, he would have been "decidedly out-

[1] Keynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 45.

[2] T. W. Lamont in *What Really Happened at Paris*, p. 273.

[3] Dr. Douglas Johnson in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, Jan. 8, 1921.

[4] Lansing, *op. cit.*, pp. 191, 201, where he claims that, as late as March 19, Mr. Wilson had not made up his mind whether the treaty should be preliminary or final.

[5] Lamont, *loc. cit.*, p. 273.

[6] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 266.

classed,"[1] not only by M. Clemenceau (who quarrelled with his President and Marshal Foch, and sometimes deserted his subordinates mercilessly and publicly), but apparently by Mr. Wilson. This estimate spoils Mr. Keynes's picture. Whether it be true or not, the American experts leave no doubt as to the support at Mr. Lloyd George's disposal:

> The British knew just what they wanted and how to get it. In training and experience they were second to no other delegation, and worked with a sureness of touch that aroused the deepest admiration.[2]

In Sir Maurice Hankey, Great Britain gave the Conference an organizing genius. His name suggests the greatly disputed question of diplomacy by conference and the argument for the Council of Four against Mr. Lansing's insistence that everything should be brought before the Plenary Conference.[3] There is no unanimity among the experts upon the proper definition of open diplomacy. Secret treaties the results of which are never published caused endless difficulty,[4] and seem definitely to have gone out of favour, though some who are filled with indignation against them seem to forget that treaties made under war conditions are really war engagements which cannot possibly be published at the time without serving the interests of the enemy; and also to overlook the fact that most of them were drawn when the issue was uncertain owing to the continued neutrality of the United States, when the war might have been lost before the United States could have mobilized, if countries like Italy and Greece could not have been induced to join the European Allies. But condemning secret unpublished treaties is one thing, and "openly arriving at" new treaties quite another. Mr. Lansing says that the Italians "realized their failure at Fiume to have been due to secret diplomacy".[5] Yet the subsequent resort to "open diplomacy, in the one instance when it was tried, almost resulted in a broken Conference,"[6]—which would not have been diplomacy at all. The Council of Four developed out of a situation which arose after

[1] *The Times*, March 24, 1921.

[2] Bowman, *loc. cit.*, p. 163.

[3] Lansing, *op. cit.*, chapter xvii, *passim.*

[4] W. N. Westermann deals mercilessly with their complication of the Balkan tangle (*What Really Happened at Paris*, Chapter viii).

[5] Lansing, *op. cit.*, pp. 233, 234.

[6] Slosson, *loc. cit.*, p. 364.

the return of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George to the Council of Ten in March:

> The Expert Commissions only too often could not agree, and presented two or more reports. The parties concerned had to be heard again and again . . . . Really intimate discussion became more and more difficult. Above all, a most irritating leakage commenced. The views expressed by members were repeated outside and published often in a perverted and exaggerated form. The members of the Council of Ten were pestered by interested parties to know if this or that "on dit" were true. In all this cackle and intrigue serious business was almost impossible. The transfer of the whole conference to some quieter spot was seriously considered.[1]

The less drastic solution of developing the British government's war expedient of an inner cabinet was reached by gradual stages. At first even Sir Maurice Hankey was not admitted, and perhaps Mr. Wilson at least originally intended a withdrawal from the Council of Ten for a few days only. If so, circumstances were too strong for him. Long before this date he had expressed a desire for informality "as he wanted to be able to change his views without having somebody quote to him what he had said before—a rather curious statement to be made by a man who has been supposed never to change his mind at all."[2] It was, of course, no less true of Mr. Wilson than of the other three that "when statesmen change their minds, as when actors change their costumes, they do it behind the scenes and not before the footlights."[3] Mr. Lansing believes that the Council of Four owed its origin primarily to the British Minister's "greatest perturbation over publicity."[4] Mr. Keynes's well-known opinion is that the other three found in it a chance to complete the isolation which the President's own temperament had initiated. Mr. Veblen has labelled the whole business as the "vulpine secrecy" of old diplomacy, frightened of Soviet Russia. The weight of opinion rejects these explanations as examples of "over-dramatization." The organizers of the Conference had produced their *bona-fides* by wasting valuable time in January in settling the details of the numerical representation of smaller powers in the Plenary Con-

[1] Hankey, *loc. cit.*
[2] Miller, *loc. cit.*, p. 409.
[3] Slosson, *loc. cit.*, p. 363.
[4] Lansing, in *The Times*, March 24, 1921.

ference. Now, in March, when more time had been lost, necessarily or unnecessarily, by the President's insistence on priority for the Covenant, it became inevitable that the executive should usurp the functions of the legislature:

> It is not without symbolic significance that so many meetings of the Conference were held in the "Hall of the Clock" at the French Foreign Office. Time was despot, and the Supreme Council but obeyed its mandate in shutting off free and full discussion and in leaving to the future decisions of the League of Nations and to the Reparations Commission so many questions that properly came within the purview of the Peace Conference.[1]

The treaty had to be drawn "for the world of 1919 by men of 1919, on the assumption that what was needed was an early peace as well as a just settlement".[2] Compromise was essential at every turn—it is amazing that educated critics sometimes ignore this elementary fact of international relationships[3]—and compromise in public debate is difficult and liable to constant misinterpretation by those who are not familiar with the background that has made it essential in the particular case. The compromises were not all bad, nor were by any means all of them American surrenders to European diplomacy. M. Clemenceau could not have abandoned the Rhenish Republic, Mr. Lloyd George could not have stood out for the Upper Silesian plebiscite, in a pitched battle fought before the world. Conversely, it was Mr. Wilson's change from private argument to popular appeal over Fiume that finally clinched the opposition of the Italian statesmen, who dared not give way publicly and see themselves outbid by D'Annunzio.[4]

The censorship, of course, had very bad effects, and towards the end not only the representatives of Small Powers smarted at being ignored. "The failure of the principal statesmen to make adequate use of the body of expert knowledge assembled at Paris is one of the main causes why parts of the settlement are not only unjust but unworkable."[5] Inconsistency in the use of experts seems one of the surest grounds for the charge that "foresight and

[1] Slosson, *loc. cit.*, p. 371.

[2] Haskins and Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[3] Dr. Young's admirable statement of the necessity of give and take at Paris disarms a large proportion of the hostile criticism that has been directed against the negotiations (*loc. cit.*, chapter xii).

[4] Slosson, *loc. cit.*, p. 363.

[5] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 276.

organizing ability were not the strong points of the Conference."[1] On the one hand, we have the "Wilson Line" at Fiume drawn by the American geographers and accepted immediately and without question by Mr. Wilson as the basis of his argument; the great authority exercised throughout by the Commission on Labour; and the development of some of the territorial commissions, at first mere sifters of evidence, into practical treaty-makers. On the other, we know that experts were never permitted to take part in the discussions of the Four, and only at the end in those of the Five—the "Second Eleven" of foreign ministers; and that in at least one chapter important changes were made without any consultation of the commission concerned.[2] It is difficult to meet Mr. Lansing's accusation that the failure to submit the final text to the small belligerent nations before it was seen by their defeated adversary "outraged the equal rights of independent and sovereign states."[3] M. Clemenceau's frank avowal that "the Great Powers, whose authority was supported by 12,000,000 soldiers, must control the Conference,"[4] even Mr. Wilson's "broad principle that responsibility for protecting and maintaining a settlement under one of the Peace Treaties carried with it the right to determine what that settlement should be,"[5] both testify that *Realpolitik* has not died with the birth of a League. So much, however, has been said on the side of the extreme advocates of open diplomacy, and criticism of the Council's methods has been so recently revived by Mr. Lansing, that Sir Maurice Hankey's considered opinion is worth quoting:

> The representatives of nations at these Conferences are responsible to their respective peoples, and unless these peoples are properly instructed by the fullest publicity, they will not form a true judgment of the issues. Premature publicity may, however, be fatal. Even in peace, the settlement of delicate international problems may sometimes be ruined or jeopardised by ill-timed publicity, as instanced by the failure of the Council of Ten in Paris . . . . My personal experience for what it is worth, is that the most important elements of success in diplomacy by conference are elasticity of procedure, small numbers, informality, personal

[1] Haskins and Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30.
[3] Lansing, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
[4] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 249.
[5] Lansing, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

> friendship among the principals, a proper perspective between secrecy in deliberation and publicity in results, reliable secretaries and interpreters . . . . Modern developments in international communications; the increased dependence of nations upon each other's products; the extension of colonies; and the increasing interest of labour organizations in foreign policy, all tend to produce international problems of the greatest difficulty. Their solution frequently requires resources beyond those of the most competent and qualified diplomatist. Such questions can only be settled in Conference by persons who have their hand on the pulse of the political conditions and currents of thought in their respective countries, who have at immediate disposal all the technical knowledge which Governments possess; who know how far they can persuade their fellow-countrymen to go in the direction of compromise; and who, in so much as they have to defend their policy before their respective parliaments, are alone in a position to make real concessions.[1]

There is one serious drawback to our new diplomacy by conference. Heralded by the Press, it is held in an atmosphere of public excitement and expectation, has all the attributes of a great political crisis, and is intimately concerned with internal politics.[2] It were idle to lay all the blame of the Paris mistakes on the heads of three or four political leaders or a thousand delegates. There are signs that some detractors of the "Carthaginian peace" are beginning to think that wider public influence on the Council of Four—"open diplomacy," if you will—would have produced a more moderate settlement. Such critics have short memories. The peoples as a whole made one noble, if inarticulate, contribution to the Conference when they stamped upon the minds of the statesmen the plain man's passionate hatred of war.[3] But in the search for the solution, the voices that reached the Conference from the general public were, almost without exception, uninspired by any note of enlightened criticism or suggestion. At its worst, the popular influence wrought more evil at the Conference than any other force. Thus the French economic proposals, says Dr. Young, were essentially political:

> Their ultimate effect upon the economic situation of Germany counted for less than their immeditate reception by the French

[1] Hankey, *loc. cit.*
[2] *Round Table*, March, 1921, p. 284.
[3] Temperley, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 21.

> press, the Chamber of Deputies, and the French voters . . . When the issue was pressed, the sound and fury of them seemed to be cherished even more than their effective content. The French government at that time was riding on the surface of a perilous sea of popular feeling. The ship had to be steered according to the waves and the wind, regardless sometimes of the true direction of the port.[1]

The British election, the telegrams from members of Parliament to Mr. Lloyd George in Paris, the temper of the French, Italian, and large sections of the English press, show quite clearly that if the people of 1919 had had their way, the treaty would not have been more moderate, but far less moderate. "The American delegates," says one of them,[2] "had the advantage of freedom from popular clamour at home, while the pressure upon Lloyd George and Clemenceau in Parliament and the Chamber was steadily exerted in favour of more extreme measures. There is much truth in the view that the defects of the treaty came from too much democracy, in this sense, rather than from too little."

R. HODDER WILLIAMS

[1] Young, *loc. cit.*, p. 300.
[2] Haskins, *loc. cit.*

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE BRANDY PARLIAMENT OF 1678

The controversy over prohibition in North America is not a new one. Its beginnings reach back two hundred and fifty years. In the days when Louis de Buade was trying to govern a few thousand Frenchmen on the shores of the St. Lawrence, and a few hundred more in the heart of the great wilderness, the traffic in intoxicants had already become a bone of bitter contention in New France. First and last in the history of the colony it was a prolific source of bickering and strife.

The story of the brandy trade in New France is a long one, and not altogether edifying; there is no need to repeat any portion of it here. Those who wanted the trade stopped were relentless in their pressure upon the king for such action, while equal or even greater pressure was put upon him by those who desired to have the trade continue. The royal government in France yielded, now a little to one side and again to the other, but could not be induced to go the whole way in either direction. In the course of these gyrations, however, Louis XIV was on one occasion persuaded by Colbert to adopt the expedient of referring the question to the judgment of representative men among the colonists, and accordingly there was convened at Quebec in the autumn of 1678 a body which for want of any other designation may be nicknamed the "Brandy Parliament."

By instructions[1] dated May 24, 1678, the king directed that the governor, intendant, and Sovereign Council should "convoke an assembly of the twenty leading inhabitants of the said country from among those who engage in commerce," and should lay the whole question before them. The opinions of each were to be written down and forwarded to France.

In compliance with these instructions the Sovereign Council

[1] The wording of the instructions is: "fissent une assemblée des vingt principaux habitans du dit païs du nombre de ceux qui s'appliquent au commerce pour examiner cette matière, en dresser un procès verbal et donner leurs avis, afin que Sa Maté. les ayant veus et considerez, elle puisse prendre la résolution qu'elle estimera plus convenable et plus avantagueuse au bien de cette colonie" (*Correspondance Générale*, 1673-1678, séries C, vol. 14, p. 308).

named Charles-Joseph d'Aillebout des Musseaux, Sidrac Dugué, Jacques Le Ber, François Berthelot, Jean-Baptiste Le Gardeur de Repentigny, Pierre Boucher de Boucherville, Pierre de Sorel, Alexandre Berthier, Pierre de St. Ours, François Jarret de Verchères, Jean Crevier de St. François, Etienne Pézard de La Touche-Champlain, Pierre Boulanger de St. Pierre, Nicholas Duplessis-Gâtineau, Chorel de St. Romain, René Robineau de Bécancour et de Portneuf, Claude Charron, Delestre de Vallon, Charles Roger des Columbiers, and Louis Jolliet as the "twenty leading inhabitants."[1] The assembly was convoked to meet at the Château de St. Louis, in Quebec, on October 10, 1678. On the morning of this date, however, it was found that three of those appointed, namely, the Sieurs D'Aillebout des Musseaux, Boucher de Boucherville, and Boulanger de St. Pierre had not arrived. An adjournment was, therefore, taken until two o'clock in the afternoon, and in the interval the Council, at a special meeting, named René Cavelier de La Salle, Jean Bourdon de Dombourg, and Michel Pelletier de La Prade to serve in place of the absentees.[2]

Subject to the limitation imposed by the king that the members should be chosen from among those "who engage in commerce," this was a fairly representative gathering.[3] It was not, however, representative of the colonial population as a whole, for it contained no members of the official class on the one hand, and no members of the clergy on the other, although both these elements were highly influential in the public opinion of the colony at the time. The majority of the members were seigneurs, but it is interesting to note that Charron, Vallon, and DesColumbiers, the three *échevins* of Quebec, were among those appointed.

Such as it was, this body marks the nearest approach that New France ever made to a representative assembly. On no other

[1] *Jugemens et déliberations du conseil souverain*, vol. II, pp. 247-248. The various names are badly mis-spelled in the Council's records.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 253-254. It appears, however, that there were four absentees in all, the fourth being François Berthelot, seigneur of the Island of Orleans. On the other hand, Pierre Picoté de Belestre was present and took part in the proceedings of the assembly although there seems to be no record of his appointment by the Sovereign Council.

[3] There appears to be no warrant for the statement in the Abbé Latour's *Vie de Laval* (p. 58) that Governor Frontenac handpicked the members of this little assembly, convoked them in his own house, and had them sign whatever he wished. The gathering contained some members whom Frontenac would assuredly not have appointed had he possessed entire discretion, and five of them expressed opinions quite at variance with those known to be held by the governor.

occasion, either before or after 1678, did the French government authorize the submission of any question of public policy to an assembly of colonists. Such matters were in most instances settled at Versailles without any preliminary attempt to discover the mind of the colony; in some cases they were left to the discretion of the Sovereign Council or the royal officials. For this reason the Brandy Parliament of 1768 has an historical significance quite apart from the question with which its members were immediately concerned.[1]

The members having assembled at two o'clock in the afternoon of October 10, 1678, the royal instructions were read. A memorandum, prepared in France by order of the king, setting forth in general terms the scope and difficulties of the question at issue, was also placed in the hands of each member.[2] No debate took place, and no votes were taken. Each member was asked to state his opinion, and a summary of each opinion was thereupon written down. The whole record, or *procès verbal*, was then attested by the greffier of the Sovereign Council and forwarded to the king.

Alexandre Berthier and Pierre de Sorel, two well-known seigneurs, were the first to be called upon. Both stated their opinion that it was necessary to sell brandy to the Indians for the reason that if the French did not do so, the Iroquois would procure it from New Holland, and use it in trade with those Indians who were within the French sphere of influence, particularly around Cataraqui where they had brought forty barrels of it during the preceding summer, the French having refused to give these Indians any brandy "on account of the scruples which the Bishop had put into their minds". If the Indians were bound to obtain brandy anyway, these two seigneurs argued, the French ought to supply it, for the Indians would then obtain "brandy of a better grade", and the French would get their furs in the bargain. Berthier and Sorel went on to point out, moreover, that Indians

[1] Parkman, in his discussion of the brandy trade, devotes only eight lines to this gathering. He gives the date wrongly as October 26, 1676 (*Old Régime in Canada*, vol. II, p. 127).

[2] This memorandum, which is entitled, *Mémoire fait par ordre du Roy sur la difficulté de la traitte des boissons aux Sauvages dans le Canada ou Nouvelle France*, is dated May 24, 1678. A copy may be found in *Correspondance Générale*, 1673-1678, séries C, I, vol. 14, p. 308. It merely sets forth, in a general way, the principal arguments which had been advanced for stopping the trade on the one hand, and for permitting it to continue on the other.

could drink brandy and nevertheless remain "very good Christians", as was demonstrated by the fact that the savages who had settled at La Prairie de la Magdelaine, Montreal, and Lorette did not ordinarily get drunk, "although they can drink whenever they have a mind to". As for offences due to drunkenness among the Indians, Berthier and Sorel declared that they had no knowledge of any single crime during six years. If the French should suppress the sale of brandy to Indians within the confines of the colony, these savages would go off to rejoin their own tribesmen, the French thereby losing their furs and their labour. The truth was, however, that these sedentary Indians along the St. Lawrence supplied very little in the way of furs and practically no labour for the cultivation of the lands.

Sidrac Dugué, a former officer of the Carignan regiment, seigneur of Isle de Ste. Thérèse, and later of Mille Isles, reiterated the argument that the Indians would get their liquor somewhere. If the French did not give it to them they would "go off to the English and Dutch, who, instead of giving them a knowledge of the Gospel, will make them fall into heresy". Dugué, furthermore, claimed to have personal knowledge that hundreds of Iroquois were taking their pelts to "foreigners" because the French would not give them brandy.

The next to bear testimony were Jean-Baptiste Le Gardeur de Repentigny and René Robineau de Bécancour, both of them well-known seigneurs who engaged at times in fur-trading as a side issue. They likewise held the traffic in *eau-de-vie* to be "necessary" at the trading depots because the prices of other goods used in the trade had been greatly raised and only by bartering brandy could the fur traffic be made to yield a profit. They were agreed, nevertheless, that the *coureurs-de-bois* ought to be prohibited from taking brandy into the wilderness. Repentigny and Bécancour repeated the warning that if the Indians were allowed to go off to the English and Dutch for their intoxicants, they would be instructed in "bad religion". This, throughout the whole controversy, was the stock argument of publicans and sinners. The only alternatives, according to the traders, were brandy and the true religion from the French, or rum and heresy from the English.

As for crimes among the redskins it was the opinion of Repentigny and Bécancour that native savagery, and not alcohol, was the underlying cause, as was shown by the fact that murder and polygamy were not at all unknown among tribes which obtained no liquor.

Jean Crevier, Sieur de St. François, suggested that the prohibition of the liquor trade would be "a great wrong to the country" in that it would cause a large number of Indians to move away from the French spheres of influence, thus depriving the people of a "great profit" which belongs to them. Crevier, too, declared his conviction that drunkenness was not an important cause of redskin depravity, as witness the case of the Ottawas who "daily commit all sorts of crimes," he said, although these Indians were under the instructions of the Jesuits.

The testimony of Pierre de St. Ours added little to that already recorded. He was in favour of unrestricted trade.

Picoté de Belestre, who spoke next, pointed out that the way to prevent disorders among the Indians was to punish those who committed crimes, rather than to stop the liquor traffic. Most of the murders in the Indian territories have sprung from "revenge, which is their dominating passion". Moreover, the colony had found, during the years in which the brandy trade was repressed, that many Indians took their furs to the English and thus injured the trade upon which the inhabitants of New France depended for their subsistence.

Roger des Columbiers, one of the Quebec *échevins*, painted a dismal picture of what would happen if the trade were stopped. Such action, he predicted, would mean "the destruction of the country and the ruination of commerce." The Indians, deprived of brandy, would ally with the English and make war on the French. His colleague, Claude Charron, endorsed this opinion. The savages, rebuffed by the French, would take their furs to the "neighbouring nations", from whom they would obtain not only liquor but "perhaps arms to make war on the colony". A decree of prohibition, according to Charron, could not be enforced anyhow. It might stifle legitimate trade, but boot-leggers would swarm into the wilderness in spite of any decrees. Chorel de St. Romain concurred in this general opinion, adding that even among the best-behaved people it was customary to conclude a bit of trading by drinking together. His solution of the whole question was to gallicize the Indians, inducing them to live among the French and be instructed there by the missionaries. The colony was already deep enough in misfortune, he thought, without having its trade flattened by restrictions at the behest of the bishop.

A somewhat novel argument was put forth by Pelletier de La Prade. The question, he declared, was not merely a matter of

expediency but of conscience, and in the colony there were many consciences which did not approve of restrictions already placed upon the trade. The result was that quarrels among the people had resulted; neighbours had been obliged to accuse their neighbours; restrictions were being applied and proposed which the consciences of many people did not approve. La Touche-Champlain added nothing of value to the discussion, his only contention being that if drink caused disorders among the Indians, the remedy was to punish the savages who made the disturbances, rather than to abolish the liquor trade.

Jarret de Verchères set forth his views at some length. He believed that restrictions would be of no avail because "the people could not suffer their profits to be passed to distant nations". In spite of their scruples they would circumvent the prohibitions. Since, therefore, the Indians were bound to obtain liquor through illicit channels, it would be better to treat them like men and give it to them openly. As for drunkenness and crimes the way to prevent these things was to let the Indians know the royal authority and realize that vices bring due punishment.

The most elaborate statement was that made by the explorer La Salle. There was no mistaking his attitude on the subject. He was for trade and transportation without restraint, such action "being necessary to preserve peace and commerce." If the transportation of liquor to the wilderness were not permitted, the right to sell it at the French settlements would be of little value because many of the Indians buy it to sell among their own people. It was for laymen, La Salle urged, and not for the clergy to decide what was the best policy in matters of commerce. Then La Salle proceeded to cite some statistics. The commerce of Canada, he said, consisted of sixty to eighty thousand beavers per year. The people who bought brandy numbered about 20,000 souls. A beaver skin cost, ordinarily, a half litre of brandy. From this it could readily be seen, La Salle argued, that either each Indian drank very little or else brandy brought in a large proportion of the pelts. If each Indian drank only a pint per year, it would account for one-quarter of the entire trade in beaver skins. Disturbances among the savages occurred so infrequently, he said, that they gave no real ground for prohibiting the liquor trade at the cost of the country. The Indians who were within the settled limits of the colony, numbering more than eight hundred in the villages of La Prairie de la Magdelaine, La Montagne de Montréal and Lorette, had not committed excesses, which showed, according

to La Salle, a greater spirit of law and order among them than prevailed in many French towns. Drunkenness among the Indians, La Salle declared, was far more common in New England, and certain Iroquois deputies had told Governor Andros of New York that their people were withdrawing into the French territories to escape the debauchery and disturbances which came from the free use of liquor in territories adjacent to the English and Dutch settlements.

The twenty thousand Indians with whom the French maintained trading relations were, according to La Salle's testimony, relatively well-behaved. They created, in five or six years, less disturbance than often took place "at two or three public fairs in a little Breton town." Many of the Indians drank no brandy themselves but merely bought it to re-sell afar off and bring back pelts for it. When restrictions had been placed upon the trade disorders had increased, not diminished. The chief sinners had been the boot-leggers (*vagabons*) who gave the Indians cheap stuff at high prices and thus caused bad feeling among the tribes. If the trade were shut off, La Salle predicted that war with the Iroquois would be unavoidable because the high cost of merchandise would fill them with distrust.

Thus far, opinions had run in the same groove. There were five dissenters, however, and these now made themselves heard. Nicholas Duplessis-Gâtineau was opposed to the continuance of the trade, believing that it spelt the ruin of religion. The Indians got drunk continually, neglected the sacraments and their prayers, and lived like unbelievers. The trade meant damnation for white and red men alike. Brandy did not serve the best interests of trade, in Gâtineau's opinion. The Indian went into debt to get liquor; in two months he would spend more on drink than would suffice to maintain his family for two years. Vallon, the Quebec *échevin*, seconded Gâtineau's views. The trade ought to be forbidden. It led to great disorders. Louis Jolliet was of the same opinion. The transportation of brandy into the Indian country should be forbidden "under penalty of death". But letting the Indians have a little liquor at the homes of the French inhabitants was another thing, and Jolliet would have this tolerated, provided due care be taken "not to make them drunk". His experience was that some Indians used liquor wisely, but that very few of them were in this category. Jacques Le Ber was of substantially the same mind. He would allow the Indian to obtain liquor in a Frenchman's home but would forbid all trans-

portation of it to the woods. The argument that liquor served to attract the confidence of the Indians Le Ber knew to be nonsense. The contrary was more nearly the truth. The furs would come to the French, he believed, whether they gave brandy for them or not.

Jean Bourdon de Dombourg, a leading seigneur who had served as surveyor-general of the colony, was the last to state his views. He was unalterably against the trade. Prohibition would put an end to disorders; the savages would live in peace; they would not stop trapping pelts for want of a little brandy. Moreover, the French would then devote themselves to the tilling of the soil and the country would prosper. The trade was not only taking men off the land but it was debauching all who engaged in it. Drunken Indians were committing all sorts of crimes and were being ruthlessly cheated by the traders. Bourdon's plea that the trade injured the country by drawing the best blood of the country away from the tillage of the soil was the most sensible thing said in the entire day's proceedings.

The assembly, judged by its expression of individual opinions, stood fifteen to five. The "wets" outweighed their opponents three to one. Whether this was indicative of the general feeling among the people of the colony in 1678, no one can safely say. At any rate the minutes of the gathering were duly authenticated and sent home to the king. They undoubtedly influenced the subsequent policy of the home authorities as regards the Indian trade. The precedent would have been a good one to follow in the determination of other matters, but no similar assembly was ever again convoked in New France. This gathering of 1678 was unique. A transcript of its *procès-verbal* is worth printing.[1]

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

[*Transcript.*]

Procès-verbal de l'assemblée tenue au Château de Saint Louis de Québec le 10 octobre 1678 et jours suivans au sujet des boissons enyvrantes que l'on traite aux Sauvages.

Québec, 10 octobre 1678.

Le dixiesme jour d'octobre mil six cent soixante dix huit, Nous Jacques Duchesneau, Chevalier Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils,

[1] This document, so far as I can ascertain, has never been published heretofore, although some authors have given quotations from it, notably Professor Mack Eastman in his *Church and State in New France* (Edinburgh, 1915), pp. 191-195. A MS. copy is on file in the Public Archives at Ottawa.

Intendant de la justice, police et finances en Canada, et pays de la France septentrionalle, En conséquence de l'Arrest du Conseil d'Etat du Roy tenu à Saint Germain en Laye le vingt-deuxiesme May dernier à nous envoyé, signé Colbert et commission sur iceluy, signée Louis, Et plus bas Par le Roy Colbert, Et scellée du grand sceau de cire jaune, adressante à Monsieur le comte de Frontenac, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Gouverneur et Lieutenant général pour Sa Majesté en ce païs. A nous et aux sieurs Officiers du Conseil Souverain de Québec, par lequel Arrest Sa Majesté a ordonné que par mondit sieur le Comte de Frontenac et nous conjointement avec les d. sieurs Officiers, il sera fait assemblée de vingt des plus anciens et principaux habitans du d. païs, qui donneront leurs avis sur le commerce qui se fait avec les sauvages des vins, eaux de vye et autres boissons enyvrantes, et des conditions ausquelles il peut et doit estre interdit ou continué, dont il seroit par nous dressé procès verbal, qui seroit signé de mondit sieur le Comte de Frontenac, et des officiers du dit Conseil, et envoyé à Sa Majesté. Nous serions allez aud. Conseil qui se tient dans le Château Saint-Louis de Québec, dans lequel loge mond. sieur le Comte de Frontenac, ou estans, nous aurions représenté les d. arrest et commission, ensemble le mémoire fait par ordre de Sa Majesté sur la difficulté de la traite des d. boissons. En suite de quoy et après les avoir examines, nous aurions tous conjointement convenu que pour leur exécution, les sieurs Berthier, escuyer sieur du dit lieu, de Saurel, escuyer sieur de Saurel, Le Gardeur escuyer sieur de Repentigny, Robineau escuyer sieur de Bécancourt, et de Portneuf, Pezard escuyer sieur de la Tousche Champlain, Du Gué escuyer sieur de Sainte-Thérèse, Boucher, escuyer sieur de Boucherville, De Verchère sieur du d. lieu, Le Bert bourgeois de la ville de Montreal, Jolliet bourgeois de cette ville de Québec, Crevier Sr de Saint François, Boullenger Sr. de St. Pierre, Saint Ours escuyer sieur du d. lieu, Picotté Sr. de Bellestre, Saint Romain habitant du dit Champlain, Duplessis Gastineau habitant du Cap, D'ailleboust escuyer sieur de Musseaux, Charron, Le Vallon, et Roger Sr Descoulombiers eschevins de la d. ville de Québec, seroient avertis de se trouver aud. Conseil le mecredy vingt sixieme du présent mois pour donner leurs avis sur la ditte traitte.

Et avenu le d. jour de Mecredy vingt-sixiesme des d. mois et an neuf heures du matin, le d. Conseil estant assemblé. Nous y serions allés, où estans pour l'absence des d. sieurs de Boucherville, Desmusseaux et de St. Pierre, le Conseil auroit remis à prendre les d. avis à ce jourd'huy deux heures de relevée, Et où auroit esté nommé en leur lieu et place les sieurs Cavelier escuyer sieur de la Salle, Gouverneur du fort de Frontenac, Pelletier sieur de la Prade et Jean Bourdon Sr Dombourg.

Et à la dite heure de deux de relevée, tous les sieurs susnommes auroient comparu aud. Conseil, ausquels nous aurions fait faire lecture par le greffier d'iceluy de l'Arrest et commission cy dessus dattes, Ensemble du d. Mémoire fait par ordre de Sa Maté sur la difficulté de la d. traitte, duquel ils auroient desja eu communication et tiré des copies, Ensuite de quoy ils auroient tous donné leurs avis par escrit séparement d'eux signes. Et qui ont este paraphes par mondit Sieur le Comte de Frontenac et nous, qui sont sçavoir, ceux des d. Sieurs Berthier et de Saurel, qu'ils est nécessaire de donner de l'eau de vye aux Sauvages, parce que le transport des boissons se fait dans les lieux esloignez ou dans les habitations françoises, que celuy des lieux esloignes regarde les Iroquois qui de tout temps faisant leur commerce avec la Nouvelle Hollande en tirent de l'eau de vye, tant par sa proximité que par la facilité des chemins, et l'ont en si grande abondance qu'ils en ont transporté l'esté dernier à Cataroquoy quarante barils, par ce que les François leur en refusoient, a cause du scrupule que met dans les esprits Monsieur l'Evesque, et que ce refus n'empesche pas que les Sauvages ne s'enyvrent pas avec l'eau de vye hollandoise, et commettent les crimes dont on les accuse. Mais il est très préjudiciable au commerce qu'ils transportent aux hollandois, ce qu'on empescheroit aisément si on leur donnoit de l'eau de vye qui est bien meilleure que celle de la Nouvelle Hollande, Et on les obligeroit par ce moyen d'apporter aux françois toutes leurs pelleteries, sans qu'on deust aprehender que la Religion en souffrit, puisque les Sauvages de la praisrie de la Magdelaine, de Montréal et de Lorette sont fort bons chrestiens et ne s'enyvrent pas ordinairement quoy qu'ils ayent des boissons quand ils veulent. Et que pour ce qui concerne les autres Sauvages qui sont dans les habitations françoises depuis Sillery jusqu'au dit Montréal dans l'estendue de soixante lieues, qui sont les endroits les plus habituez du pays, au nombre de huit à neuf cent, que l'eau de vye ne les empesche pas d'embrasser le christianisme, parce qu'il n'y en a pas un de chrestien, ny ayant point de Missionnaires pour les instruire, Et que les d. Sieurs Berthier et de Saurel, n'ont pas de connaissance qu'il se soit commis aucun crime depuis six ans par les dits Sauvages, causez par l'ivrongnerie, Et que si on ne leur traitte pas de l'eau de vye, ils s'en iront demeurer à Orange ou est une grande partie de leur nation, Et les françois seront prives de leurs pelleteries et de leur travail pour la culture de leurs terres.

Celuy des d. Sieur Du Gué, que le d. commerce de l'eau de vye est absolument nécessaire pour attirer les Sauvages dans les colonies françoises, et les empescher de porter leurs pelleteries aux Estrangers, ce qui ne peut en aucune façon préjudicier à la conversion des d. Sauvages ny à l'augmentation de la Religion. Au contraire, que si cette permis-

sion n'est donnée, les Sauvages pouvant trouver de l'eau de vye ailleurs, ils s'en iront aux Anglais et Hollandois, qui au lieu de leur donner connaissance de l'Evangile, les obligeront de tomber dans l'hérésie, ou ils les laisseront dans leurs superstitions, et ne reviendront plus avec les françois. Et qu'il a connoissance qu'il s'est retiré plus de trois cent Iroquois qui estoient a la chasse au long sault sur la Rivière a trente lieues de Montréal, faute de leur avoir donné de l'eau de vye, et ont porté leurs pelleteries aux Estrangers.

Ceux des d. Sieurs de Repentigny et de Bécancourt, qu'il faut permettre les boissons aux Sauvages. Et que ce traficq est nécessaire, aux conditions d'empescher les coureurs des bois et vagabons d'en porter dans les lieux ou les d. Sauvages font leur chasse, sous de très rigoureuses peines. Et qu'il est d'un extrême besoin pour l'établissement du commerce et celuy de la Religion, de leur donner à boire puis qu'assurement si on leur en refuse ils s'éloigneront de nous et iront aux hollandois et anglois en chercher et y porteront leurs pelleteries, et osteront aux habitans françois le benéfice qu'ils en reçoivent d'eux par ce commerce qui est le seul qui donne quelque profit, a cause de la grande cherté des autres marchandises que l'on leur traitte. Et parce qu' allant aux Estrangers ils demeureront dans leur idolatrie, ou au moins s'instruiront dans leur mauvaise Religion, que quant à ce qui concerne les désordres prétendus, qu'ils n'ont aucune connoissance des meurtres, incestes et adultaires que l'on dit estre arrives par la boisson depuis qu' elle a esté permise, qu'il est bien vray qu'il y a eu quelquechose de semblable parmy des peuple qui ne font aucun usage de ces sortes de boissons comme au sault Sainte Marie cinq ou six Sauvages violèrent une femme et ensuite luy coupèrent la teste, ce qui est un effet tout pur de leur barbarie. Et qu'on a veu l'automne dernier le chef des Otaoüas nommé Talon qui avoit sept femmes, et un autre chef des Poutoüatamis qui avait les deux soeurs pour femmes, quoy qu'ils soient au milieu des Missions. Et que pour ce qui est du cas réservé, qu' il n'a fait aucun bien, au contraire qu'il n'a servy qu'a jetter du scrupulle dans les consciences et causer peut estre la damnation de quelques habitans.

Celuy du sieur Crevier, que si la traitte de l'eau de vye n'estoit permise celà feroit un tort très considerable au païs en ce que grand nombre de Sauvages Sokokis qui sy sont habitues et qui sont eleves dans la boisson parmy les Anglois, y retourneroient et priveroient les habitans d'un grand profit qu'ils leur aportent, n'ayant aucune connaissance qu'ils passent aucun desordre dans leur ivrongnerie, et s'il en arrive, ce n'est point par cette raison, puisque les Outaoüas, qui ne font aucun usage de boissons et qui sont instruits par les Jésuites, com-

mettent journellement toutes sortes de crimes, ce qui fait voir que c'est leur humeur barbare qui les porte a ces méchancetes.

Celuy du d. sieur de Saint Ours, que le commerce de l'eau de vye doit estre libre, afin que les marchands et autres de ce pais puissent librement négocier des boissons et autres marchandises pour les pelleteries des Sauvages, atendu que ce n'est pas seulement parmy eux que l'ivrongnerie arrive, mais dans les lieux les plus polices et remplis de chrestiens, et que l'on n'a point encore ouy dire que l'on eust fait un cas réservé pour des marchands s'ils ont vendu des boissons a des gens qui en ayent abusé.

Celuy du dit sieur de Belestre, qu'on ne doit pas faire de difficulté de donner de la boisson aus d. Sauvages, mais qu'on les doit châtier quand ils commettront des désordres causes par l'ivrongnerie ou autrement, par ce que la pluspart des meurtres qui se sont commis n'ont esté par la boisson seulement, mais par vengeance qui est leur passion dominante et par un esprit malicieux. Outre que depuis deux ans qu'on a voulu restreindre les d. boissons, les Sauvages se sont retires dans leurs païs pour avoir plus de facilité a porter leurs pelleteries aux Anglois, ce qui cause un grand préjudice au commerce que font les habitans de ce païs qui n'ont que ce seul trafic pour la subsistance de leurs familles, et qu'il est très difficile de faire son salut tant que le cas réservé subsistera, atendu qu'on ne peut s'empescher de donner de la boisson aus d. Sauvages.

Celuy du d. Descoulombiers, que la traitte de l'eau de vye doit estre permise parce qu'autrement ce seroit la destruction du pais, que le commerce se ruineroit, d'autant que les Anglois et Hollandois en traittent avec les Sauvages et ont en échange leurs pelleteries en leur fournissant des boissons et des marchandises, et que s'ils ne trouvoient parmy les habitans de cette colonie leurs besoins, ils se retireroient parmy les d. nations, hollandoises et angloises, et nous feroient la guerre.

Celuy du d. Sieur Charron, que la d. traitte des boissons doit estre permise, parce que si on ne donne de l'eau de vye aux Sauvages ils en trouveront chez les nations voisines, ensemble des hardes et peut estre des armes pour faire la guerre a cette colonie. Et que s'il est défendu de porter des boissons dans les bois, ce sera un procés qui ne se dessidera pas sitost, doutant fort qu'on le pust empescher, Et ce seroit donner lieu a tous les libertins et volontaires d'aller dans les bois avec plus d'avidité et mesme de se ranger du costé des Estrangers en privant les habitans de la d. traitte des boissons.

Celuy du d. Sr. Romain, qu'il est très prejudiciable au pais de défendre la d. traitte, tant pour son accroissement que pour l'intérest des habitans, atendu que parmy les peuples les mieux polices, on termine beaucoup de

Marchez et comptes et on entretient l'union en beuvant ensemble, Et que ne laissant par la liberté aux Sauvages de vivre comme nous, ils ne se feront jamais Chrestiens, quoy qu'ils demandent des missionaires et qu'on pust espérer que par les bonnes instructions qui leur seront données, avec les bons exemples qu'ils auront devant eux, ils vivront parmy les françois, qui les retireront des grands désordres ou l'on dit que quelques uns se sont portez, qu'il y en a des marques a la praisrie de la Magdelaine, puisque les Sauvages qui y sont raisonnent bien et ne se laissent point tromper dans le commerce qu'ils font de leurs pelleteries et acheptent librement des boissons des françois. Ce qui fait voir que tant qu'il y aura des lieux établis connue celuy de la praisrie de la Magdelaine et de Lorette, ce seront autant de séminaires pour l'instruction des Sauvages qui y seront esleves. Et qu'il y a en tous lieux des Pères qui travaillent pour la gloire de Dieu et le service du Roy, y ayant assez de malheureux dans le païs sans que le cas réservé de Monsieur l'Evesque en face davantage, qui sont au désespoir de mourir sans secours, les prestres n'en ayant pas le pouvoir de leur en donner.

Celuy du dit Sr. de la Prade, que bien éloigné de former des dificultés sur la d. traitte de boissons, elle doit estre permise, tant pour ce qui regarde les consciences, que la liberté du commerce. Ce seroit un mal très grand si on la défendoit, et qu'il sçait par expérience que depuis les défences qu'on a faittes d'en donner en toute liberté, il est arrivé de grandes divisions parmy les peuples. Et les consciences n'ont pas seulement eu les embaras que leur avoit causé le cas réservé, mais encore ceux que leur ont donné les querelles arrivées entre les familles, qui ont obligé les voisins d'accuser leur voisin, afin qu'on ne leur fit pas porter aucune des peines contenues dans les Ordonnances qui ont esté rendues sur ce sujet.

Celuy du dit Sieur de la Tousche Champlain, qu'il est bon de donner à boire aux Sauvages, mais que ceux qui leur en traitteront se règlent sur ce sujet, et que si les Sauvages font quelque désordre, qu'ils soient punis suivant le délict et de la manière qu'on châtie les françois. Et qu'à l'egard du cas réservé, qu'il est bon qu'il ne subsiste pas, à cause de l'embaras qu'il cause aux consciences, et qui n'empesche pas qu'on ne donne de l'eau de vye aux Sauvages.

Celuy du d. Sieur de Verchères, que la d. traitte doit estre entièrement permise, tant des d. boissons comme des autres marchandises, estant extrêmement utile au commerce du païs. Et pour donner le repos aux consciences qui depuis plusieurs années ont esté troublées parce qu'on n'a pu empescher les personnes qui en paraissoient les plus esloignées de faire ce commerce, voyant bien que ce n'étoit qu'un mistère qui continueroit s'il n'y estoit pourveu par Sa Majesté. D'autant qu'en premier

lieu, le cas reservé a fait un très grand tort au d. commerce, les habitans ne pouvant souffrir qu'on emportast le proffict chez les Nations esloignes, et qu'ils n'ont fait aucune difficulté de passer par dessus toutes considérations, quoy qu'il leur reste du scrupule. Ce qui les a obligez d'estre plusieurs années sans s'approcher des sacremens. En second lieu, que l'on fait croire que les Sauvages ont une grande avidité pour la boisson, ce qui devroit estre parce qu'elle ne leur est donnée qu'en cachette pour leur argent, et que cette manière d'agir leur fait connoistre qu'on les traite en bestes et qu'on veut les distinguer des françois. Ce qui leur peut donner occasion de s'en esloigner. Et que si on usoit autrement, on les obligeroit à vivre comme nous et a nous servir. Et que loin que cette liberté de traitter de la boisson les empesche d'embrasser nôtre Religion, elle les y porteroit, ce qui se prouve par les nations Outaouases qui ne sont point enclins a boire et chez lesquels on n'a pas fait de grands progrez, que quant aux désordres que la dite traitte cause, ils sont en petit nombre a proportion des peuples. Et que lorsqu'ils connoissent l'autorité Royalle et la manière dont on punit les vices, ils n'y sont pas communs.

Celuy du sieur De la Salle, qu'on doit permettre sans réserve la traitte et le transport des boissons aux Sauvages, parce qu'elle est entièrement nécessaire pour conserver la paix et le commerce, qu'autant qu'il est a propos que les juges ordinaires châtient sévèrement les désordres qui pourroient arriver par cette permission, autant est il a souhaiter que Monsieur l'Evesque voulut décharger du scrupule du cas réservé, qui trouble les consciences, qui met la division dans les familles, et cause du scandale sans aucun fruict et sans qu'il y ait lieu d'en espérer.

Qu'il est de la dernière conséquence pour la tranquilité publique de permettre au défendre absolument le transport des boissons sans autre réserve que de punir ceux qui feront du désordre. Si on accorde cette liberté, parce que le transport seul est important au commerce, la permission d'en donner dans les habitations estant peu utile, d'autant qu'il ne s'en fait pas une grande consommation et que les sauvages n'en traittent considérablement que pour la vendre chez eux qui est la seule raison que les oblige de venir parmy nous, ny estant pas invites par l'envie de boire, en pouvant trouver plus proche et en grande abondance chez les Estrangers.

Qu'on ne peut disconvenir que cette liberté est nécessaire au commerce parce que l'usage n'en est point criminel, et que le salut de la colonie en dépend qui peut l'autoriser estant une chose indifférente d'elle mesme, quoy qu'il en arrive du mal par accident contre l'intention de celuy qui s'en sert. Et que c'est aux laïques seulement à descider sur ce qui est bon ou mauvais au commerce, et non aux Ecclésiastiques.

Et que pour prouver davantage la nécessité du dit transport, on doit remarquer que le commerce du Canada consiste en soixante ou quatre vingt mil castors par an au plus. Et que les peuples qui acheptent la boisson sont au nombre d'environ vingt mille âmes, qu'on ne donne ordinairement pour chaque castor qu'une chopine d'eau de vie et qu'il suit de celà que si chacun de ces Sauvages la boit seulement par année, il en revient au pais le tiers ou le quart de tout ce castor. Et cependant les Sauvages ne se pourroient enyvrer qu'une fois ne beuvant que cette quantité dont on tireroit vingt mil castors.

Qu'il est impossible que tous ces Sauvages s'enyvrent, ou qu'ils tombent si souvent dans ce désordre ou bien ils acheptent de la boisson pour beaucoup plus de vingt mil castors, ce qui fait conclure que ce commerce fait la plus grande partie du nostre, ou que les Sauvages s'enyvrent rarement, que s'il est arrivé peu souvent des désordres, ce ne doit pas estre un motif suffisant pour en defendre la cause au préjudice du repos d'un païs, que ceux qui arrivent par accident doivent êstre chaties, mais ce commerce doit estre permis.

Qu'on ne peut convenir de ce qu'on avance de l'emportement des Sauvages pour la boisson, par ce qu'on remarque tous les jours, et ce que disent les Missionnaires qui demeurent d'accord qu'il y a treize ou quatorze cent Iroquois et Hurons qui vivent avec nous, il y en a plus de huit cent de ceux qui composent les bourgades de la praisrie de la Magdelaine, de la Montagne de Montreál et de Lorette qui se sont entierement retires de la débauche depuis quatre ou cinq ans qu'ils y demeurent, ce qui marque une disposition a la discipline et à l'ordre bien plus raisonnable que celle de plusieurs françois. Ce que les députes sauvages qui furent entendus il y a peu de temps par mon d. sieur le Comte de Frontenac et nous confirmèrent et raporterent que l'ivrongnerie estoit plus soufferte dans la Nouvelle Angleterre, que parmy nous, puis qu'ils assurèrent avoir dit au Sieur Andros, Gouverneur de Manatte qu'ils s'estoient retirez avec nous pour esviter la débauche et le grand débordement ou plusieiurs de leurs compatriottes vivoient au sujet de l'eau de vye dans le voisinage des Anglais et Hollandois.

Qu'il ne faut que faire réflexion sur ce que les françois feroient dans la débauche s'ils n'éstoient retenus par l'aprehension des loix, et en faire comparaison a ce qui arrive parmy les sauvages qui vivent dans l'impunité. Et on verra que vingt mil de ces Barbares qui n'aprehendent aucune punition dans leur pays ne commettent pas tant de désordres dans cinq ou six ans qu'ils en arrive dans deux ou trois foires d'une petite ville de Bretagne.

Qu'il est certain et qu'il a connoissance qu'il y a grand nombre de Sauvages qui ne boivent jamais de vin ny d'eau de vie, et qui n'en

acheptent que pour l'aller revendre bien loin et en apporter les pelleteries.

Que les désordres sont si peu fréquents qu'a peine en trouverra on sept a huit depuis six ans, qui sont plutost l'effet de leur barbarie que des boissons qu'ils acheptent. Et qu'il en arrive beaucoup plus souvent dans les Nations qui n'en usent point, a cause qu'elles sont bien plus esloignées de nous, qu'elles ne connoissent pas nos manières, ausquelles elles s'accoutument peu a peu. Ce qui se connoist manifestement par ce que pendant la plus grande rigueur des Ordonnances les d. desordres estoient plus connus que depuis qu'elles ont esté révoqueés.

Qu'il est certain que cette liberté du transport des boissons diminuera le désordre, parce qu'on ostera le moyen aux libertins de les aller commettre avec les Sauvages, qui par leur interest aimeront mieux venir achepter de la boisson a bon marché dans les habitations, que de s'arrester aux vagabons qui ne leur en peuvent donner que tres peu et bien chèrement. Et ce sera le moyen que les honnestes gens qui feront ce commerce en toute sûreté s'oposeront au prejudice qu'y causeroient les vagabons.

Qu'il est important qu'il fase remarquer qu'estant obligé a la conservation du poste que Sa Majesté luy a confié, que si le transport des boissons est interdit, la guerre est infaillible avec les Iroquois dans très peu de temps, a cause de la cherté des denrées, ainsi que les lettres des Missionaires le portent. Et qu'il doit tout apréhender si on leur reffuse d'autre moyen de les attirer pour leur oster la deffiance qu'on leur inspire.

Celuy du dit Duplessis Gasteneau qu'il ne faut traitter aucune eau de vye aux Sauvages, d'autant que cette traitte ruine la Religion, parce qu'on les a veus autrefois assidus aux prières et a la frequentation des sacremens, et que maintenant ils vivent comme des athées et commettent toutes sortes de crimes, ce qui procède de l'ivrongnerie continuelle dans la quelle ils sont, que la ditte traitte met les françois et sauvages dans un estat de damnation, les uns par le mépris qu'ils font des ordres de l'Eglise, et les autres par ce qu'ils ne boivent que pour s'enyvrer, que cette traitte ruine le commerce, par ce que Sauvages s'endettent de tous costez pour boire et qu'un d'eux depense plus en boisson dans deux mois, qu'il ne feroit en deux ans pour l'entretien de sa famille.

Celuy du d. Sieur le Vallon, qu'il est nécessaire que la dite traitte soit défendue par ce que les Sauvages et sauvagesses comettent de très grands désordres, ce qui fait que les françois vont dans les bois pour leur en traitter.

Celuy du dit sieur Jolliet, qu'il faut défendre, sur peine de la vie, de transporter des boissons dans les bois au devant des Sauvages qui commercent avec les françois. Comme aussy aus dits sauvages d'en emporter

mais qu'il soit permis aux habitans de leur en donner dans les maisons et aux lieux ou l'on traffique avec modération, esvitant de les enyvrer. Et s'il arrive quelques désordres, qu'ils soient châtiez. Et qu'il n'est pas vray de dire que tous les Sauvages s'enyvrent, quelques uns en usant bien, comme ceux qui sont parmy nous, d'autres mesme en font traffic et acheptent de l'eau de vye aux habitations et la portent dans les bois vendre ou eschanger de castor, dont ils ont ensuite de la boisson et des marchandises, qu'il est vray qu'il s'en trouve peu de ceux cy, et que de deux cent, il n'y en a pas trois.

Celuy du dit sieur le Bert, que l'on pourroit donner la liberté de traitter de l'eau de vye dans les maisons avec modération et d'empescher que les françois et les Sauvages n'eussent point la liberté d'en transporter dans les bois ny dans les cabanes. Et que pour ce qui est allégué que la liberté de donner des boissons a boire aux Sauvages est un moyen pour les attirer a la foy, qu'il soutient au contraire que c'est plutost une opposition. Et qu'a l'esgard du commerce, qu'on leur en traitte ou non, c'est toujours la mesme chose, et que leurs pelleteries tomberont toujours entre les mains des habitans.

Et Celuy du dit sieur Dombourg, que si la traitte des boissons est défendue on ne verra point de désordres, que les Sauvages vivront en paix, qu'on ne s'arrestera plus a attraper leurs pelleteries pour un peu de boisson qu'on leur donne, et que les françois s'adonneront a la culture des terres, ce qui sera cause que le païs fleurira, qu'au contraire si la dite traite est permise, le pais déchoira, bien loin d'augmenter, et Dieu sera très mal servy, parce que les Sauvages ne boivent que pour s'enyvrer, que lorsqu'ils sont yvres, ils commettent beaucoup de crimes et incestes, les enfans tuent leurs pères, violent leurs soeurs, les mères tuent leurs enfans, et les femmes se prostituent pour une chopine d'eau de vye, que si la liberté de cette traitte est accordée on ne verra que des coureurs des bois pour en traitter, que c'est un grand péché de donner pour vingt sols d'eau de vye en échange de six a sept francs de Castor, et que, lorsque les dits Sauvages ont beu, ils vendent tout ce qu'ils ont, et donnent quelque fois un fusil pour demy septier d'eau de vye, que cela est si vray qu'on ne void plus tant de Sauvages depuis qu'ils traittent des boissons, comme il y en avoit auparavant, par ce qu'ils en boyvent en si grande quantité qu'ils en meurent. Et cette passion de boyre empesche leur conversion, par ce que depuis qu'ils y sont accoutumez, ils ne veulent plus faire autre chose, ny entendre parler de Dieu.

Dont et de tout ce que dessus. Nous avons dressé le présent procès verbal, pour iceluy envoyé à Sa Majesté, estre par elle ordonné ce qu'il appartiendra, les jour et an susdits. Et sont les dits avis signez et paraphez, demeurez attachez au présent procès verbal. Et ont signé Fron-

tenac, du Chesneau, Rouer Villeray Le Gardeur Tilly, Damours, Dupont, de Peiras, C. de Bermen, D'auteuil, et Peuvret.

Collationné a l'original demeuré ez liasses du. Greffe du dit Conseil Souverain, par moy Conseiller Secrétaire du Roy et Greffier en chef au dit Conseil. A Québec le vingt unième Aoust mil six cent quatre vingt treize.

PEUVRET

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Outline of History, being a Plain History of Life and Mankind. By H. G. WELLS. Two vols. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1920. Pp. xix, 648; x, 676. ($12.)

FOR six months now Mr. H. G. Wells's *Outline of History* has been running the gauntlet of the reviewers. It was hailed by the general public with great acclaim. The book had the supreme merit of being interesting, and it was something that an author should compel literally hundreds of thousands of people to read from cover to cover two good-sized volumes which professed to contain the salient things in the "plain history of Life and Mankind", beginning with "the Making of our World", and ending with a prophecy of the federal government of the whole world and a suggestion of the means by which it may be brought about. Mr. Wells's book does not lack boldness of conception and execution. He had to face the criticism not merely of the experts in history but also of experts in physical science, for his earlier chapters explain the origin of man in the great scheme of nature. Even adverse critics are obliged to admit that Mr. Wells restates accurately the information which he derives from his authorities. He has vivid insight, and his acute mind seizes quickly the vital things in his enquiry. Mr. Hilaire Belloc undertook a terrific onslaught on Mr. Wells's history, and claimed the right as an expert to denounce it as reflecting Victorian Oxford. But those who followed the controversy would probably agree that the evidence of a muddled mind convicted not Mr. Wells but his assailant.

The half is already fulfilled of Mr. Belloc's prophesy regarding the *Outline:* "It will have a prodigious vogue in its own world and an early grave." If the other half prove to be true, it will not alter the fact that perhaps a million minds have already received whatever of suggestion and enlightenment the book contains for them; and this influence will continue, no matter how soon the yawning grave of oblivion closes on the work itself. Mr. Wells has done his bit to explain to the men of to-day how their society came to be what it is. He estimates the values of all phases of human society in all continents. He shrinks from nothing. He is as ready to explain the course of past events in China, India, and Egypt, as he is to tell us what Greece and Rome and England have done. Saul and Jonathan rub shoulders here with Philip of Macedon and Alexander. Jesus of Nazareth is explained side by side with Mahomet;

and Jengis Khan is outlined as fully as Napoleon Bonaparte. It is a marvellous canvas. Mr. Wells never shows any doubt of himself. He has, it is true, employed critics like Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. Ernest Barker, and Sir H. H. Johnston to warn him of pitfalls, but he is as ready to differ from as to agree with them.

Mr. Wells has irritated the historians. Mr. Belloc takes a fling at his "sincere faith in the manuals." Certainly he has consulted the most recent manuals. Of this the historians who themselves write manuals should not complain. The difference between them and Mr. Wells is that, in writing the manuals, after consulting various and contradictory sources of information, they were on many things still in doubt. If they put their conclusions in a positive form, it was because this was necessary if a manual was to be a manual and not a treatise. An intelligence equally acute might have reached conclusions widely different after examining the same evidence. The truth is that the closer we get to the varied qualities of a great figure in history the more delicate will be seen to be the *nuances* of circumstance and capacity which determine action. Mr. Wells has not this insight. His Alexander and his Napoleon are figures jet black. He even goes so far as to say that Napoleon III was a more capable man than Napoleon I, and he is not jesting. An historian who knew more than Mr. Wells would be less positive.

Here we touch the vital defect of the work. A brilliant novelist, with a powerful and discriminating imagination, with a style which, in spite of lack of charm, never lacks lucidity, with an assured literary position, undertakes to tell the world the meaning of the really vital things which have happened in the history of man. But we have not read far before we see that Mr. Wells is standing on a particular part of the earth's surface. He has, every one must admit, amazingly keen eye-sight, but inevitably its range is limited. We soon find defects in the training of the observer. His outlook is not detached. He is a radical, and he can find little good in kings or nobles; he is anti-militarist, and therefore he dislikes soldiers; his conception of the Christian religion is purely ethical; he has no understanding of that vast hierarchical system which for centuries swayed Europe and believed in mysteries which to Mr. Wells seem only nonsense. A chief defect of Mr. Wells as an interpreter of world history is that he is always a European. He has little understanding of the vitality of the forces in man's history which lie beyond Europe.

This defect becomes the more glaring the more closely Mr. Wells comes to our own time. We can not dispute with him about Jengis Khan, for in that field he has as much right to be certain as we have. But when he turns to explain America and the self-governing British

Empire in history he becomes suburban in outlook. He is not really interested. He devotes as many pages to the flight to Varennes as he devotes lines to the South African War. He thinks that the time may come when the constitution of the United States may be regarded as belonging by right to the primitive neolithic age. He thinks that Canada stands in much the same relation to England as the state of New York does to the federal government at Washington, and that "colonial politicians" are hardly fit to have a place in the counsels of the world. All this Mr. Wells says with grave cocksureness. When the present is interpreted with an outlook so parochial, we wonder what can be the value of an *Outline of History* written from the same point of view. But what other man would have had the courage to tackle such a task and to perform it in so coherent a manner?

GEORGE M. WRONG

The British Commonwealth of Nations: A Study of its Past and Future Development. By H. DUNCAN HALL. London: Methuen & Co. 1920. Pp. xviii, 393. (10sh. 6d.)

MR. HALL'S book is of vital importance to all students of that most interesting of constitutional developments, the British Empire, or as one would rather have it, the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is an admirable summary of the meaning of the past hundred years in colonial history. But it is no mechanical narrative. Mr. Hall has his very definite point of view, and it must be owned that he goes far to convince his readers that he is right.

The book had its origin in an investigation conducted by the Fabian Society; and is a new proof of the importance of that society as the chief stimulus within the Empire to correct processes of political thought. It gives a clear, if brief, account of the preliminary stages of imperial growth, whereby colonies became Dominions, and Dominions grew together into a new type of political organism. Incidentally it reveals how large a part Canada played in discovering the government appropriate to the incipient nation, and the full implications of responsible government.

Mr. Hall joins battle with the federationist school of imperial politicians, not fiercely but with determination. He stands for co-operation as against imperial federation; and the Curtis school of federationists has never been more rationally or damagingly criticized than in these pages. For him the loose methods of co-operation have an efficiency and elasticity not to be found in the romantic legalism of Mr. Curtis and the *Round Table*. It was once possible to think of the *Round Table* group as applying Fabian Society methods to the study of Empire.

But Mr. Hall's volume, as contrasted with Mr. Curtis's *Problem of the Commonwealth*, proves that in spite of their socialist creed, the Fabians have always possessed a freedom from propagandism, and a fruitful openmindedness, which compare very favourably with *Round Table* unwillingness to accept results which do not square with preconceived ideas. For Mr. Hall, the whole teaching of the Imperial Conferences, and of their culmination in the co-operation of the British nations in the war, goes counter to the idea of the federal super-state. He does not banish the idea of a federation from his view of imperial politics, but for him the world moves very slowly to that very far-off event: "We are groping slowly," he says, "towards political and economic democracy—towards a new state, towards a new economic and social system, and above all towards a new human nature, with a far wider range of human sympathy. When the foundations of this new soceity are more firmly laid, and when the populations of the Dominions more nearly balance that of the United Kingdom, the peoples of the British Commonwealth are likely to discover that, in order to achieve their common purposes more effectively, they require to establish a super-national authority. Then the dreams of Imperial Federation may become a practical reality: but it is safe to predict that the Imperial Federation which may then be adopted will have to be a broader and a much more adaptable form of government than any yet suggested by federalists" (p. 225). To which the cynical federalist might add that the next ice age may possibly have anticipated this result.

For the author and for his readers, the central point of interest lies in the international bearings of the new British Commonwealth. It was a natural thing for a group of semi-independent states to grow to nationhood without a breach of unity. It was a complicated, but yet natural, growth which produced the expansible and powerful system which operated in 1914. But the co-operative commonwealth had to face a new test when it asked the outside world to take it into the League of Nations on its own terms. Mr. Hall sees very clearly the dangers here, from misunderstanding on the part of others, or from a too easy assumption of right on the part of Commonwealth statesmen. He demands from our leaders "that the British peoples should seize the first opportunity to set clearly before the whole world, by means of a general declaration of constitutional right, the real nature of their relationship to one another within the British Commonwealth." Apart from this clarification of status, he suggests that, within the League of Nations, the British model may serve for the erection, not of alliances, but of groups of states, held together by natural common interests. Each state in this group would have its status of a nation in the League

assembly, while the group, like the British unit, would be represented on the League council. The chief difficulty here is that the British group is not only first in the field, but possesses a solidarity which other groups might envy without being able to imitate. And further, unless United States endearments can turn the Monroe doctrine into something more affectionate than it has seemed to be these last hundred years, the great Republic may easily find herself a little solitary, and continue to grudge the Commonwealth its undeniable six votes.

We are still too deeply immersed in events to make a habit of prophecy wise. But Mr. Hall usually keeps on the safe side of prophecy, and his book is a challenge to us to watch events, and ourselves, closely. Nothing in these last twenty years has been so significant as the share taken in shaping and defining the Commonwealth by men of the Dominions. It is possible to hold that not Chamberlain but Laurier, not Milner but Smuts, not the British cabinet but the members of the Imperial Conferences, have been the true leaders into our present greatness. It is therefore appropriate that a graduate of Sydney University should have written the first really adequate account of the operation of great recent events on the British Empire.

J. L. MORISON

Dominion Home Rule in Practice. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. (The World To-Day: No. 8.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. 63.

RARELY does one come across a little book which one can praise so unreservedly as this. Within the compass of what is hardly more than a pamphlet, Professor Berriedale Keith has set himself the task of describing the position of the self-governing Dominions in the British Empire; and the way in which he has performed the task affords a striking example of condensation and lucidity. Not only has he provided a summary of the salient portions of his *Responsible Government in the Dominions* and his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions*, but he has brought these excellent treatises down to date; and all with such masterly ease and simplicity that one hardly realizes the weight of learning that lies behind every sentence he writes.

The scope of the book can be briefly indicated. The first chapter gives an account of the government of the Dominions, with reference to their more or less uniform systems of cabinet government, parliamentary rule, and law administration. A second chapter then discusses the application of the federal principle in Canada and Australia. Having described the political machinery of the Dominions, the author next turns to the powers of the United Kingdom. These he discusses under

the several heads of foreign affairs, defence, and "constitutional affairs"—dealing, under the last heading, with constitutional changes, judicial appeals, and honours. Lastly, he devotes a chapter to the subject of imperial co-operation.

Naturally, one turns with especial interest to those passages in which Professor Keith deals with developments that have arisen since his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* was published in 1916. It is worthy of notice that he lays it down as his opinion that the discussion of the question of the appellate jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council at the Imperial Conference in 1918 "revealed clearly that its maintenance is gradually becoming impossible in its present form" (p. 50). His verdict upon the Imperial War Cabinet is remarkably clear-headed. He denies that it possessed "executive authority throughout the Empire similar to that exercised by an ordinary cabinet over its territory"; and he sees no essential difference between the functions of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. "The termination of the war has not brought to a close any vitally new experiment; it has merely removed those special circumstances which gave to Imperial consultation a wholly unusual importance. The Imperial Defence Committee, which has been resuscitated since the termination of active hostilities, and to the meetings of which Dominion representatives are summoned when matters of interest to the Dominions are under discussion, is the natural successor under peace conditions of the Imperial War Cabinet" (p. 56).

Professor Keith sees also clearly the implications of the inclusion of Canada and the other Dominions in the League of Nations, especially as regards their position in the British Empire. "The League Covenant," he says, "while it undoubtedly magnifies the status of the Dominions, at the same time unites them in a closer and more effective link with the United Kingdom. Merely as colonies, the Dominions undertook no obligation to render active military or naval assistance to the United Kingdom in war—a position from which Sir Wilfrid Laurier never receded; as members of the League they have undertaken definite obligations towards one another and the Empire as a whole" (p. 50).

These are only a few of many interesting and important passages which might be quoted from this unpretentious brochure. No student of imperial questions should delude himself into ignoring it on account of its brevity. As an addendum to the author's previous work, it is part of the essential literature of the subject; and as a handbook of imperial politics, one could only wish that it were in the hands of everybody.

Autonomy and Federation within Empire: The British Self-governing Dominions. Prepared under the supervision of JAMES BROWN SCOTT. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law: Pamphlet Series, No. 33.) Washington: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1921. Pp. xvi, 352. (Gratis.)

THIS little book is an attempt to place before the public, in the form of original documents, the essential facts in connection with the development and organization of the British Empire, so far as the self-governing Dominions are concerned. The ignorance which exists in many countries with regard to the true autonomous character of the Dominions alone makes the attempt worth while; and the convenience to students of British imperial policy in having in brief compendious form a large number of the fundamental documents of the British Empire can hardly be exaggerated.

The method of selection employed is original. The growth of autonomy or self-government is illustrated by means of documents drawn from the constitutional history of Newfoundland and New Zealand; and the application of the federal principle is illustrated by reference to the fundamental laws governing the constitutions of Canada, Australia, and South Africa. This arrangement has the advantage of placing in an easily accessible form the otherwise out-of-the-way documents relating to the constitutional history of Newfoundland and New Zealand; but it is open to the objection that the growth of self-government in the British colonies is best illustrated by reference to that colony where it was first achieved, Canada.

In some other respects, the book is open to criticism. The omission, in the Canadian section, of the British North America Act, 1915, is surely an oversight; and the dates set down in the preface for the "grant of ministerial responsibility" to the various Canadian colonies are in several cases incorrect. Neither Ontario (Upper Canada) nor Quebec (Lower Canada), for instance, got responsible government "in 1839" (p. vi): Lower Canada, indeed, was at that time under the rule of an arbitrary nominated council. Nor did British Columbia have to wait until "1871" (p. v.) until it got self-government. There were only four, not "five" (p. vii), provinces in the original confederation of 1867; and to say that the remaining provinces were added from time to time "out of territory already part of the Dominion" is very wide of the truth. Just as the historical sketch contained in the preface is inadequate, so is the bibliography inadequate. It ignores a large number of books of first-class importance, and it lists several books of no importance at all.

On the other hand, the volume contains a very full and useful index, which should be of the greatest value to students using it as a source-book.

Question de Droit: Du Mariage. Par A. A. BRUNEAU. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1921. Pp. 290. ($5.00.)

MR. JUSTICE BRUNEAU of the Superior Court of the province of Quebec at Richelieu, had, in the course of his official duty, to try an action brought by a Jew of Montreal named Kaplan, claiming that his marriage with a Russian Jewess, Goldstein, was null and void. The plaintiff was of the tribe of Levi; the defendant had been divorced in Russia; and the plaintiff had married her in ignorance of this fact. By Jewish law, a descendant of Levi must not marry a divorced woman; consequently, on discovery of the fact, the plaintiff left the defendant, and sought relief in the civil court. To decide the case, the learned judge went over the whole field of the Roman law, the early and mediaeval civil law, and the canon law, and even examined the common law. He investigated the law of Canada before and after the conquest of 1759-60, down to, and including, the latest Dominion and Quebec statutes.

As his colleague, Mr. Justice Lafontaine, says in his appreciative and appropriate introduction, "Since the notes of his judgment could not find a place in the Reports of the Courts, he has conceived the happy idea of making them into a book for the common advantage of lawyers, theologians, and historians, who can avail themselves of the information in full measure"; and so we have this book of 290 pages, a work in all respects worthy of its able and scholarly author. Other writers have more or less fully dealt with the provisions of Article 127 of the Quebec Civil Code, which is considered to place all religious bodies, Jews not excluded, on the same footing, and to subject everyone to the impediments against lawful marriage laid down in the rules of his own Church or religious society; but the present is by far the most exhaustive study of the matter, and Mr. Justice Bruneau has laid all students of Canadian law and history under a deep obligation, for the care, diligence, skill, and accuracy which he exhibits in his book.

He begins by showing that the Code is substantially a systematized statement of the existing law—that the law of the province, at all events from and after the Quebec Act of 1774, was substantially the *Coutume de Paris*, and that in the old French law the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was recognized in matters relating to marriage. "The provisions of our civil code as to marriage, and especially those of Article 127, give to it the same religious stamp as the ancient law." He then shows by citation of statutes, etc., that the province of Quebec

has for nearly a century placed the Jews on the same footing as other British subjects.

The ancient capitularies, ordinances, edicts, and declarations are discussed at length, from the time of Childebert I, who in 552 forbade marriages "entre beau-frère et belle-soeur, et belle-mère," down to the Declaration of Louis XV, on November 22, 1730, which aimed to prevent and to punish forcible compulsion of women to live with a man (rape) or even persuasion to the same (seduction). In this part of the work are given the decrees of the Council of Trent; and it will be news to some who joined in the outcry against the *Ne Temere* Decree that the Council of Trent actually reduced instead of (as is generally supposed) increasing the number of impediments to lawful marriage.

An exceedingly valuable account is given of the legislation and decisions in Canada from 1663 to 1769. But what many will think the most interesting, if not the most instructive, part of the book, is the section on the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada before the promulgation of the Civil Code. The first case before the Superior Council at Quebec, raising the question of this jurisdiction, was in 1676. Noir Rolland, a Montreal merchant, complained of the abbé Guyotte, curé of Lachine, who refused him absolution on the pretext that he had sold brandy to the Indians. Rolland betook himself to a Jesuit father, Fremin, at Laprairie, who heard his confession, and gave him a certificate, which he sent to Guyotte; but Guyotte the following Sunday declared him excluded from the communion of Christians. In November, 1676, Rolland went to church to hear mass, but was ordered out by the curé, and at length forcibly ejected as an excommunicate. Here the story ends. François Perrot, governor of Montreal in Frontenac's time, was also accused of selling brandy to the Indians; this story is well and entertainingly told. In 1714 a complaint was made on behalf of a young girl against the Recollet curé of Three Rivers, who had charged her with obtaining from the celebrated Dr. Sarrazin medicines to relieve her pregnancy. The story is told of the extraordinary case of the marriage, in 1711, of Paul de Monthéléon, recently arrived from Paris, who could not prove that he was not already married, who was therefore denied the marriage ceremony with his fiancée, Marie-Anne-Joseph de Lestringan de Saint-Martin, but declared in presence of witnesses that he took her as his wife, and thereafter they lived as man and wife, until forbidden so to do by the Council. Subsequently the recalcitrant received a letter from his mother, setting out that he had not been previously married, and giving her consent to marriage with Marie-Anne-Joseph, when, upon verification of the letter, the two lovers were sent before the grand-

vicaire, there to contract a marriage with the formalities required by the Church and the law of the realm. And so we may hope that the bizarre "*mariage à la gaumine*" ended happily after all.

It would be impossible even to indicate the treasures, legal, historical, and literary, of this learned, and at the same delightful, work. Everyone will not agree in all of the author's statements; the present writer cannot; but all will agree that his views are courteously and carefully stated, that his quotations of the authorities are accurate and to the point, and that there is nothing that savours of intolerance or unfairness.

The unfortunate "defenderesse," the Jewess who had divorced her husband in Russia, comes in for a crack now and then, but the blows are meant not for her, but for the arguments of her counsel; if it is suggested that she will "sans doute" veil her face in the presence of an act so disloyal as the Church of England establishing "une officialité" in Canada, it is simply, *crede experto*, the judicial way of telling counsel not to make fools of themselves.

The book is well printed; and the proof has been carefully read. The only errors which have met the eye are trivial: *quam* for *quem*, *qui* for *quâ*, a few letters left out in the French and English texts, and the like.

It is to be hoped that other judges who have made an exhaustive investigation into a legal question may be induced to follow the example of Mr. Justice Bruneau; we have all too few of such works. There must be many instances of research in which it is impossible to set out the result in a legal judgment; the present writer has, within the year, read many scores of documents in the Public Archives of Canada and elsewhere, to determine a legal question, but could not set out in the judgment a fiftieth part of the information so obtained.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

Jean-Daniel Dumas, Le Héros de la Monongahéla: Esquisse Biographique. Par FRANCIS-J. AUDET. Montrèal: G. Ducharme. 1920. Pp. 135.

IN part, this brief sketch is controversial. The point at issue is not connected directly with the life of Dumas, but only with the information his correspondence gives concerning the question as to who was actually commandant of Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's defeat. This distinction has been assigned to the Sieur de Beaujeu by both Shea and the Abbé Daniel. M. Audet thinks that both writers have accepted uncritically evidence furnished them to this effect by the Beaujeu family, among whom the claim for the Sieur de Beaujeu is held as a family tradition. Neither Shea nor the Abbé Daniel made use, it is alleged, of the official correspondence relating to the campaigns in

the Ohio Valley. In the reports from the French side is a letter, which M. Audet reproduces, from Dumas to the Minister of the Marine, written by Dumas the year after his defeat of Braddock. The unequivocal reference in this letter to M. de Contrecoeur as the actual commandant of the fort, would seem to show that M. de Contrecoeur had not by then relinquished his command; although the Sieur de Beaujeu had been gazetted as his successor, and was waiting to relieve him at the time of Braddock's advance. To this slight extent M. Audet feels he must discount the over-reaching claim put forward in behalf of the Sieur de Beaujeu. As between M. de Contrecoeur, the Sieur de Beaujeu, and M. Dumas, and the part each took in the victory of the Monongahéla, M. Audet's work now makes a more accurate appraisal possible.

Occasionally M. Audet betrays a resentful partiality. To the English advance to the Ohio he gives the character of an unjustifiable "invasion." The death of the Sieur de Jumonville at the hands of Washington's detachment, becomes an "assassination," even though Garneau, whose narrative M. Audet otherwise follows, is careful to balance the French by the English version of that episode. The exclamation in connection with the campaigns of the Seven Years' War, that "L'Angleterre a toujours pratiqué la maxime qui veut que la victoire aille aux gros bataillons," reads like a gratuitous and meaningless comment; unless it is intended as an untoward reflection upon the ethics of the English case in the war, on which assumption it is superfluous.

The explanation suggested for the naming of Fort Granville—that it was so called after George Granville, "Vicomte de Lansdowne" (p. 78) involves an obvious confusion. The George Granville referred to was only Baron Lansdowne. There were, however, contemporary with him three Viscounts Granville of Lansdown,—a different peerage,—whose primary title was Earl of Bath; but not one of these bore the Christian name of George.

As the biographer of Dumas, M. Audet traces with minute care the services of an officer whose achievement in the Ohio Valley and throughout the Seven Years' War was well worth the individual recognition that this sketch will now accord him. Of particular interest is a memorandum, drawn up by M. Dumas in 1761, on the proposed frontiers of Canada, for the guidance of the French plenipotentiaries who were to negotiate the forthcoming general peace. M. Audet gives the text in full at the end of this volume. The insistence with which M. Dumas urges the imperative necessity of confining the English to the Atlantic side of the Appalachian watershed, is a view that bears pointedly on the discussions arising out of the disposition of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys towards the end of the war. C. E. FRYER

The History of the Post Office in British North America, 1639-1870. By WILLIAM SMITH. Cambridge: The University Press. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. 1920. Pp. ix, 356. (21sh.)

THIS important volume travels far beyond the beaten paths of Canadian history. It opens up a new and interesting field of information and research. At the same time, it throws much light on the political and economic life of the country; although it does so from angles for the most part quite unfamiliar, but therefore all the more interesting and instructive. Several of the more prominent figures in the volume, such as Sutherland and Stayner—Canadian deputies of the British Post-Master-General—are scarcely known to Canadian students, while other deputies, such as Finlaly in Quebec, and the Howes in Nova Scotia, are well-known figures in Canadian history.

The volume covers a broader field than the title might indicate. The author interprets "British North America" as including the British period of the older colonies which, in virtue of the Revolution, became the United States. In this connection much falls to be related concerning that well-known and much appreciated deputy of the British Post-Master-General, Benjamin Franklin. The historical treatment of the pre-revolutionary postal service in the American colonies is both interesting and valuable, although occasionally the author is unable to resist the temptation to wander into fields which have but a remote connection with the postal service. This is particularly true of the treatment of the early stages of the revolutionary struggle, when it is sometimes uncertain whether the author is writing the history of the postal service or expounding his views of the rights and wrongs of the disputes with the Mother Country. What is very essential, however, and what the earlier chapters bring out quite fully, is the development of the control by the imperial government of the official postal service of the North American colonies. This system was automatically extended to Canada after the conquest by Franklin himself, as deputy of the British Post Office. His visit to Canada to establish branch offices led to his practical acquaintance with the situation of the colony, which in turn led to his connection with the nearly successful efforts to include Canada in the revolutionary secession. This is merely a sample of how such new lines of research may throw additional light on the more familiar fields of history. It so turned out that the British system of postal control and administration, established under the conditions in the American colonies, passed to Canada and was continued there for about three-quarters of a century after it disappearance in the original colonies.

In the third chapter is given a very general sketch, with little or no

detail, of the means of communication in Canada during the French period. What is given has reference mainly to the establishment of the few, and for a long time very imperfect high-way routes within the colony. Along these, somewhat irregular establishments known as "postes" were provided for the supply of post horses by the *maîtres de poste* under the superintendence of the *grande voyer* for the forwarding of vehicles and passengers. Incidentally, of course, correspondence might pass in this way, but the forwarding of letters was chiefly undertaken by the official messengers. Even the *postes*, however, were not regularly established until well into the eighteenth century. The author seems to be unaware of the fact that during the intervals of peace between the British and French colonies, in the winter season when there was a long interruption of direct communication with France, official dispatches and other letters not infrequently passed *via* the American colonies, apparently through arrangements made in London. Thus we find, from time to time, that in acknowledging dispatches the Canadian officials refer to their being received by way of New York or Boston. After the Treaty of Utrecht we find Vaudreuil reporting that he had sent three copies of certain papers through New England by three different routes. The merchants also sent correspondence through the British colonial ports, chiefly *via* Albany, with which trade communication was constant though technically illicit.

During the period of the revolutionary war communication with Nova Scotia became more independent and frequent, concerning both the Maritime districts and Canada. For some time after the independence of the United States, their attitude towards Canada was inclined to be arbitrary and unaccommodating, hence the necessity for finding, if possible, permanent routes of communication between Britain and the remaining colonies. This led to a closer, though difficult, connection between the Canadian and Maritime provinces, at least during the winter when the St. Lawrence was closed. Later, the Americans adopted a more accommodating and even friendly disposition, especially as regards postal communication. Hence after several attempts to rehabilitate the Halifax postal route, both the British and Canadian authorities recognized that it was impossible to maintain it in the face of the very superior facilities and favourable rates offered by the American routes. Many interesting details are furnished as to the various stages in this development.

Naturally much of the volume is occupied with very full and authentic accounts of the relations between the British postal authorities and the British American service over which they had complete control by sea and land. These details illustrate in a very instructive manner, and in

quite an independent field from that usually surveyed, the unavoidable difficulties which arise from the control of an essentially public service by distant officials, unacquainted with local conditions, and naturally jealous of their powers and authority. The local deputies of the Post-Master-General had naturally to bear the brunt of all the criticism which arose from such conditions. When they did not respond to local demands, sometimes just and reasonable though as often extravagant or impossible, they were roundly denounced for what, under the best of circumstances in a new country under process of settlement, could not be otherwise than an inadequate service. When, however, they took upon themselves to meet, as far as possible, the more reasonable of the pressing needs, they were apt to be severely called to task by their official chiefs for exceeding the letter of their instructions. At the same time the most urgent remonstrances and recommendations of a deputy were apt to lie long unregarded, or suspected of undue bias towards local demands. In postal matters, as in other affairs of state, the difficulties between representatives of the home government and the popular forces were more acute in the Canadas than in the Maritime provinces. There was the additional factor that in the maritime provinces the Howes—father and son—were more intimately in touch with the executive government on the one hand and the popular element on the other, through their control of the chief organs of public opinion. As between the Howe newspapers, however, and their rivals there was much bitter controversy over their exercise of the postal patronage. In the Canadas, on the other hand, the deputy of the British Office was not very closely identified with either party in the general political conflict. The very neutrality maintained, for instance, by the Toronto post-master, James Howard, led to his dismissal through the intervention of Lieutenant-Governor Bond Head, who would not tolerate an official who was not a pronounced partisan on his side. An interesting variation on the steady conflict between the executive government and the general populace during the period of alleged irresponsible government, is found in a very sharp conflict between the Deputy-Post-Master-General, George Heriot, and the Governor, Sir Gordon Drummond. These sharp differences between two arms of the same imperial authority serve to indicate that the fundamental difficulties of long-distance administration by an arbitrary power not dependent on the suffrages of the people, is not due to the natural antagonism between the radical and conservative forces in society. It is obviously due to a lack of compensating conditions as between two irresponsible forces such as an irresponsible executive authority on the one hand and an equally irresponsible popular demand on the other.

One of the most unreasonable positions adopted by the British postal authorities, but one to which they clung with great obstinacy, was that every extension of the postal service in British America must show its capacity to meet the expenses incurred. At the same time little or no assistance towards the development of new routes was granted from the surplus revenue derived from many of the older and more populous sections. The profits from these were steadily remitted to London. By custom, also, the Deputy-Post-Master-General was allowed to deal with newspaper postage in a quite arbitrary manner and to pocket the proceeds as a personal perquisite. These conditions furnished a basis for systematic attacks on the postal service, beginning in the twenties and continued with varying intensity until the transfer of control from the imperial to the provincial governments in 1847. This was the direct outcome of the new attitude of the British government towards free trade and colonial administration. Thereafter the career of the Canadian Post Office is one of domestic history.

Needless to say, the difficulties of the situation were by no means all removed, while, so far as they were, new difficulties arose to take their places. But the criticism formerly directed against the home government and its provincial officials was now directed by the public against their own representatives. The chief problems to be met in the domestic control of the postal service, at first under the separate provinces and afterwards under Confederation, turned on such matters as its connection with the railway and steam-ship services, the reduction of postal rates, and the organization of new districts as in the North-west.

While all difficulties with the home government as to domestic features were removed in the transfer of the service to the provincial governments, there remained considerable grounds for negotiation and sometimes for more or less sharp controversy, over the ocean service and its subsidies. These matters were complicated as usual by differences of interest and attitude towards the American ports and routes. Such features are all treated very fully and with the usual authorative references to original documents.

The only criticism one has to make of the work has reference to the arrangement of the materials. There is a somewhat distressing jumping backwards and forwards in the treatment of details. Through quite unimportant associations of ideas, matters are dragged in, with considerable detail, before their time, while other matters which should have been treated in their contemporary setting are left to be dealt with as after-thoughts, and thus interrupt the normal development of the subject. This leads also to much repetition, not by reference to past treatment, but in the restating of facts in similar language.

Apart from such minor defects, however, the volume is a very valuable and authoritative contribution to a subject never before adequately treated, and is likely to continue for many years to be the standard work of reference on Canadian postal history.

ADAM SHORTT

The Canadian Front in France and Flanders. Painted by INGLIS SHELDON-WILLIAMS; described by RALF FREDERICK LARDY SHELDON-WILLIAMS. London: A. and C. Black. 1920. Pp. xiv, 208. (25 sh.)

THE general effect of this descriptive account of the Canadian battlefields overseas is pleasing. Author and illustrator have much in common. Neither perhaps has much that is new to say, but neither is harsh or strident. If the artist's typical infantryman is more of a Cockney than a Canadian, the writer's outlook too seems English rather than cis-Atlantic. Internal evidence suggests that the latter's first-hand knowledge of the front probably dates from the arrival of the Fourth Division,—he was certainly at Vimy, the description of which is the best thing in the book,—but he has been at considerable pains to write accurately of what he did not see, even if he has over-reached himself by adopting eccentric spellings like Paaschendaele and Zonnebek. Altogether the book is a pleasant discourse about life in the ranks by a sergeant who certainly ought to have been in the officers' mess, and may be described as the kind of war-book that does not need an index (and of course has one).

The Fur Trade of America. By AGNES C. LAUT. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xv, 341; illustrations. ($6.00.)

MISS LAUT'S book on the fur-trade is in no sense historical; but, as a popular account of what the author describes as "one of the best untold stories of American adventure in the wilds and in industry," it deserves at least brief mention here. It is divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the various kinds of furs, and the second with some phases of the process whereby these furs are brought into the market. One chapter, for instance, is devoted to the Hudson's Bay Company, "the greatest fur company of the world"; others describe the life of the trapper, and the ways of the Indians. At the end of part I, there is an appendix containing a summary of "the fur laws of all the States and all the Canadian Provinces." Unfortunately, there is no index, a fact which is the more regrettable since the arrangement of materials in the book is somewhat haphazard.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

FISHER, Right Hon. HERBERT. *Studies in History and Politics.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. Pp. 213.

Contains an essay, originally prepared as a public lecture in 1915, on "Imperial Administration."

FREWEN, MORETON. *The Structure of Empire Finance* (Nineteenth Century and After, November, 1920, pp. 870-887).

An important and suggestive paper, in which the possibility is discussed of solving the financial problems of the British Empire by lending the credit of the Empire to aid in the development of its natural resources.

GALT, Hon. A. C. *Appeals to the Privy Council* (Canadian Law Times, March, 1921, pp. 168-172).

A plea for the retention by Canada of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a final court of appeal.

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *Dominion Home Rule in Practice.* (The World of To-Day: 8.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. 53. (2sh. 6d.)

Reviewed on page 194.

LYONS, VYVYAN ASHLEIGH. *Wages and Empire.* London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1920. Pp. 96.

A little book which advocates "raising a protective fence to embrace in one area the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand."

MARRIOTT, J. A. R. *The Organization of the Empire* (Edinburgh Review, April, 1921, pp. 218-237).

A discussion of the problem of the government of the British Empire, with which, according to Mr. Marriott, the forthcoming meeting of "the Imperial Cabinet" is called to deal.

SCOTT, JAMES BROWN (ed.). *Autonomy and Federation within Empire: The British Self-Governing Dominions.* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law: Pamphlet Series, No. 33.) Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1921. Pp. xvi, 362. (Gratis.)

Reviewed on page 196.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

BABCOCK, W. H. *Recent History and Present Status of the Vinland Problem* (Geographical Review, April, 1921, pp. 265-282).

A valuable and authoritative review of the recent literature relating to the Vinland controversy.

(2) The History of New France

AUDET, FRANCIS J. *Jean-Daniel Dumas, Le Héros de la Monongahela: Esquisse Biographique.* Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1920. Pp. 134.

Reviewed on page 199.

————————(ed.). *Les habitants de la ville de Québec en 1769-1770* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, No. 3, pp. 81-88).

A most interesting report of the chief chimney-sweep of Quebec for 1769-1770, giving the names and addresses of the inhabitants of the city, and constituting in fact the only sort of directory for that period that we possess.

BOISHÉBERT, M. DE. *Journal de ma campagne de Louisbourg* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 2, pp. 48-53).

An interesting report, drawn from the Public Archives of Canada, describing the work of a detachment sent from Quebec to Cape Breton in 1758.

BROSHAR, HELEN. *The First Push Westward of the Albany Traders* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. vii, no. 3, pp. 228-241).

An admirable study of one phase of the struggle between the English and the French for supremacy in the Old North-West in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

CHASSAIGNE, M. *Un Maître des Requêtes, Lieutenant-Général des Armées du Roi M. de la Barre, aux Antilles* (Revue des études historiques, July, 1920).

New light on the career of Le Fèbvre de la Barre, who was governor of New France from 1682 to 1685.

GROULX, abbé LIONEL. *Chez nos ancêtres* Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1920. Pp. 102. (50c.)

A series of sketches, originally couched in the form of public lectures, descriptive of various aspects of the daily life of the inhabitants of Canada under the French régime.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Jours gras—Mardi gras—Mercredi des Cendres: Moeurs et coutumes d'autrefois* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 3, pp. 89-94).

Notes on the social history of French Canada.

————————. *Les chirurgiens de Montréal au XVIIe siècle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, No. 2, pp. 41-47).

A list of surgeons in Montreal during the seventeenth century, with such biographical details as the author has been able to discover.

————————. *Les médecins, chirurgiens, et apothicaires de Montréal, de 1701 à 1760* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 3, pp. 75-80).

A list of the medical practitioners in New France from 1701 to 1760, with biographical details about each.

————————. *Nos chansons historiques: La perte du Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 1, pp. 30-32).

Two hitherto unpublished French-Canadian *chansons* having reference to the Conquest of Canada in 1760.

ROY, P. G. *François Provost, appartenait-il au régiment de Carignan?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, No. 1, pp. 20-21).

A supplement to the list of officers of the Carignan regiment printed by Mr. Benjamin Sulte in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* for 1900. "Nous ne connaissons peut-être pas la moitié des officiers de ce corps d'élite."

————————. *Inventaire des insinuations du Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France.* (Archives de la Province de Québec.) Beauceville: L'Eclaireur, Limitée. 1921. Pp. 325.

Reviewed on page 138.

————————. *Inventaire des ordonnances des Intendants de la Nouvelle France conservées aux archives provinciales de Québec.* (Archives de la Province de Québec.)

Quatre volumes. Beauceville; L'Eclaireur, Limitée. 1919. Pp. vi, 296; 304; 296; 242.

Reviewed on page 138.

————. *Inventaire d'une collection des pièces judiciaires, notariales, etc., etc., conservées aux archives judiciaires de Québec.* (Archives de la Province de Québec.) Deux volumes. Beauceville: La compagnie de "L'Eclaireur." 1917. Pp. iv, 585.

Reviewed on page 138.

————. *Les conseillers au Conseil Souverain, portaient-ils la robe écarlate?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 2, pp. 59-62).

A note regarding the costume of the members of the Sovereign Council of New France.

————. *Les deux capitaines Dorvilliers* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 2, pp. 33-40).

An attempt to disentangle the careers of two captains of the same name, father and son, who served in New France at the end of the seventeenth century, and whom historians have frequently confused the one with the other.

———— (ed.). *Lettres de noblesse, généalogies, erections de comtés et baronnies, insinuées par le Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France.* (Archives de la Province de Québec). Deux volumes. Beauceville: L'Eclaireur, Limitée. 1920. Pp. 282; 259.

Reviewed on page 138.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Au nord-ouest, 1744-1749* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 14, no. 6, pp. 344-347).

Some notes on the successors of La Vérendrye in the western fur-trade.

WOOD, GEORGE ARTHUR. *William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756: A History.* Vol. I. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University. New York. 1920. Pp. 433.

To be reviewed later.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

FORTESCUE, Hon. J. W. *A History of the British Army.* Vols. IX (1813-1814) and X (1814-1815), with a separate volume containing thirty-one maps and plans. London: Macmillan and Co. 1920. Pp. xxvi, 534; xviii, 458. (£4, 4sh.)

To be reviewed later.

MASSICOTTE, E. Z. *Papineau et la chanson* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 1, pp. 22-23; No. 2, pp. 54-58).

Three hitherto unpublished French-Canadian *chansons* having reference to Papineau.

SEVERANCE, FRANK H. (ed.). *Service of Capt. Samuel D. Harris: Sketch of his Military Career as Captain in the Second Regiment of Light Dragoons, during the War of 1812* (Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, vol. xxiv, pp. 327-342).

A hitherto unprinted memoir descriptive of the part played in the War of 1812 by an American officer who "was present in all the principal skirmishes and battles inclusively, from that of Chrystler's field to the assault on Fort Erie."

(4) The Dominion of Canada

BRYCE, Right Hon. Viscount. *Modern Democracies.* Two vols. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xiv, 508. ($10.50.)

To be reviewed later.

CANADIAN RECONSTRUCTION ASSOCIATION. *The Nonpartisan League in North Dakota: A study of class war and its disastrous consequences, together with a comparison of bank services in Canada and Western States.* [Toronto: 1921.] Pp. 96. (Gratis.)

Contains an account of the growth of "Townleyism" in Canada.

GOSNELL, R. E. *Indians and Indian Affairs in Canada* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lvi, no. 5, pp. 381-386; no. 6, pp. 480-483: vol. lvii, no. 1, pp. 39-43).

A discussion of the grievances at present agitating the Indians of Canada.

LONGLEY, Hon. J. W. *Great Canadians I have Known* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lvii, no. 1, pp. 54-65).

Reminiscences of Joseph Howe, Sir John Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, Edward Blake, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Alexander Mackenzie, and Sir John Thompson.

POWELL, ELLIS T. *The Spirit of Canada* (United Empire, February, 1921, pp. 86-100).

A paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute by a delegate to the Imperial Press Conference of 1920, summarizing his impressions of Canada.

POWER, Senator L. G. *The Second Chamber* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lvi, no. 6, pp. 544-545).

A proposal for the application of the elective principle to the Senate of Canada.

THOMPSON, BRAM. *Parliamentary Divorce in Canada* (Canadian Law Times, April, 1921, pp. 255-265).

A plea for "a general Law of Divorce for the Dominion of Canada."

(5) The History of the Great War

[MACPHERSON, J. S. B., and others.] *Canada in the Great World War: An Authentic Account of the Military History of Canada from the Earliest Days to the Close of the War of the Nations.* Vol. vi: *Special Services, Heroic Deeds, etc.* Toronto: United Publishers of Canada. [1921.] Pp. viii, 393.

To be reviewed later.

PRINCE, SAMUEL HENRY. *Catastrophe and Social Change, based upon a sociological study of the Halifax disaster.* Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University. New York. 1920. Pp. 151.

An examination of the sociological effects of the disastrous explosion in Halifax harbour in December, 1917.

[UNITED STATES:] NAVY DEPARTMENT, HISTORICAL SECTION. *German Submarine Activities on the Atlantic Coast of the United States and Canada.* (Publication Number I.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1920. Pp. 163.

"The preparation of the data for this article has occupied the time of a large part of the personnel of the Historical Section of the Navy Department for several months."

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

EATON, ARTHUR WENTWORTH HAMILTON. *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia. No. xvi: The Great Tragedy of 1917* (Americana, vol. xv, no. 1, pp. 38-53).

An account of the explosion in Halifax harbour on December 6, 1917, which wrecked a part of the city.

EDWARDS, JOSEPH PLIMSOLL. *The Public Records of Nova Scotia: Their History and Present Condition.* Published by order of the Legislature of Nova Scotia. Halifax, N.S.: King's Printer. 1920. Pp. 20.

A summary of the history of the provincial archives of Nova Scotia, together with an account of their present contents.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BRUNEAU, A. A. *Question de Droit: Du Mariage.* Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1921. Pp. 290. ($5.00.)

Reviewed on page 197.

CARON, abbé IVANHOË. *John Black* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 1, pp. 3-19).

A biographical sketch of a Scottish shipbuilder who was elected a member of the legislative assembly of Lower Canada in 1796, and who was the author of a memoir on the government of Canada.

LECOMPTE, R. P. EDOUARD, S. J. *Nos Voyageurs.* Québec: chez Garneau. 1920. Pp. 212.

An account of the history of the "Association Catholique des Voyageurs de Commerce."

LEDUC, le Père. *Beauharnois.* Ottawa: Imprimerie d'Ottawa. 1920. Pp. 340; illustrations.

A copiously illustrated souvenir volume commemorating the centenary of the founding of the parish of Beauharnois.

LINDSAY, Mgr L. *Glanes historiques: Une lettre inédite de Louis Veuillot* (Canada Français, vol. vi, No. 1, pp. 18.

An essay—the last to come from the pen of the late Mgr Lindsay—throwing light on an episode in Canadian historiography now almost forgotten, the controversy over the abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg's *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1852).

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Généalogie de la Famille Otis, Branche Canadienne.* Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1921. Pp. 86.

A genealogical study of a French-Canadian family which traces its descent to a New England family named Otis, some of the members of which were brought up to Canada as captives by the Indians, after the raid on Dovers, New Hampshire, in 1689.

ROY, P. G. *La seigneurie de Bellechasse ou Berthier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 3, pp. 65-74).

A sketch of the history of one of the oldest of the seigniories in Lower Canada.

(3) The Province of Ontario

FRASER, ALEXANDER. *Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario,* 1918-1919. Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. Toronto: The King's Printer. 1920. Pp. xix, 782.

To be reviewed later.

HOUGHTON, FREDERICK. *The History of the Buffalo Creek Reservation* (Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society: Volume xxiv, pp. 1-181).

An extended study of the local history of part of the Niagara frontier.

KIRKCONNELL, WALTER. *Kapuskasing—An Historical Sketch* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxviii, no. 3, pp. 264-278.)

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The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. II. TORONTO, SEPTEMBER, 1921 No. 3

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE meeting of the prime ministers of the Empire in London in June and July has been heralded and accompanied by a controversy, of distinct interest to historical students, over the proper name to be applied to the meeting. Mr. Winston Churchill started the controversy by asserting, in a speech at the Anzac Day luncheon in London, that the meeting was to be a regular meeting of the "Imperial Cabinet", the successor of the Imperial War Cabinet, and not merely an "Imperial Conference". From this view dissent was immediately uttered by Professor Berriedale Keith, in a letter which appeared in *The Times* simultaneously with the report of Mr. Churchill's speech. Professor Keith insisted that the term "Cabinet", as applied to the meeting of prime ministers, was "a misnomer which merely excites misgivings in the Dominions", and that the meeting was merely a conference. Later on, he amplified his thesis in a letter to *United Empire* (June, 1921, pp. 467-468), and pointed out that, whereas during the war the term "Imperial Cabinet", though strictly inaccurate, had a certain justification from the fact that it enjoyed a sort of executive authority, since the armed forces of the Dominions were placed under British control, this state of affairs no longer existed, and the term had now lost whatever applicability it once had. Professor Keith's views were endorsed by the Canadian prime minister and by the High Commissioner for New Zealand; and, barring an occasional and unofficial use of the term "Cabinet", the British authorities seem to have

accepted the criticisms of Professor Keith, and the meeting of June and July, 1921, will no doubt go down to history as the Imperial Conference of 1921.

In a sense, the controversy has been one merely about words; for it is clear that under post-bellum conditions, there can be no essential difference between an Imperial Cabinet and an Imperial Conference. The decisions of what Sir Robert Borden described as a "Cabinet of Governments" must necessarily be mere advisory resolutions binding on no one. But the incident has been a signal illustration of the strength of the forces opposed to even a hint of imperial centralization, and the result of Professor Keith's protest is a striking commentary on the part that the scholar, by clear thinking, can sometimes play in public affairs.

Canada has at last a Copyright Act of her own, although the Act is not to come into force until a day "to be fixed by the Governor in Council". The question of Canadian copyright has long been a burning question in imperial politics; and at one time it actually assumed the proportions of a constitutional issue between Canada and the Mother Country. The trouble was that, until 1911, the British parliament, under the influence of the British publishers, insisted, in defiance of all the conventions of responsible government, in controlling Canadian copyright. It was while he was in England fighting against the imperial copyright law that Sir John Thompson was overtaken by his sudden and tragic death at Windsor in 1894. Eventually, however, in the Imperial Copyright Act, 1911, the British parliament agreed to resign its control of copyright in the Dominions; and in 1912 Australia and Newfoundland, and in 1913 New Zealand, legislated on the subject. By a curious irony of fate, Canada, which had been for so long the chief opponent of imperial control of copyright, failed, for a variety of reasons, to take advantage of the Imperial Copyright Act of 1911 until after the war. In 1919 and in 1920 bills were introduced in the Canadian parliament; but both of these fell by the way, and it was only at the end of May, 1921, that the Act now on the statute-book was passed by both houses.

The new Act is frankly retaliatory against the United States. It does not require the setting of the type and the making of the

plates in Canada, as the United States Copyright Act does in the United States; but it provides for copyright protection only for British subjects, for residents in the British Dominions, and for residents of countries subscribing to the Berne Convention and Protocol—thus excluding citizens of the United States, who can only get copyright in Canada if the Minister shall declare that the United States is willing to give copyright protection to Canadian citizens on the same basis as to their own. This means, that, unless an agreement is arrived at between the two countries, Canadian authors who first publish in Canada will lose their United States rights, and American authors who publish first in the United States will lose their Canadian rights. Fortunately, however, Mr. Doherty, the Minister of Justice, assured the House of Commons that the Act would not be put into force until satisfactory protection for Canadian authors in the United States has been secured by negotiation. There are in the Act a number of clauses, notably the so-called licensing clauses, to which the newly-formed Canadian Authors' Association took strong objection; and there was a good deal of opposition to the measure in the House of Commons, and expecially in the Senate, where it was severely handled by members such as Senator Chapais and Senator L. O. David. It finally passed the Senate, however, by a small majority, and became law. Whether it ever comes into operation, remains to be seen.

The contents of the present number of the REVIEW include, besides book-reviews and bibliographical notices, two papers and a document. The first paper, which deals with *Statistics in Canada*, is by Professor Gilbert Jackson, of the Department of Political Economy in the University of Toronto, and coincides most opportunely with the taking of the Dominion census of 1921. The second, which treats of *The Law of Marriage in Upper Canada*, is by Mr. Justice Riddell of the Supreme Court of Ontario, and is intended to dispel the false impressions which have long been current with regard to the disabilities under which certain religious denominations laboured in Upper Canada before the Rebellion of 1837. The document, which is merely a reprint of Edward Blake's "Aurora Speech" of 1874, is a departure from the practice hitherto followed in the REVIEW of printing only *documents inédits;* but it is hoped that its historical interest, combined with the fact that it is as a rule inaccessible to the general reader, will justify its reproduction here.

STATISTICS IN CANADA

IT is perhaps because they have been put to so many different uses that statistics are distrusted by many people of intelligence. The propagandist uses them, irrespective of their limitations, to puff a drug, a political programme, a province, or a country. The politician demands them at a moment's notice, confident that somehow statistics for his purpose can be made. The specialist draws his conclusions in finance, in public health and actuarial work, without presenting his readers with the steps of his argument. In the meantime, the public that looks to them for guidance is apt to be repelled.

Within a few years it was customary to dismiss statistics with a shrug; to put them in appendices to public documents because they "looked well", but not to use them as raw material for research. It is impossible to deny that they were often badly collected, badly presented, and misunderstood. Records were made by men who were ill-paid or not paid at all for the work, and who had often no idea of the value of accuracy. Such, for instance, were some of the returns made by trade union officials before the war to the Ontario Bureau of Labour; and they were of very little value when they were not actually misleading. Or, in certain cases, accurate reports were received by the department compiling them, and they were added or classified wrongly. A flagrant instance of this occurred in 1914 when the Registrar-General for the Province of Ontario made up the statistics of marriages for the previous year.[1] The brides willy-nilly were shepherded into the column supposedly reserved for bride-grooms; the bride-grooms occupied the space in the table supposedly reserved for brides. Each did duty for the other, with the result that (according to the Registrar-General) the women of Ontario, who married during 1913, selected men who were younger than themselves by no less, in the average, than four years.

The difficulties with which the statistical service of Canada

[1] *Report of the Registrar-General for the Province of Ontario*, 1913, p. 8.

has had to struggle in the past have been tremendous. No one who is familiar with the *First Annual Report of the Dominion Statistician* needs to be reminded of them; and the *Report*, which is in itself an important historical document, may be supplemented usefully by random readings in almost any volume of the Census previous to 1911. It is true that the statistical service is old. For nearly six centuries after the completion of Domesday Book in 1086 there was no systematic enumeration of the people anywhere: the first to be made in modern times was the Census of New France, taken in 1666.[1] But though Canada was earliest in the field, she was slow to create a permanent organization to deal with the mass of facts collected. A permanent Census and Statistics Office was created only in 1905. Up to that time the Census was made, not by a regular staff undertaking this duty, but by an organization created *ad hoc* at intervals of ten years, and disbanded as soon as results were published. Efficiency was scarcely to be hoped for under such an arrangement. Early Census Reports are a series of melancholy confessions, complicated occasionally by the desire to prove that Canada has been growing more quickly than her neighbours. In certain parts of the country the enumerators proved themselves wholly unfit for the duties assigned to them. Their instructions were drawn up so loosely as to admit in many cases the double entry of persons not sleeping at home on the night of the census.[2] Their work was made still more difficult by a feeling on the part of the public that the Census had some connection with taxation; and for this reason essential information was sometimes withheld altogether.[3]

The collection of mortality statistics by the Census Office (which was not considered improper and persisted in the Census of 1911) introduced another element of inaccuracy.[4]

For these reasons we cannot place very much reliance on the numbers of the population, as stated in Census Reports in the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of the results of enquiries conducted under such disadvantages verge on the incredible; and where these are combined with the statistics of mortality, their weakness is obvious at a glance. The Census officials of

[1] *First Annual Report of the Dominion Statistician*, p. 9.

[2] *Report of the British Association*, 1878, p. 658.

[3] *Census of Canada*, 1851-2, vol. I, p. iv.

[4] "In actual experience it was found that our enumerators missed 20 per cent. of the deaths," said the Dominion Statistician to the Conference on Vital Statistics on June 20, 1918.

Upper Canada reported a crude death-rate for 1851 in that province, of 8.1 per thousand of the population. This is believed to be well below the lowest figure known in any modern state. Corrected according to standard age distribution the rate is unaltered; and it is less by 30% than that shown in 1912 by New Zealand—the lowest recorded in our time. Apart from the probable inaccuracy of the mortality statistics, and possible inaccuracies in numbering the living population, it is evident to anyone who works over the figures that the recorded age distribution in the later years of life contains several very doubtful peculiarities.

No Census enumeration is entirely free from inaccuracies. In the matter of age, they are especially persistent. But in Canada (with exceptions here and there, which have stirred local feeling) they have now been reduced to the minimum. A permanent Dominion Bureau of Statistics, created under the Statistics Act of 1918, has charge of the Dominion Census, and is "designed to give final form to the statistical policy of Canada. It crystallizes the suggestions of the Statistical Commission in the light of subsequent research, and within the regulations thereunder lays down a definite plan for the organization and development of statistics".[1] To-day the Census of Canada aims only at securing information which can be determined with reasonable accuracy by decennial enquiry. With its wide interest in production, it is based on a broader foundation than the British. Though considerably less elaborate, it is strictly comparable with the Census of the United States, which is taken only one year earlier.

The old distrust of statistics, which was inevitable when our statistics were of notoriously poor quality, has thus been deprived of its foundation. Much of it, nevertheless, unfortunately survives, for even when accurate and properly presented statistics are obtainable, there are few persons in the community sufficiently well-trained to draw constructive inferences from them. The failure of public bodies to make good use of the material now so generously furnished is evident in every line of public enquiry. It is only necessary to recall the memorandum placed before the Tariff Commission in the autumn of 1920 by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. In this case an unrivalled opportunity of analysing scientifically the growth of Canadian

[1] *First Annual Report*, p. 17.

manufactures was allowed to pass, and a series of figures which were in themselves undoubtedly reliable was used to very little purpose.

We may hope that the gap in our education here evidenced will not be suffered to remain. For to-day, despite a lingering mistrust, the tendency is to rely more and more on the results of statistical enquiry—perhaps to place undue reliance on them. The public is being supplied on an increasing scale with so-called "fundamental statistics", whose origin is often left in doubt by the business organizations which produce them. The result is a good deal of misunderstanding and miscalculation which, however, bears witness to growing interest in the subject. As the war taught us all the supreme importance of organized effort, so have the grave and unforseen economic disturbances which succeeded the war taught us the value of organized knowledge. For as each development occurred, the rise in prices that followed the war, the contraction in our foreign markets, the spread of unemployment, the present unprecedented fall in prices, shrewd observers acquainted with the past have been more and more inclined to see in them repetitions with a difference of developments succeeding other wars. It is the man who takes his stand upon the ancient way who finds familiar features in our changed surroundings; and in proportion as we have despised the past, we find ourselves ill-prepared to face the future.

This renewed interest in the subject will increase with the spread of an organic conception of society. For that conception brings with it an increased readiness to study what may for want of a better term be called the physiology of social development; and it is only by the use of statistical methods that we can hope to get quantitative results from such a study.

It is impossible shortly to summarize the task which faces the Canadian statistician. He has at the same time to consider domestic and imperial requirements. The need for a standardization of Canadian statistics is unquestioned. Departmental conservatism in some of the provinces and a certain jealous dislike of federal interference have at times made progress difficult, and may continue to do so. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics began wisely with the problem of vital statistics, now no longer collected even provisionally by the Census. The general adoption of the model "Act Respecting Vital Statistics" (which is operative in all the provinces but one) is an earnest of future harmony. If and when Quebec conforms, the standardisation of our most important

statistical records will have been accomplished. But in an Empire which is linked in a thousand ways by the migration of its citizens, the movement of its capital and the ramifications of its trade, there is a corresponding need for the standardization of imperial statistics. Both of these needs were recognized by the Dominions' Royal Commission, which made its *Final Report* in 1917. The Commission concluded an elaborate and scientific survey of the British Empire by making certain findings regarding our statistical deficiencies. With regard to Canada the chief impressions it recorded are instructive. Sir Alfred Bateman, himself a member, has said of the commissioners, "Speaking merely on the statistics of Canada they were struck with the profusion of statistics. There were too many of them, and the worst of it was that they did not agree. . . . In many cases the Dominions' Commission had found that the statistics of unemployment and of immigration were deficient".[1] Quoted apart from its context, this seems perhaps more blunt than it sounded to those who heard the statement. In any case, the criticism was not unfounded. We can realize most easily how grave were those deficiencies, by comparing the statistics of immigration published by the Department of Immigration, with the numbers of immigrants found in Canada at the time of the 1911 Census. Between 1901 and 1905 the number of foreign-born immigrants shown to have entered Canada is nearly 335,000. Allowing for the moderate death-rate of 14 per thousand among them, there should have been in 1911 about 304,000 foreign-born immigrants in Canada, who had entered the country within this period. The number actually found was 167,524. There were also 63,563 foreign-born immigrants, whose year of arrival was not reported. In any case, the Census officials were faced with an unexpected deficiency, amounting to at least between 74,000 and 138,000 persons. In the case of certain races this deficiency was extraordinarily pronounced. The number of Italian immigrants entering Canada between 1901 and 1905 appears to have been 19,827. The number who should have been found at the Census of 1911 was therefore on the previous basis of calculation about 18,200 persons. The number actually found was 6,197. Even when we make allowance for the large number of immigrants who were unable to recall for the Census enumerators the date of their arrival, it is evident that nearly two-thirds of the Italians migrating to this country

[1] *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, January, 1920, p. 78.

have in some way disappeared within a few years of coming here.[1]

It is conceivable that either the Census or the Immigration Department might be at fault. No Census enquiry can hope to be wholly accurate, but in this case it is certain that the mistake lies mostly, if not entirely, with the Department of Immigration. No record has been kept in the past of the number of immigrants leaving Canada at any time after their arrival. American experience shows that this number must have been considerable.[2] In the absence of such records the figures with regard to immigration lose, if not all, at least much, of their meaning. An arrangement has now been concluded with the government of the United States by which records of migration into the United States from Canada are made up by American officials and forwarded to the Dominion government. We have, therefore, for the future a means of measuring the movement of restless or dissatisfied immigrants across our border to the south; but even this does not enable us to guess what is the proportion of all our immigrants, who return in time to their homes in other countries. This proportion may conceivably be as high as one-third of the total immigration.

Until the Department of Immigration is able to establish records of emigration as complete as its records of immigration, it will remain impossible for us to measure from year to year the growth in the population of this country. The decennial Census must till then be accepted as our only means of ascertaining closely the growth in the numbers of our people; and the gap between the Census years is a very long one. A recommendation by the Dominions' Royal Commission that everywhere within the Empire the Census be conducted not once in ten years but once in five years, will, if it is adopted, lessen this uncertainty. In Canada the need for a quinquennial Census is at present perhaps greater than it is in any other part of the British Empire, since of all the Dominions she is developing the most quickly. The Census of the prairie provinces, which is taken in the sixth year of each decade, might well for this reason be extended to the whole Dominion.

The reproach that our statistics of unemployment are deficient can no longer be brought against us. In 1914 there were for

[1] A comparison of the Reports of the Department of Immigration and Colonisation (Ottawa) with the *Special Report on the Foreign-Born Population* (Census and Statistics Office, 1915) shews in the case of almost every race a considerable outward movement.

[2] See, for instance, Fairchild, *Immigration*, ch. xvi, p. 349.

practical purposes no statistics of employment in this country. Such statistics as existed, far from being used, were not even properly compiled by the provincial governments which collected them. When the Dominions' Royal Commission made its report the Employment Service of Canada was still in its infancy. To-day it is a highly developed and extremely efficient organization.

A beginning was made on lines which had previously been explored by the Board of Trade in England. The Mother Country had collected records of unemployment among members of trade unions extending as far back as 1851. The Department of Labour at Ottawa began to collect similar records from Canadian trade unions in 1915. The compilation was at first made quarterly, and is now made monthly. Analysed in the *Labour Gazette* by provinces and occupations it is an exceedingly valuable record of the changing conditions of employment in Canada. Covering as it does trade unions with a total membership of nearly a quarter of a million it may be supposed to reflect with considerable accuracy conditions in the labour market as a whole. In addition, the Employment Service has now developed a method of securing postal information from employers. Some of their records must be sent three thousand miles by mail; but despite this difficulty the Department of Labour succeeds in publishing a weekly statement within about three weeks of receiving the returns, which summarizes the records of about five thousand employers and about three-quarters of a million wage earners. There is little doubt that a mass of information so great and so representative reflects very accurately employment conditions in the country as a whole. England, though she publishes in the Board of Trade *Labour Gazette* similar returns from employers of labour, does not collect them on a scale comparable with this, and Canada can fairly claim to have been a pioneer in the work.

The close agreement in the two sets of figures obtained from trade unions and employers respectively confirms our faith in each of them. There is to-day no country which follows the fluctuations in its labour market more closely than Canada, and we may fairly hope that within a few years the United States may follow in our footsteps and produce information regarding her own conditions of employment which will stand comparison with ours.

One at least of Sir Alfred Bateman's strictures has thus successfully been met. But in their summary treatment of our

shortcomings, the commissioners did not for a moment lose sight of their main purpose. In the many fields of activity which came under review, their task was to find means of creating and maintaining liaison between the Dominions and the Mother Country. Their *Final Report*[1] called for a conference of the statisticians of the Empire. After the war a conference was accordingly summoned. It met in London in January, 1920, and its own report is instructive.[2] Readers who live overseas will be tempted to remark that it contained an undue proportion of British civil servants. Thirty-one of these attended; and only twelve delegates (of whom one was unable to be present at the meetings) represented the remainder of the British Empire. The most important of the constructive proposals made by the conference was a resolution in favour of a British Empire Statistical Bureau. Such a Bureau would naturally find itself ultimately under the authority of an Imperial Development Board, if the recommendation of the Commission relating to this Board is ever carried out. In the meantime the conference suggested that this Bureau be controlled by a special council, established by royal charter, and that "in order to emphasise the Imperial character of this council, the President should be the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, in his capacity as President of the periodical Imperial Conferences".

We may hope some day to find ourselves tracing at the same time not only the changes in migration and employment, not only variations in exports and imports of merchandise, but also the movement of capital from Great Britain to the Dominions and India, and alterations of wages in all parts of the Empire. If the time comes when all these developments can simultaneously be reviewed, we shall be protected as we have never been before against the suffering which is caused by unhealthy development in any part of the Empire. There will then be no excuse for such a blind over-investment in railway development as has produced our tremendous railway problem of to-day. There will be less opportunity for a congestion of the labour market through over-immigration, such as occurred with disastrous consequences in 1913-1914. Our limited supplies of loanable capital will be directed more wisely wherever an unfilled need for capital exists, and the restless population of the British Isles will be helped to

[1] *Final Report*, p. 168.
[2] Cmd. 648, H.M. Stationery Office.

choose a place of settlement, less by vague rumours and more and more by the knowledge that an unfilled demand for labour exists in certain places, which promises them continuous employment, and a standard of life higher than they have known in the surroundings of their homes. In the years of scarcity which lie before us we cannot afford wrongly to direct either the limited supplies of capital or the limited supplies of labour on which we must depend almost entirely to develop the resources of the British Empire. For misdirection of either expresses itself in terms of human loss and human suffering. It loosens the ties that bind together the scattered units, and weakens the Empire as a whole. Properly conducted an Imperial Statistical Service will conserve our resources and prevent a great deal of unnecessary human misery.

Thus though we are mainly concerned with the statistical development of Canada, we cannot confine ourselves entirely to our domestic problems. If the progress and the needs of the British Empire are simultaneously to be surveyed as a whole at five year intervals developments elsewhere must keep pace with those occurring here. At present the official statistical organizations of the British Empire are at various stages of development. Australia leads the way, and the work of her official statistician, Mr. G. H. Knibbs, serves as a model for official statisticians everywhere. The statistics of New Zealand present the same main features as those of Australia. Our own Bureau of Statistics comes late in the field, but has already produced some important changes which are an earnest of more reforms to follow. There is no doubt that within a few years, by dint of hard work and tact, both on the part of the federal officials charged with the collection of statistics, and on the part of the provincial officials from whom they must get much of the raw material they need, the statistics of Canada will be standardized and unified like those of Australasia. But if there is to be one statistical system for the British Empire the British government must also follow suit. In the past, though they may rightly have resented comparison with the "seventy jarring sects" of the Rubaiyat, there has been a good deal of difference between the twenty or more departments of which the British government is composed. In the best of them statistical work has been done which serves as a model for the world. In the worst of them statistics have been compiled which have very little meaning. They too must be unified and standardized.

When the process is complete, which we have only seen in its beginning, the result will be such as to strike at least the trained imagination. Even now, the census is taken simultaneously in all parts of the Empire. Its results are summarized for the Mother Country and the Dominions, the Indian Empire and all the British dependencies, in an appendix to the *Census* of England and Wales. That appendix resembles a half-completed building—an observer sees first of all its great deficiencies. But in time to come it will no longer be an appendix. What was but part of a local publication will in time become the whole, to which the census of England and Wales itself contributes. In it the scattered family of nations to which we belong will find an inventory of their common treasure-house. It will remain as it is, a collection of statistics and no more. But those will prize it for whom it has a meaning: and as education spreads their number will increase. We may suppose that some of them will find it the most illuminating of contemporary documents.

G. E. JACKSON

THE LAW OF MARRIAGE IN UPPER CANADA

UPPER CANADA was created a separate provincial entity by the proclamation of General Alured Clarke dated November 18, 1791, and becoming effective December 26, 1791.

The territory which thus became Upper Canada had been part of the province of Quebec formed by the Quebec Act of 1774, and a small part along the Ottawa had been part of the original "Government" of Quebec formed by the Royal Proclamation of 1763. That proclamation had introduced the English law, civil and criminal, into Canada; but the Quebec Act of 1774 had re-introduced the former "law of Canada" as to property and civil rights, leaving the criminal law as it was. Consequently, when Upper Canada began her provincial career, she was under the French-Canadian civil law and the English criminal law.

The French-Canadian civil law followed the canon law and required the presence of a priest episcopally ordained to make a marriage valid.[1]

At the first parliament of the young province at Newark in 1792, the first statute passed[2] introduced the English civil law; and thereupon the presence of a Church of England clergyman, priest or deacon, became necessary to make a marriage ceremony valid.

Before this time it had been taken for granted that, at least in the wild parts of the country, a Church of England clergyman might validly perform the ceremony[3]; and there were some marriages before the chaplains of the military posts. In the absence of a chaplain, those seeking to be married applied to the commanding officer of the military posts, to magistrates, to adjutants, and even to surgeons at the posts. These, acting as chaplains, performed the ceremony. Some of those so married took care on their return to civilization to have the ceremony regularly performed;[4] some, however, omitted this wise precaution. Some were married by justices of the peace: these marriages were equally invalid. The Hon. Richard Cartwright, who had been appointed a member of the Legislative Council,

was strongly impressed with the peril attached to these irregular marriages (his own was one of them); and he in the first session of the first parliament, in 1792, introduced a bill to validate all such marriages, the first bill introduced in an Upper Canada parliament. This bill was said by Simcoe to be a "hasty and ill-digested Bill",[5] and it was withdrawn after its first reading on the express promise of the lieutenant-governor that the matter should receive the attention of the Home authorities.

Chief Justice Osgoode, upon the instructions of Simcoe, drew up a bill for the purpose, and this was sent by Simcoe to Dundas, one of the secretaries of state, for submission to the law officers of the Crown.[6]

The bill was submitted to the advocate-general, William Scott (afterwards Lord Stowell), to the attorney-general, John Scott (his brother, afterwards Lord Eldon), and to the solicitor-general, John Mitford (afterwards Lord Redesdale); and they reported favourably to the bill. This report was sent by John King, permanent under-secretary of state for the Home Department, to Simcoe.[7] Before the bill and opinions had been received or even despatched, however, the provincial parliament had met on May 31, 1793. The first bill to be introduced was the Marriage Bill: this was introduced by Cartwright on June 3, when it was read for the first time. It rapidly reached the second reading and the committee of the whole, and was passed on June 14, on which day it was sent down to the House of Assembly.[8] There it was amended so as to authorize the ministers of communions other than the Anglican to perform the marriage ceremony for their own people; and in this form it was returned to the Council on June 20.

The amendment was not accepted by the Council; but a conference was held by Cartwright, Peter Russell (afterwards administrator of the government of Upper Canada), and Commodore Grant, representing the Council, and Macomb, Campbell, and Van Alstine representing the Assembly,[9] and the commoners withdrew the amendment on the positive assurance that representations would be made to the Home government in favour of non-Anglicans, and that the matter would be put on a liberal footing at the following session.[10]

The Act was passed and became law[11]; it provided that all marriages theretofore contracted before any magistrate, or commanding officer of a post, or surgeon of a regiment acting as chaplain, or any other person in any public office or employment,

should be valid. Persons who had contracted such marriages might preserve testimony by making within three years an affidavit in the form given, with the dates of the births of their surviving children, if any, and these affidavits the Clerk of the Peace was to enter and record in a register to be kept by him for the purpose. For the future, until there should be at least five "parsons or ministers of the Church of England" in any District—there were then four Districts in Upper Canada[12]—a magistrate might marry after having put up a notice in the most public place of the township or parish and having waited until three Sundays had elapsed.

It is probable that advantage was taken of this Act in validating marriages in all or most of the Districts; but, so far as I know, the records of only one District show any trace of this—and that only by accident.

The clerk of the peace of the Midland District at Kingston, in 1813, wanted a book in which to keep the records of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace in and for the Midland District, and took for the purpose the blank leaves of an old register no longer in use. There were only four entries in the register; they run as follows: David McCrae swears before Richard Cartwright, Junior, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the Midland District, May 29, 1794, that he did publicly intermarry with Erie Smith at Michilimackinac, on October 13, 1783, and he names, with the date of their births, his living son William, and three daughters, Sophia, Frances, and Amelia. Erie Smyth (signing her name in that way) swears to the same facts before George McBeath, Justice of the Peace at L'Assumption (now Sandwich) on June 18, 1794. Then "Richard Cartwright, junior, of Kingston, Esquire", swears before Thomas Markland, Justice of the Peace, on May 30, 1794, at Kingston, that he did publicly intermarry with Magdalen Secord at Niagara "on or about" October 19, 1784, and he names his living children James, Richard, and Hannah; and Magdalen Cartwright swears the same at the same time. In each case, it will be noted, the marriage had taken place at a British military post.[13]

Simcoe did not like the Act. He loved and honoured his church only less (if less) than his king; he desired the establishment of the Church of England, and was indignant that it should be even suggested that ministers of another church should have the power to marry. Although Dundas, the secretary of state, wrote him approving of the allowance of the Act and adding

that the opinions of the imperial law officers would enable him to make the necessary amendments next session,[14] he took no steps to carry out the agreement made between the Houses. Hamilton did not introduce a bill as had been arranged, and thus nothing was done.

The reason for this inaction is given in Simcoe's despatches and I cannot do better than copy his memorandum on the subject, contained in an official letter to Dundas from Navy Hall, dated August 2, 1794:

> It has already been suggested in the observation on the Marriage Act that it was suffered to pass on a compromise between the two Houses upon an implied agreement between a majority of each that the power of legally solemnizing marriages should be extended to the spiritual pastors of several sects and denominations of religion. The opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown did not arrive here until after the Act had passed. It was proposed during the Session to have brought forward an amending Bill containing the provisions suggested to them, but on the first day of the meeting of the House petitions from Menonists, Tunkers, and others were brought forward praying that their ministers might be authorized to solemnize marriage with validity. The petition was disregarded, but it was found that had the question been stirred in any respect whatever the various pretensions and prejudices of the different sectaries would have produced great animosity and confusion; it was, therefore, thought that it was most advisable to suspend all proceedings on the subject till it should be known whether it was thought expedient that the power requested should be extended to the ministers of any other religious description in order that opinion might be sounded and previous measures be taken to effectuate if possible what may be thought most beneficial for the Province in such behalf.[15]

A poor excuse is better than none.

In the following year (1795) a petition was presented by the Presbyterians, but no action was taken looking toward relief.[16]

In 1796 the Baptists of Bastard Township sent a petition to Simcoe praying that "regularly ordained elders of any Baptist Churches in this Province shall be fully empowered to administer the Ordinance of Marriage".[17] We have no record of Simcoe's answer, but it was certainly not favourable.

The Presbyterians of the county of Grenville renewed their application, setting out that their Church had the right in Scotland to celebrate marriages, and urging that they should have the

same right in Upper Canada. Simcoe said to them in the most decisive terms that "the petition was a product of a wicked head and most disloyal heart", and they took nothing by their motion.[18]

Simcoe left the province in July, 1796, never to return; and it was only when he had gone that there dawned any hope of a relaxation of the law.

This seems to be a proper place to mention a somewhat curious claim made by a clergyman of the Church of England.

From the beginning of the British rule in Canada the granting of marriage licences was reserved to the governor; *e.g.*, in the Instructions to General James Murray, November 14, 1763, he was directed (section 37) to give all countenance and encouragement to the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Lord Bishop of London in the Province "excepting only the collating to Benefices, granting Licenses for Marriage and Probate of Wills which We have reserved to you Our Governor".

In the instructions to Dorchester, September 16, 1791, which were also those to Simcoe, while the Right Reverend Charles Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia, was to have ecclesiastical jurisdiction, there was reserved to the governor "the granting of Licenses for Marriage, Letters of Administration and Probates of Wills" (section 45).

The Bishop of Nova Scotia made the Reverend John Stuart of Kingston his commissary; and Stuart claimed the right as such to issue marriage licences in Upper Canada. This right was denied by the Executive Council, September 29, 1792,[19] and the claim does not seem to have been renewed.

A royal mandamus for letters patent investing Jacob Mountain with the "Title, Style, Dignity and Honour of Lord Bishop of Quebec", was granted on July 17, 1798; and at the same time John Stuart was made commissary of the Lord Bishop of Quebec. In that capacity he claimed the right to grant to the ministers of churches dissenting from the Church of England licenses to solemnize marriage. The matter was referred by Simcoe in June, 1796, to John White, the attorney-general, whose opinion was that it depended on the terms of the commission of the bishop.[20] A copy of the mandamus was obtained (which the commission should follow to be valid), and it appeared plain that no such power was given.[21]

It was, however, not necessary to make any formal decision; for the legislature took action in the session of 1797. The record

of the proceedings of the legislature in this year is lost, and we derive all the available information from the official reports to the Home Secretary and from the statute itself. Chief Justice Elmsley,[22] in giving the reasons for the Marriage Act of 1797, says:

> This Province is principally settled by Loyalists from the Eastern and Middle Colonies who notwithstanding their uniform and steady attachment to the British Constitution retain all those varieties of opinion in religious matters for which that part of America has always been remarkable. It is perhaps not too much to say that the members of the Church of England do not compose more than a fiftieth part of the population of this Province. To have extended the indulgence given by the Act to the ministers—if that term can with any propriety be applied to the self-constituted guides of the various divisions and sub-divisions of sects which agree in hardly any other point but their refusal to conform to the Established Religion of the Province—would have been to give the power of performing the ceremony of marriage to some of the weakest, the most ignorant, and in some instances the most depraved of mankind. Care was therefore taken to confine the relief given by the Act to such of the Protestant Dissenters as, though Non-conformists here, are members of an establishment elsewhere and would for that reason bring with them their sober and regulated modes of thinking both in political and religious subjects which are the usual consequences of habitual conformity to an established ritual which form perhaps the best barrier against the encroachment of either infidelity or fanaticism and, the inseparable companion of each, sedition. For these reasons it was confined to members of the Church of Scotland of which country a very considerable proportion of the settlers in the lower parts of the Eastern District are natives, and to the Lutherans and Calvinists under which descriptions it was presumed almost all the Loyalists who were of either German or English descent and who felt a pride in adhering to the belief of their ancestors would be included.[23]

The Act was reserved by the Administrator, Peter Russell, for the royal pleasure; and it came into force December 29, 1798.[24] This Act gave to "the minister or clergyman of any congregation or religious community of persons professing to be members of the Church of Scotland or Lutherans or Calvinists who shall be authorized in manner hereafter directed to celebrate the ceremony of matrimony between any two persons one of whom shall have been a member of such congregation or religious community at least six months before the said marriage". The minister must

have been ordained according to the rites of his religious community and have appeared before the quarter sessions of the District in which he lived with at least seven "respectable persons", members of his congregation, who should declare him to be their minister; he must take the oath of allegiance; and then the majority of the justices, if they thought it expedient and proper, could give him a certificate authorizing him to celebrate matrimony in that District. Banns for three Sundays or a licence from the lieutenant-governor was necessary; and a certificate of marriage was to be given which might be registered in the office of the clerk of the peace.

It will be seen that all Presbyterian ministers came within the Act: the "Disruption" of the Church of Scotland did not occur until much later.[25] Under the head of Lutherans came the Palatinates and a few other Germans (chiefly from the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk), while the term Calvinist covered Baptists,[26] and the "Dutch Reformed" also came within this category.

One ever increasing important religious body was excluded—the Methodists. This was deliberate and intentional. The Methodist ministers were, so far, wholly from the United States and were suspected of republican sentiments. There can be no doubt that while these missionaries were devoted to the work of evangelization, and in the main abstained from open attack upon the institutions of the country, they were not all wise at all times,[27] and very little was needed in that generation to rouse suspicion against an American. The Revolutionary War was just over with its legacy of hate and enmity; and while the loyalty of the Canadian Methodist was beyond dispute, the same could not always be said of the American minister.

The provision requiring the oath of allegiance was aimed at ministers from the United States, and that requiring a licence from the Quarter Sessions was to prevent anyone performing the marriage ceremony without legal qualifications.[28]

The last section of the Act deserves attention. It legalized all marriages celebrated after the passing of the Marriage Act of 1793, by any person who should obtain the certificate from the Quarter Sessions between persons either of whom was a member of his congregation. This was to validate marriages celebrated in his own flock by the Reverend John Bethune who had insisted upon the right so to do.[29]

No further legislative action was taken for some years.[30] A

petition from Darius Dunham and a hundred and nineteen others, "Members of a Methodist Society praying that by a Parliamentary provision the same toleration be extended to them as to other sects in this Province, so as to give validity in law to their marriages", was read in the House of Assembly, June 27, 1799, but leave was refused to bring in a bill to that effect.[31]

A new House was elected in 1800, and at its second session, on June 11, 1802, three petitions were presented "from the Society of people called Methodists", setting out their loyalty and adhesion to the British Crown and asking that "an Act may be passed in our favour giving authority to our Preachers (most of whom are Missionaries from the States) to solemnize the religious rites of marriage as well as to confirm all past marriages performed by them". A bill was introduced; the three months' hoist was voted down, and the bill was passed. It was then brought to the Council, where it was "read a first time and ordered to lie upon the table", and was not again heard of.[32]

The fourth parliament was elected in 1804; at its second session, on February 8, 1806, another petition from "the Religious Community called Methodists" was presented to the House for "an Act . . . giving authority to our preachers most of whom are missionaries from the States and a number more who are resident in this Province regularly ordained to solemnize the religious rites of matrimony as well as to confirm past marriages performed by them".

A bill was introduced and passed the lower house without a division; it passed the second reading in the Council; but in the committee of the whole it received the three months' hoist.[33]

In the session of 1807 a similar bill passed the House, but failed to be read the second time in the Council.[34]

In 1808 a bill promoted by the solicitor-general, D'Arcy Boulton, for the same purpose passed the House; the Council made an amendment by striking out the clauses validating previous irregular marriages on the ground that this would encourage irregularities in the future; the Assembly asked for a conference; each House insisted on its position; and the bill was lost.[35]

The sixth parliament was elected in 1812, but nothing was done in the way of amending the marriage laws until its last session in 1816. As usual, a bill passed the Assembly, but was lost in the Council.[36]

The delay in bringing forward this bill was due to the fact that the province was occupied with the War of 1812-15. While the

war displayed the Methodists as a whole in a favourable light, a few of their men of leading proved disloyal,[37] but most of the American ministers remained in Canada, and they were not found preaching or teaching sedition.

Notwithstanding the general loyalty of the Methodists, the English Wesleyan body thought fit to send some of their own missionaries into the province, as the Upper Canadian Methodists were still under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and most of their preachers and leaders came from that country.[38] These English missionaries continued their work from 1816 till 1821, when their Church in England determined to withdraw them (except one at Kingston, where troops were stationed) as there was "no evidence of their American brethren interfering in political questions", and since they "generally remained in the Province during the late war".[39] The English Wesleyans were always held in great favour by the governing classes at York; they never claimed the right of celebrating marriages, but this did not tend to increase the favour of the Legislative Council toward the Methodist Episcopals.

The seventh parliament was elected in 1816; in its second session (1818) a bill passed the Assembly, but failed in the Council.[40]

In the following sessions (1818) a much more modest bill passed the Assembly, and the Council concurred in it. This Act simply extended for three years from November 28, 1818, the time for those who had neglected to take the steps allowed by the Act of 1793 for preserving the testimony of their marriage validated by that Act, to make an affidavit and record it with the Clerk of the Peace.[41] Nothing was done in the matter in the session of 1819, but in the following session (1820) a bill passed the Assembly. The same day, however, as it had its third reading, Sir Peregrine Maitland prorogued parliament in anger, and it never reached the Council.[42]

The eighth parliament was elected in 1820. At the first session (1821) a government bill, introduced by the attorney-general, John Beverley Robinson, was passed.[43] This was not intended to relax the rules for valid marriages, but to make more certain punishment for unauthorized celebration of the marriage ceremony. I therefore pass it over for the time being without saying more than that it made it a misdeamour (punishable by fine and imprisonment, not by banishment) for a justice of the peace or any unauthorized person to celebrate marriage. The Act thus

restricted rather than enlarged the right. But, during this session, there were two other bills which passed the Assembly and failed in the Council. The former was introduced by James Gordon of Amherstburg, member for Kent, and was intended only to confirm marriages theretofore publicly contracted in the province "before any Justice of the Peace, Magistrate or Commanding Officer of a Post or before any Minister or Clergyman whatsoever anterior to the passing of" the Act.[44] The other went much further; it was introduced by Robert Nichol of Stamford, member for Norfolk, who had been exceedingly active in promoting such bills in previous years.[45] It was along familiar lines providing for the future as well as the past.

There was no division on either of the latter named bills; that of the attorney-general passed by a vote of 19 to 14.[46]

In the second session (1821), a petition was presented by the Methodist Episcopal Church and "their friends within this Province" through Samuel Casey of Adolphustown, member for Lennox and Addington, praying that "the privilege of celebrating matrimony should not be withheld from ordained Ministers of the Methodist Connection". By a vote of 21 to 11, the government party voting in the negative, a special committee of three was named to take the petition into consideration and report by bill or otherwise. Twelve other petitions of the same tenor were presented, and a bill was brought in by Samuel Casey from the special committee. The bill passed by a vote of 21 to 11 and was sent to the Council. It there received the three months' hoist.[47]

In the session of 1823, Casey renewed his attack. His bill passed the Assembly after a division of 20 to 6; it then went to the Legislative Council, and returned from the Council emasculated. The Assembly bill proposed to give legal validity to all marriage ceremonies performed or to be performed by "any Minister, Priest, Ecclesiastic or Teacher according to any Religious form or mode of Worship", the amendment made by the Council struck out the words following "any", and inserted "Resident Minister or Clergyman legally authorized to celebrate Matrimony", thus leaving matters as they were. A motion in the House to accept the amendment was lost on a vote of 11 to 6, and the parliament being prorogued about ten days later, the bill failed.[48]

In the next session, a petition was presented to the House "of the Members and Friends of the Wesleyan Methodist Epis-

copal Church of this Province" praying for the privilege of solemnizing marriage to be allowed to "the Ministers of that denomination"; also one by David Brackenridge and others "praying that the privilege of solemnizing marriages in this Province may be extended to the Ministers of His Majesty's Methodist subjects". A third petition to the same effect was presented from Thomas Dalton Casey, who obtained leave on a division of 15 to 11 to bring in a bill which passed the first and second readings. On a motion to recommit before the third reading, the three months' hoist was defeated by a vote of 17 to 6, and the bill was recommitted. This was to give the same privilege to the ministers of the Wesleyan Methodists as those given in the bill as originally framed to the Methodist Episcopals. The bill was duly passed, and sent up to the Legislative Council under the title "An Act to authorize Ministers of the Society of Methodists to solemnize marriage in this Province"; here it failed on the second reading.

Another bill to confirm irregular marriages also passed the House. It received its second reading in the Council, went into the committee of the whole, and was not again heard of.[49]

The ninth parliament was elected in 1824. The election had been run on almost purely ecclesiastical issues. The Clergy Reserves, a very large quantity of land reserved for the support of Protestant clergy, had been claimed for the Church of England alone by the governors, the governing classes, and the High Church section of the Church of England. A motion of Robert Nichol in 1817 to sell half of these lands and devote the proceeds to secular purposes had failed by Gore's sudden dissolution of parliament.[50] In 1819, the Presbyterians of Niagara applied for government aid; Maitland obtained the opinion of the law officers of the Crown whether Presbyterians could legally share in the Clergy Reserves; the local attorney-general and solicitor-general thought not, but the law officers in England gave an official opinion that the Church of Scotland could share.[51] But this opinion had no effect; the High Church party successfully resisted the claim of the Church of Scotland, and asserted the exclusive right of their own Church. In the election of 1824, the main battle-ground was the Clergy Reserve question, and in this the Presbyterian and the Methodist Episcopal Church were on the same, as it turned out the successful, side. Heretofore, while it could not be said that the Methodists were the sole demandants of relaxation of the law of marriage, they were by far the most numerous, active and

powerful. After 1824 some at least of the Presbyterians joined hands with them in the endeavour to liberalize the law in respect of marriage.

In the short first session of this parliament no step was taken in the matter of marriage. The House was much taken up with election petitions, and the popular party was somewhat disorganized or rather unorganized. But in the session of 1826, the well-known Marshall Spring Bidwell introduced a bill along the familiar lines, which was carried *nem. con.* in the House. Amendments were then made in the Legislative Council, which purported (1) to repeal the Statute of 1793; (2) to enable "the minister or clergyman of any congregation of persons professing to be members of the Church of Scotland, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, Menonists, Tunkers or Moravians" with a proper certificate by the Quarter Sessions of his due ordination, to celebrate matrimony between two persons, one of whom had been a member of his congregation for at least six months; and (3) to validate marriages theretofore celebrated by any duly ordained minister of such congregation or by any one who should receive such a certificate from the Quarter Sessions. In the Assembly, the amendments were ordered to be read by a vote of 28 to 4, but for some reason they were not again mentioned,[52] and the bill failed.

In the session of 1826-7 Bidwell and Peter Perry introduced the same bill, and it passed without opposition. In the Council it was referred to a special committee who reported, whereupon it was referred back to the special committee to prepare amendments, and that was the end of it.[53]

In the session of 1828, Perry and Bidwell brought in a bill in the House which on a division of 23 to 1 was reported by the committee of the whole; a motion to re-commit was lost on a division of 14 to 11, but the bill was subsequently recommitted and passed. It was sent up to the Council; the Council delaying, a message was directed by a vote of 20 to 7 to be sent by the Assembly "respectfully reminding that Honourable House of the Bill passed during this present Session by this House entitled 'An Act to make valid certain marriages heretofore contracted and to provide for the future solemnization of matrimony in this Province' and to recommend that bill as of great importance to the consideration of the Honourable the Legislative Council". To this message the Council courteously replied through their Speaker, Chief Justice Campbell, "that if the House of Assembly had con-

formed to the uniform practice of the House of Commons by appointing a Committee to search the Journals of the Legislative Council they would have discovered that the Bill alluded to was in progress and therefore that there was no reason for departing from the usual course". The Council did not depart "from the usual course", and the bill was never heard of again.[54]

The tenth parliament was elected in August, 1828. The same issue was much in controversy as in the former election, and the temper of the people was getting dangerous. William Lyon Mackenzie made his first appearance in the House as a member, being elected with Jesse Ketchum for the county of York; Marshall Spring Bidwell was elected Speaker on January 8, 1829; and Peter Perry gave notice the next day that he would move for leave to bring in a bill to validate past and provide for future marriages; he obtained leave, and the bill was introduced and passed. The Legislative Council made unimportant amendments which were accepted by the Assembly. The lieutenant-governor, Sir John Colborne, was then pleased to reserve the bill "for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure"[55] on March 20, 1829.

Colborne was a first-rate soldier and believed in rigid discipline in Church and State; he detested the Methodists and thought he had a right to do so on patriotic grounds. He wrote Robert William Hay, permanent under-secretary of state for the colonies, that "the Methodist preachers who are all from the United States are charged with undermining the loyalty of the people but their hostility is directed against the established church . . ."; and he thought the supineness of the Church lamentable. Many of the missionaries would be fit for a quiet country parish in England, but could not "stand against the Methodists".[56] He even wanted English Methodist missionaries sent to the Indians, lest the books of the American Methodists should create a prejudice.[57]

A reply not having been received from the House administration, the Assembly moved promptly. On the first day and first hour of the session of 1829, Perry moved for leave to bring in a bill on familiar lines, and to dispense with the forty-first rule of the House so far as it related to the bill. This was carried.[58] The next day the bill was passed, and sent up to the Council by the hands of Perry and Paul Peterson of Prince Edward. The Council asked a conference on the subject-matter, appointing Wells and Markland conferees for that chamber, and the House agreed,

appointing Peter Perry of Lennox and Addington, Robert Randall of Lincoln, John David Smith of Durham, and George Brouse of Dundas, conferees for that chamber.[59] The Council conferees were instructed to represent that the bill was the same in all respects as that of the previous year, that the pleasure of His Majesty on the former bill had not been declared, that the former bill was still under consideration, and that the Council thought it inexpedient to press the matter upon the Home government "until the expiration of the constitutional period within which the Royal pleasure can be signified". The Council conferees delivered their instructions to the House conferees, and there was nothing more to be done.

When the eleventh parliament met for its first session in 1831, the personnel was different and the feeling not quite the same. On the first day, the attorney-general, Henry John Boulton, gave notice that he would move for leave to bring in a bill to enable the ministers of all religious denominations to celebrate the ceremony of marriage between persons of their respective denominations; a motion by Marshall Spring Bidwell to place the bill in the hands of Boulton and Perry failed by a vote of 12 to 27. The vote cannot fairly be said to have been on party lines but the extreme Reformers, including William Lyon Mackenzie, voted for the motion. On a later division, the solicitor-general, Christopher Alexander Hagerman, voted alone against 40 on an immaterial amendment, and the amendment of Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley of Lincoln, supported by Perry, legitimatizing the children of irregular marriages even if the parties had not co-habited as husband and wife was lost by a vote of 32 to 12. The bill then passed by 44 to 2, Hagerman and John Brown of Durham voting in the negative. The bill went to the Council on February 10, 1831, and received its second reading. It was in special committee when Colborne, on March 2, sent a message to the Council and the Assembly that the bill of 1829 had been approved by the King, and was accordingly finally enacted.[60]

This Act, while passed in 1829, is always cited as of 1830, 11 Geo. IV, cap. 36. Its provisions were liberal: all marriages theretofore publicly contracted in the province before any justice of the peace or any minister or clergyman were validated; means were provided for preserving evidence of such marriages similar to those in the Act of 1793; clergymen of any church or congregation "professing to be members of the Church of Scotland, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Independents, Methodists,

Menonists, Tunkers or Moravians" were authorized to "solemnize the ceremony of marriage within this Province between any two persons" on obtaining a certificate from the Court of Quarter Sessions of their District. To obtain such certificate, they must appear before the Court, take the oath of allegiance, and prove that they were regularly ordained. Banns or licences were necessary, and proper returns were to be made under severe penalties. Substantially, all real grievances were removed by this Act, but the sentimental one remained that clergymen of the Church of England were not required to take out a certificate from the Quarter Sessions, while all other clergymen and ministers were, and there were a few denominations not included. In 1859, the Act 20 Vict. c. 66 (Can.), reciting that under the existing laws "privileges are claimed with regard to the solemnization of matrimony by the clergymen and ministers of certain denominations which are partial in their character and offensive to certain other denominations and their Clergymen and Ministers", provided that

> From and after the passing of this Act, the Ministers and Clergymen of every religious denomination in Upper Canada, duly ordained or appointed according to the rites and ceremonies of the Churches or denominations to which they shall respectively belong, and resident in Upper Canada, shall have the right to solemnize the ceremony of Matrimony, according to the rites, ceremonies and usages of such Churches and Denominations respectively, by virtue of such ordination or appointment.

In 1896, by the Ontario Act 59 Vict., c. 39, an elder evangelist or missionary of the "Congregation of God" or "of Christ", *i.e.*, "Disciples of Christ", was authorized as well as a commissioner or staff officer of the Salvation Army. Quakers are specially provided for.

It is not only Christian ministers who have this privilege; it extends to every "church and religious denomination". As is said by Chief Justice Armour: "The statute should receive a wide construction, it does not say 'Christian' but 'religious'. If it said 'Christian', it would exclude Jews. The fundamental law of the Province makes no distinction between churches or denominations; everyone is at liberty to worship his Maker in the way he pleases." Consequently a duly ordained priest of "the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" can validly marry.[61] But one cannot yet get up a little church of his

own and thereby obtain the power of celebrating marriage; there must be something of a denomination.[62]

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

NOTES

[1] This was the law in England until after the Reformation; then the presence of either priest or deacon ordained by a Church of England bishop became sufficient. It is unnecessary to consider whether a Church of England clergyman could legally perform the marriage ceremony in Upper Canada before the legislation of 1792. Those who would know more of the law of England should read R v Millis (1844) 10 Cl. & F. 334; Beamish v Beamish (1859-1861) 9 H.L.Cas. 274.

[2] (1792) 32 George III c. 1, s. 3 (U.C.).

[3] "There is little doubt that in a heathen land, marriage between British subjects may lawfully be celebrated by a clergyman of the Church of England either on board ship or on shore" (Hammick, *Law of Marriage*, London, 1887, p. 266). I do not discuss this question.

[4] For example, Captain James Hamilton, whose descendants are still living in Canada, was married at Michilimackinac to Louisa Mitchell, daughter of Dr. David Mitchell, surgeon-general to the Indian Department at that post, the father performing the ceremony. On their arrival at Niagara, they found there the Rev. Robert Addison, a clergyman of the Church of England, and were remarried by him. The register (which was Mr. Addison's own but became that of St. Mark's Church) reads, "August 24th, 1792, Captain James Hamilton to Louisa Mitchell his wife. They had been married by some commanding officer or magistrate and thought it more decent to have the office repeated."

[5] Can. Arch., Q. 279, 1, 79. Simcoe to Dundas, November 4, 1792

[6] Can. Arch., Q. 271, 1, 169. Simcoe to Dundas, November 6, 1792. With the bill was sent a careful report by Cartwright, in which he says: "The Country now Upper Canada was not settled or cultivated in any part except the settlement of Detroit till the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty four, when the several Provincial Corps doing Duty in the Province of Quebec were reduced and together with many Loyalists from New York, established in different parts of this Province, chiefly along the River St. Lawrence and Bay of Quenti. In the meantime from the year 1777 many families of the Loyalists belonging to Butler's Rangers, the Royal Yorkers, Indian Department and other Corps doing Duty at the Upper Posts had from Time to Time come into the country and many young Women of these Families were contracted in Marriage which could not be regularly solemnized, there being no Clergyman at the Posts, nor in the whole country between them and Montreal. The practice in such cases usually was to go before the Officer Commanding the Post who publickly read to the parties the Matrimonial Service in the Book of Common Prayer, using the Ring and observing the other forms there prescribed or if he declined it as was sometimes the case, it was done by the Adjutants of the Regiment. After the settlements were formed in 1784 the Justices of Peace used to perform the Marriage Ceremony till the establishment of Clergymen in the Country, when this practice adopted only from necessity hath been discontinued in the Districts where Clergymen reside. This is not yet the case with them all; for though the two lower Districts have had each of them a Protestant Clergyman since the year 1786, it is but a few months since this [Nassau or Home] District hath been provided with one; and the Western District in which the

settlement of Detroit is included, is to this Day destitute of that useful and respectable Order of men; yet the Town of Detroit is and has been since the Conquest of Canada inhabited for the most part by Traders of the Protestant Religion who reside there with their Families, and among whom many intermarriages have taken place, which formerly were solemnized by the Commanding Officer, or some other Layman occasionally appointed by the Inhabitants for reading prayers to them on Sundays but of late more commonly by the Magistrates since Magistrates have been appointed for that District.

"From these circumstances it has happened that the Marriages of the generality of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada are not valid in Law, and that their children must *stricto jure* be considered as illegitimate and consequently not intitled to inherit their property. Indeed this would have been the case, in my opinion, had the Marriage Ceremony been performed even by a regular Clergyman and with due Observance of all the forms prescribed by the Laws of England. For the clause in the Act of the 14th year of His Present Majesty for regulating the Government of Quebec which declares 'That in all cases of Controversy relative to Property and Civil Rights, resort shall be had to the Laws of Canada as the Rule for the Decision of the same' appears to me to invalidate all Marriages not solemnized according to the Rites of the Church of Rome, so far as these Marriages are considered as giving any Title to property.

"Such being the Case, it is obvious that it requires the Interposition of the Legislature as well to settle what is past, as to provide some Regulations for the future, in framing of which it should be considered that good policy requires that in a new Country at least, matrimonial Connections should be made as easy as may be consistent with the Importance of such engagements; and having pledged myself to bring this Business forward early in the next Session, I am led to hope that Your Excellency will make such Representations to His Majesty's Ministers as will induce them to consent to such arrangements respecting this Business as the circumstances of the Country may render expedient. Measures for this purpose have been postponed only because they might be thought to interfere with their Views respecting the Clergy of the Establishment.

"Of this Church I am myself a Member and am sorry to say that the State of it in this Province is not very flattering. A very small proportion of the Inhabitants of Upper Canada have been educated in this Persuasion and the Emigrants to be expected from the United States will for the most part be Sectaries or Dissenters; and nothing prevents the Teachers of this class from being proportionally numerous, but the Inability of the People at present to provide for their support. In the Eastern District the most populous part of the Province there is no Church Clergyman. They have a Presbyterian Minister, formerly Chaplain to the 84th Regiment who receives from Government fifty Pounds p. ann. They have also a Lutheran Minister who is supported by his Congregation, and the Roman Catholic Priest settled at St. Regis occasionally officiates for the Scots Highlanders settled in the lower part of the District, who are very numerous and all Catholics. There are also many Dutch Calvinists in this part of the Province who have made several attempts to get a Teacher of their own Sect but hitherto without success.

"In the Midland District where the Members of the Church are more numerous than in any other part of the Province, there are two Church Clergymen who are allowed one hundred pounds p. ann. each by the Government, and fifty pounds each by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There are here also some itinerant Methodist Preachers the Followers of whom are numerous. And many of the Inhabitants of the greatest property are Dutch Calvinists who for some time past have been using their endeavours to get a Minister of their own Sect among them. In the

Home District there is one Clergyman who hath been settled here since the month of July last. The Scots Presbyterians who are pretty numerous here and to which Sect the most respectable part of the Inhabitants belong have built a Meeting House and raised a Subscription for a Minister of their own who is shortly expected among them. There are also here many Methodists & Dutch Calvinists. In the Western District there are no other clergy than those of the Church of Rome. The Protestant Inhabitants here are principally Presbyterians."

[7] Can. Arch., Q. 279, 1, 227. John King to Simcoe, July 12, 1793. Why King of the Home Department should have written does not appear. At the time, and from 1782 till 1801, the Colonies were allotted to the Foreign Department. The report cannot be found in the files; but Simcoe received it on November 10, 1793 (Can. Arch., Q. 280, 1, 14); he took it home with him; and the late John Ross Robertson was able to obtain a copy of it at Wolford Manor. Through the courtesy of Mr. Irving Robertson, I am enabled to set it out here, which I do in consideration of its interest from a legal point of view:

"Sir

"In obedience to His Majesty's Commands signified to us by your letter of the 22nd May last, directing us to report to you for His Majesty's consideration such provisions as by law we should think necessary for the purposes expressed in the draught of a Bill transmitted to us with the said letter, to make good and valid certain marriages contracted in the Province of Upper Canada, and to provide for the future solemnization of marriages in the said Province, we submit as proper for the purposes which appear to us to have been intended by the draught so transmitted the provisions herewith enclosed. We observe that the draught transmitted to us contains no provision respecting marriages solemnized by Ministers duly ordained either with reference to past or future marriages, and we therefore presume that such provisions have been or are intended to be made by a separate Act.

"We have the honor to be Sir,

"Your most obedient servants,
(*Signed*) WILLIAM SCOTT
JOHN SCOTT
JOHN MITFORD."

"24th June 1793.
"The Right Honourable Henry Dundas."

[*Enclosure.*]

"The following are the provisions referred to by the letter enclosed herewith:

"That all Marriages before a day to be specified which shall have been publicly contracted before any Magistrate or Commanding Officer of a Post, or Adjutant or Surgeon of Regiment acting as Chaplain, or before any other person publicly officiating for such purpose not being a Priest or Minister ordained according to the form of ordination in the Church of England shall be declared to be good and valid in law to all intents and purposes as if the same had been duly solemnized by a Priest or Minister duly ordained.

"That for the purpose of preserving evidence of all such Marriages, it shall be lawful for the parties who have contracted such Marriages respectively or either of them to go before a Magistrate and make oath of the fact of such Marriage, the form of the oath being specified in the Act, and the Magistrate being authorized to administer the same.

"That if one of the parties shall be dead it shall be lawful for the survivor to make oath to the same effect according to the circumstances.

"That if both shall be dead, or if both, or either of the parties shall be living and shall require the same, it shall be lawful for a Magistrate to take the deposition on oath of any person or persons present at such marriage.

"That in every such oath or disposition there shall be expressed what issue shall have been born of such Marriages respectively, and the times and places of the birth of such issue so far as such particulars shall be known to the deponents respectively.

"That such depositions when taken shall be subscribed by the persons making the same and certified by the Magistrate, who shall take the same, and be returned and filed in some proper office or offices to be appointed for that purpose, and transcripts thereof shall be entered in books or registers to be kept by such officer or officers.

"That such depositions or such transcripts thereof or copies of the same duly attested as the Act shall prescribe shall be received as evidence of such Marriages respectively, subject to the objections which may be made to the credit to be given to the testimony therein contained.

"That until there shall be in the respective districts of the Province a certain number to be limited in the Act of established Parochial Ministers duly ordained according to the form of ordination in the Church of England, it shall be lawful for parties desirous of intermarrying, and not living within a specified distance of a Parochial Minister or Priest ordained as aforesaid to contract Matrimony before a Justice of Peace, having first obtained a license for that purpose from the Governor or Lieutenant Governor or person administering the Government of the Province to grant licenses for such purpose on notice of such intended marriage having been first duly published at such times, in such manner and according to such form as shall be prescribed by the Act.

"That such Justice shall in pursuance of such license, or after the publication of such notice be authorized to marry such parties according to the form of the Church of England, and shall give the parties a certificate of such marriage in a form to be prescribed by the Act, and to be signed by the Justice and also by the parties and by two or more persons present at such Marriage.

"That the Justice shall transmit or cause to be transmitted to such Officer or Officers as before mentioned, a duplicate of such certificate signed in like manner, which duplicate shall be filed by such Officer and a transcript thereof inserted in the Book or Register before mentioned, and such certificate or duplicate or transcript to be attested as the Act shall prescribe shall be evidence of such Marriage.

"That when there shall be within any district of the Province such number as before mentioned of established parochial Clergy ordained as aforesaid, the same shall be certified by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or person administering the Government of the Province to a general quarter sessions to be holden for such district, and such certificate shall be publicly read by the Clerk of the Peace and from thenceforth the power of Justices to celebrate Marriages shall cease within such district.

"That if after publication of such certificates as aforesaid any person not being a Minister ordained as aforesaid shall knowingly or wilfully take upon himself to solemnize Matrimony according to the form of the Church of England and be thereof lawfully convicted, he shall be punished in such manner as shall be prescribed by the Act.

"That it shall be no valid objection to any Marriage which has been or shall be solemnized within the said Province that the same was not celebrated in a consecrated church or chapel.

"That proper fees shall be provided for the Justices and other officers and persons on whom duties shall be imposed by the Act, such fees to be ascertained by the Act.

"That proper compulsory clauses shall be contained in the Act, and particularly clauses to compel persons who shall have been present at any marriage to go before a

Magistrate and make deposition concerning the same at the instance of the parties or either of them or any of their issue.

(*Signed*) WILLIAM SCOTT
JOHN SCOTT
JOHN MITFORD, 24th June 1793."

[8] 7 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), pp. 18-21.

[9] 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), pp. 30, 31, 33, 35, 36.

[10] *Life and Letters of Hon. Richard Cartwright*, Toronto and Sydney, 1876, p. 52.

[11] It was assented to by Simcoe on July 9, 1793, three days before King despatched the opinion of the imperial law officers on Osgoode's bill. Simcoe writes Dundas from "York (late Toronto) U.C.", on September 16, 1793 (Can. Arch., Q. 278, 2, 335), as follows: "The General cry of persons of all classes for the passing the Marriage Bill was such that I could no longer withhold under the pretence of consulting any opinion at home, having already availed myself of that excuse for delay. There are very few Members of the Church of England in either House and the disposition of the House of Assembly is to make matrimony a much less solemn or guarded contract than good policy will justify. They returned the Bill with a rider giving power to Ministers of every sect and denomination (of which in this country there are not a few) to solemnize matrimony, and it was only on a compromise that they were prevailed upon to withdraw it upon the apprehension of some persons in the Upper House of losing what they were likely to obtain by the present Bill and a promise of support to a Bill of any latitude that might be brought in next Session which Mr. Hamilton is to introduce."

[12] Eastern, Midland, Home, and Western were the names substituted in 1792 by the Act 32 George III, c. 8 (U.C.) for Dorchester's original names Luneburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau, and Hesse.

[13] I have been enabled to make this discovery and to copy the entries through the courtesy of Mr. J. W. Mallon, the Inspector of Legal Offices, Osgoode Hall, Toronto.

[14] Can. Arch., Q. 280, 16. Dundas to Simcoe, March 16, 1794.

[15] Can. Arch., Q. 280, 1, 256. The memorandum is contained in the letter from Simcoe, *ibid.*, 237.

[16] No record of the proceedings of the Upper Canada parliament for the years 1795, 1796, and 1797 is known to exist. We must rely on Simcoe's dispatches and the Wolford Manor papers for information. Simcoe writes Portland, who had succeeded Dundas as Home Secretary, on August 22, 1795, as follows: "A petition was also presented from the Presbyterians or Dissenters to repeal such part of the Judicature [*sic*] Act as prevented the Dissenting Minister from solemnizing marriages. Means were found to defer the Petition to the next year when it may be apprehended it will be seriously agitated" (Can. Arch., Q. 281, 2, 453).

[17] *Wolford Manor Papers*, vol. 7, p. 178.

[18] Can. Arch., Q. 292, 2, 499-503.

[19] Can. Arch., Q. 278, 1, 175.

[20] *Wolford Manor Papers*, vol. 7, p. 238.

[21] See the *Wolford Manor Papers*, vol. 7.

[22] Chief Justice John Elmsley arrived in Newark in November, 1796. It was his duty to report to the Home authorities on the bills originating in the Legislative Council, and that of the attorney-general on those originating in the Legislative Assembly. As Elmsley reported on this Act, it must have originated in the Legislative Council.

[23] Can. Arch., Q. 284, 50 sqq. Report of Chief Justice Elmsley, November 26, 1797, sent by the Administrator, Peter Russell, to the Duke of Portland.

[24] The royal assent was promulgated by proclamation of date December 29, 1798: the Act should really be cited as of 37 George III, but in the Statutes it is called 38 George III, c. 4.

[25] The "Disruption" or great Secession took place in 1843.

[26] The Tunkers and Menonists (or Mennonites) were sects of Baptists. In an address of the Baptist church in Clinton, District of Niagara, to Sir Peregrine Maitland, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, dated at Clinton January 16, 1821, and signed by John Upfold, Pastor, and Jacob Beam, Church Clerk, this church claimed to be Calvinist, because it had "cordially embraced those five grand points of gospel doctrine which Calvin manfully defended against the errors of Popery, *viz.:* Predestination, particular redemption, effectual vocation, justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ and the perseverance of the Saints to glory" (Can. Arch., Sundries, U.C. 1821). It was under the name of "Religious Congregation of Calvinists" that Reuben Crandell, a well-known Baptist elder, received a licence from the Quarter Sessions for the District of Newcastle, on April 9, 1805: he could validly celebrate marriage within that District, but when he removed to another District he was convicted of crime for performing the ceremony there. Some of the Dutch Reformed later united with the Presbyterians.

[27] I have myself heard a very old Methodist tell with glee and pride the story of a Methodist minister from the United States who, on being asked if he would pray for the King, answered, "I have no objections: I guess he is not past praying for."

[28]Elmsley, in the report referred to above (p. 231), says: "It is possible that under the cover of one or other of these classes, attempts may be made by some of the wretched itinerant enthusiasts who infest the States and sometimes wander into this Province, to possess themselves of so valuable a privilege as the power of celebrating marriages, but it is hoped that the qualifications required by the Statute and the discretion vested in the Magistrates in Quarter Sessions will be sufficient to defeat their endeavours" (Can. Arch. Q. 284, pp. 51, 52).

[29]Elmsley says of this clause: "The last clause was framed in order to legalize certain marriages celebrated by a man who whatever his other qualifications, was unquestionably a Minister of the Church of Scotland" (Can. Arch., Q. 284, p. 52).

[30]It is possible that the "Bill for granting Indulgences to the people called Quakers, Menonists and Tunkers "which passed its third reading in the Assembly, June 23, 1801, but received the three months' hoist in the Council, June 24, 1801, on motion of Cartwright and Baby was a Marriage bill; but I can find no reference to it of any kind, and have nothing but conjecture to offer.

[31]Sixth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), p. 119. For leave only two votes were given, those of Timothy Thompson of Lennox, Hastings, and Northumberland, and David McGregor Rogers of Prince Edward and Adolphustown.

[32]Sixth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), pp. 263, 265, 268, 269, 270. 272: Seventh Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), p. 160. The vote in the House of Assembly was 9 to 5 for the bill: the Council was apparently unanimous against it.

[33]Eighth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1911), pp. 63, 64, 71, 73, 75, 77, 78: Seventh Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), pp. 262, 263.

[34]Eighth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1911), pp. 133, 135, 137, 159, 171, 172, 173, 176, 177: Seventh Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), pp. 291, 292.

[35]Eighth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1911), pp. 195, 201, 202, 204, 206, 208, 213, 214, 230, 233, 237, 238: Seventh Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), pp. 306, 309, 310, 31, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317. The conferees for the House were Sherwood, Rogers, Washburn, and McLean (afterwards Chief Justice); for the Council they were Baby and Cartwright. It is almost grotesque to find Cartwright opposing the bill on the ground stated, but after

his own case had been fairly provided for, his views seem to have undergone a radical change.

[36]Ninth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1912), pp. 183, 186, 195, 205, 217, 220, 221, 222. The vote was 12 to 7. The record of the proceedings of the Council for this year is lost: and no particulars are available of the course of the bill in Council.

[37]Benajah Mallory, who had been elected for Norfolk, Oxford, and Middlesex in the fourth parliament (1804) and for Oxford and Middlesex in the Fifth Parliament (1808), and who had been unsuccessfully petitioned against by his Tory opponent, Samuel Ryerse, on the ground that he was "a preacher and teacher of the Religious Society or Sect called Methodists" did prove himself a traitor: he left the province, and not appearing to answer an indictment for high treason found against him at the Ancaster "Bloody Assize" in 1814, he was outlawed on July 3, 1815.

[38]Andrew Prindle, born in what is now Prince Edward County in 1780, ordained in 1806, is said to have been the first Canadian-born Methodist Episcopal minister in the province.

[39]Can. Arch., Sundries, U.C., 1821.

[40]Ninth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1912), pp. 458, 462-8, 479, 506, 511-14. The records of the Council for 1818 are not extant.

[41]The Act is (1818) 59 George III, c. 15 (U.C.). The title indicates that it was intended to "provide for the further solemnization of Marriage within the Province", but no such provision is to be found in the Act.

[42]Tenth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1913), pp. 236, 244, 252, 253, 255.

[43]Tenth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1913), pp. 270, 324, 377, 379, 391, 510. The Journals of the Council are not extant.

[44]Tenth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1913), pp. 357, 424, 448.

[45]Tenth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1913), pp. 285, 321, 326, 443, 444.

[46]Tenth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1913), p. 277.

[47]Eleventh Ont. Arch. Rep. (1914), pp. 46, 47, 48. 49, 54, 72, 75, 77, 84, 90, 91, 115, 116, 122, 125, 147.

[48]Eleventh Ont. Arch. Rep. (1914), pp. 306, 319, 340, 342, 344, 403, 405; the divisions are given on pp. 340, 405.

[49]Eleventh Ont. Arch. Rep. (1914), pp. 451, 455, 458, 469, 475, 479, 534, 535. The "Wesleyan Methodists" were those in connection with the English body: Henry Ryan's Canadian Wesleyan Church was yet in the future, and he was in full communion with the Methodist Episcopal Church, being a presiding elder. A petition by "Reformed Methodists" to be relieved from militia duty was refused (Eleventh Ont. Arch. Rep. (1914), p. 302). This petition was very unjustly made use of to cast discredit upon Methodists generally. The "Reformed Methodists" had their origin with Pliny Brett who left the N.E.M.E. Conference in 1813, and formed the new Church of Reformed Methodists. A few in Upper Canada especially in and about Ernesttown joined the secession about 1816-17; they believed in modern miracles, and much resembled the "Nazarites" of the United States. The connexion did not last long in Upper Canada.

[50]Ninth Ont. Arch. Rep. (1912), pp. 422, 423.

[51]This opinion has frequently been published: it is found in convenient form in Charles Lindsey's *Clergy Reserves*, Toronto, 1851, p. 9.

[52]Journals, House of Assembly, 1825-6, pp. 15, 28, 78, 79. The minority were Bartholomew Crannell Beardsley of Lincoln, Thomas Horner of Oxford, Edward McBride of Niagara (Town) and Peter Perry of Lennox and Addington. It is impossible from the division list to determine upon what the House actually divided. It was in

this session that the attack upon Chief Justice Powell for being a member of the Executive Council was made in the House (Journals, Legislative Council, 1825-6, pp. 28, 30, 31, 35, 43, 50, 52).

[53]Journals, House of Assembly, 1826-7, pp. 3, 19, 39, 80, 83. Journals Legislative Council, 1826-7, pp. 63, 66, 71.

[54]Journals, House of Assembly, 1828, pp. 19, 21, 22, 91, 106, 113, 114. On the first division the attorney-general, John Beverley Robinson, stood alone; in the second he was joined by Francis Baby (Essex), Duncan Cameron (Glengarry), James Gordon (Kent), Charles Ingersol (Oxford), Charles Jones (Leeds), Jonas Jones (Grenville), William Scollick (Halton), William Thompson (York and Simcoe), Philip VanKoughnet (Stormont), and Reuben White (Hastings), the full Tory strength; in the third division the attorney-general carried with him of his former fellows Cameron and Scollick, he acquired Zaccheus Burnham (Northumberland), David Jones (Leeds), Archibald McLean (Stormont), John Matthews (Middlesex), who had not voted on the previous division; VanKoughnet and White deserted him for the winning side.

[55]Journals, House of Assembly, 1829, pp. 5, 9, 13, 46, 47, 48, 76. Journals Legislative Council, 1829, pp. 18, 24, 29, 30, 31, 57, 92.

[56]Can. Arch., Q. 351, I, p. 85. The letter is mostly on university matters.

[57]Can. Arch., Q. 351, p. 326.

[58]Journals, House of Assembly, 1830, pp. 1, 3, 14, 60, 66. Journals, Legislative Council, 1830, pp. 11, 13, 20, 73.

[59]The first two were staunch Liberals, the second rather uncertain, and the fourth was replaced by Paul Peterson, an undoubted Liberal.

[60]Journals, House of Assembly, 1831, pp. 3, 5, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 28, 31, 32, 45, 46, 47, 75. Journals Legislative Council, 1831, pp. 42, 44, 52, 54, 55, 66, 68, 69.

[61]Regina *v.* Duckout (1893) 24 O.R. 250.

[62]Rex *v.* Brown (1908) 17 O.L.R. 197. Robert Brown got up a congregation in Toronto, "The First Christian Chinese Church, Toronto", and as the minister of that church solemnized marriages; he was convicted, and the conviction was affirmed by the Court of Appeal.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Edward Blake's Aurora Speech, 1874

There have been few political speeches in Canada which have been more justly famous, and which have exerted a wider influence on Canadian popular opinion, than Edward Blake's "Aurora Speech" of October 3, 1874. The speech was delivered at a time when Edward Blake had taken up a somewhat independent attitude toward the Liberal party under Alexander Mackenzie and George Brown, and was leaning toward the doctrines of the new nationalist or "Canada First" party. It was, indeed, little more than an elaboration of the platform of the Canadian National Association; but it served to give the ideas of the Canadian nationalists a currency which they had not gained before, and in its bold and daring originality it gave a real stimulus to Canadian political thought. A speech which, nearly half a century ago, advocated such advanced ideas as the necessity for the growth of a national feeling in Canada, the reorganization of the Empire on a federal basis, the reform of the Senate, compulsory voting, and proportional representation, can only be described as a landmark in Canadian politics.

The "Aurora speech" was reproduced—though very grudgingly and in piecemeal instalments—in the Toronto *Globe* a few days after it was delivered. This report of the speech was afterwards reprinted in pamphlet form, together with copious extracts of newspaper comment, under the title, "*A National Sentiment!*" *Speech of Hon. Edward Blake, M.P., at Aurora* (Ottawa, 1874). But this pamphlet is now very rarely seen, and the back fyles of the *Globe* for 1874 are to be found in very few places. It has, therefore, seemed worth while to reprint the speech in full here, and more particularly since, as the result of Edward Blake's own wishes, it appears that there is to be no official biography of him, or official publication of his letters and speeches.

W. S. Wallace

[*Reprint*]

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—You will allow me to add my congratulations to those of the previous speakers upon the happy circumstances under which you are to-day assembled, and to express my own feeling of rejoicing that the first occasion upon which I have been permitted to address the electors of this historic riding, should be that of the celebration of an event not unimportant in your own annals or in those of Canada at large—the victory which has brought back to the standard around which it had rallied for so many years the united Liberal party of this riding. I recollect the political history of this constituency for a good many years. Up to the year 1871, when we made our calculations as to the probable results of a general election there was never any doubt or hesitation as to what might be the verdict of North York, but from 1871 to the late election all this was changed, and I am very glad indeed that a riding which had in the past played the part North York has played, should have by a very decisive majority restored its fair name and fame, and brought itself once more into good standing amongst the Liberal constituencies of Canada. (Cheers.) My friend, Mr. Mowat, who has spoken, has given you a very interesting account of the finances, and a terse but clear statement of the general course of legislation of the Province since the accession to office of the Liberal party. I do not propose to touch upon those topics at all. I desire simply to say that, having been for the last two years an observer, though not so close an observer as before, of the course, administrative and legislative, of the Provincial Government—without pretending to be able to form an accurate judgment as to all the petty details in respect of which my friends have been accused, being obliged in fact to confess to you frankly that I have never had the time to enter into the calculations necessary to come to a conclusion whether or not they paid too much for the fence around the Parliament Buildings—(laughter and applause)—yet, speaking of larger matters, which are fit to occupy the attention of an intelligent people, the general course of administration and legislation has been such as to commend itself to my poor judgment, and in my belief to entitle that Government to the confidence, the respect, the affection, and the continued support of the people of this Province. (Cheers.) With reference to the questions which are likely to come before the country at no distant time, some of these, as my friend Mr. Dymond remarked to you, are in such a position that they may not, to the public advantage, be at this instant discussed. There is, for example, a question which is of extreme importance to the people of this country. I refer to the negotiations for a Reciprocity Treaty now pending. (Hear, hear.) Without, in the slightest degree, pre-

suming to set up my judgment against that of those who have thought it to the public advantage to discuss the draft Treaty at this time, I confess I never have been able to agree in that view, and for this reason—You are aware that the question, whether this draft shall be agreed to or rejected, is to be discussed and disposed of by the Senate of the United States next December, and it seems to me that every argument that may be used just now in Canada in favour of that Treaty, by those who do favour it, is an argument calculated more or less to damage the chances of its approval by the Senate, who will, I fancy, look at it from the exactly opposite point of view. On the other hand, with reference to those Canadians whose opinion is against the Treaty, all the arguments they use, all the meetings they convene, all the resolutions they pass, seem to me to be so many invitations to the Senate of the United States to pass the Treaty and take that step at any rate towards the consummation which they are deprecating all the time. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it appears to me inexpedient for either side to discuss it now, but I quite agree that it is a question which will at the proper time demand at the hands of the representatives of the people the fullest consideration and the most exhaustive discussions. I think the general principle upon which our judgment is to be formed are not far to seek. We shall have to consider, in case we be given the opportunity of passing judgment upon the question, whether the document is one which will, as a whole, without doing gross injustice to any important interest, tend to the general advantage of this country. We are to take, not indeed an undistinguishing, but at the same time a broad, view of that question, and we are to decide it freely for ourselves. I entirely demurred to the line of action taken outside and in Parliament with reference to the Treaty of Washington. I insisted that Parliament ought to be perfectly free, since the question was remitted to it, to determine whether the acceptance or the rejection of its terms was in the interest of the country. What I said then I now repeat, and I am sure it will be found when Parliament does meet, should this question be brought before us, that the large majority which sustains the Government will be disposed to deal with it upon that basis only. I regret under these circumstances that at a recent assemblage of the Liberal-Conservative party, so called, of this Province, a party platform was enunciated, a party line taken with reference to this Treaty, and it surprised me not a little to see that while their Press earnestly denounced the supposition that it was to be made a party measure on the Ministerial side, they should have been first, in solemn convention assembled, to take a party line on the other. Those who have preceded me have referred at some length to the actions of the past. I desire to say something of the present and the future,

illustrated, it may be, by the reference to the past; and I turn to another question of very great practical importance—the present position of the Pacific Railway matter. You will have observed that when the Government of which I was then a member undertook to deal with that question, their policy was enunciated in distinct terms to the electors before the late appeal, and that policy was most unequivocally approved, first at the polls and subsequently in Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I see that a deputation has been sent to England; that the people of British Columbia—no, not the people of British Columbia, for I do not believe they as a body sympathize with these extreme views—that the Government of British Columbia has sent a deputation to England urging that some measure should be taken to force the Government and people of this country to do more than has been proposed with reference to that railway. We last session took the unpleasant step of very largely increasing the rate of your taxation in order to provide funds towards the fulfilment, so far as practicable, of this and other obligations imposed on you by the late Government. Every man among us is now paying one-sixth more taxes than before in order to this end. Parliament has agreed that the work shall be done just as fast as it can be done without further burdening the people of this country, and I believe that the step just taken is a very long step on the part of the people of this country in redemption of the pledge given to British Columbia. At the period when terms were proposed to British Columbia which her rulers did not see fit to accept, I had ceased to be a member of the Canadian Government. Those terms in my opinion went to the extreme verge, and demonstrated the existence of an earnest desire to do everything which could be—with any show of reason—demanded, and I should very much regret if any attempt were made to entangle the country further, or arrange for the commencement and prosecution of the work more rapidly than is involved by the term so offered, and the large provision which we made by the increase of taxation last session. We are called upon to commence the work immediately. I do not know that I can point out to you more strikingly the rashness—the insanity of the bargain thrust upon you by your late rulers, than by telling you that the abandoned line of the Fraser—abandoned early because it was thought by the engineers to be so expensive and difficult as to be impracticable—has been returned to, as affording the prospect of a better line than those upon the exploration of which such large sums have been expended. And this is the state of things long after the railway should, under the bargain, have been begun. We are asked to begin at once, though we cannot yet find a route, and while a mistake in the choice may involve an extra expenditure not only of many millions

in the first cost, but of annual millions more in the running of the road. (Hear, hear.) Until these surveys are thoroughly completed, and until we have found the least impracticable route through that inhospitable country, that "sea of mountains," it is folly to talk of commencing the work of construction. Speaking conjecturedly, I am of the opinion that the British Columbia section of the railway, even if it turns out to be practicable as an engineering work, will involve an enormous expenditure, approximating to $36,000,000, and after its completion will involve an enormous annual charge on the revenues of the country for its running expenses; and I doubt much if that section can be kept open after it is built. I think the chief advantage the British Columbians will derive from the enterprise will consist in the circulation of money, and the profits of mercantile operations attendant on the construction, and that Canada will be a frightful loser by the affair. Now, even under these circumstances the fact that the population of British Columbia is only some 10,000 altogether, representing, perhaps, not so many householders as the audience I now see before me, ought not to disentitle them to say—"You shall fulfil your bargain, or release us from our bonds." It is their right to take such a course, if they think fit, but I deny that this is any reason why we should plunge this country into ruin by the attempt. I have some reason to believe that these people are sufficiently sensible and reasonable to recognize and act on the truth of the matter, unless, indeed, they are sustained by agitators in this country, who are willing for the sake of creating an embarrassment to the Government, to excite false and delusive hopes among them. The temper of Parliament you may judge from the fact that during last session an amendment was moved by one of the British Columbia members insisting upon an early prosecution of the work in that Province, but he was sustained by five members only—two or three from his own Province, and a couple of those who my friend Mr. Mowat delights to call Ontario Tories. (Laughter.) If under all the circumstances the Columbians were to say—"You must go on and finish this railway according to the terms or take the alternative of releasing us from the Confederation," I would—take the alternative! (Cheers.) I believe that is the view of the people of this country, and it may as well be plainly stated, because such a plain statement is the very thing which will prevent the British Columbians from making such extravagant demands. If these 2,000 men understand that the people of Canada are prepared, in preference to the compliance with their ruinous demands to let them go and to leave them to build the Columbia section with their 10,000 people, their tone will be more moderate, and we shall hear no talk about secession. The principal person who has spoken of it hitherto is

Sir John A. Macdonald, who almost invited it in his election speech during the late contest. They won't secede, they know better. Should they leave the Confederation, the Confederation would survive, and they would lose their money. (Laughter.) With regard to those sections of the railway which involve the communication between our interior seaboard and the great Northwest, the utmost diligence is being used to put them under contract. I go heart and soul for the construction of these lines as rapidly as the resources of the country will permit, in conjunction with an extensive scheme of immigration and colonization. The work of construction in itself will afford very great facilities for the rapid colonization of those territories: the annual cash expenditure in labour will produce attractions enabling us to a considerable extent to people the land. The interests of Canada at large point very prominently to a speedy settlement of that country. In my own humble belief the future of Canada as a distinct State, the representative of British power on this continent, largely depends upon our success in colonizing that region, and what is equally important and perhaps more difficult on our success in retaining its sympathies, its trade, its commerce afterwards. Fertile as is the soil, great as are the resources, glorious as are the prospects with reference to production, it is certain that the distance from the great markets of the world of the inland portions of that country will form one great difficulty to be overcome. You have read of the war which is going on between the farmers and the railways on the Western States, the attempt which is being made to cut down freights by legislation. But I do not find that those railways are very rich. The fact is the war is a war against distance; it is a war against time and space; and that is the war the farmers of the North-west will have to encounter. We ought to help as far as possible the successful prosecution of that war, and to that end we must do what was so much ridiculed during the late campaign—we must improve the water communication of the North-west; you can carry by water for one-fifth the cost by rail, and you may be able to carry at a profit if you can get water communication when it would not pay you to grow wheat to be shipped by rail. (Hear, hear.) This is the more important because new sources of supply are opening now in England, and it is likely that the price of breadstuffs will rather fall than rise. I look on the success of our enterprises in the settlement of the North-west as practically dependent on the improvement of the water ways. Of course, there must be railways at once to connect the sheets of water, and eventually a through line; but I am confident that a bushel of wheat will never go to England over an all-rail route from the Saskatchewan to the seaboard, because it would never pay to send it. We must take

it in the speediest and cheapest way to the head of Lake Superior, where our splendid St. Lawrence route commences; and we must use every effort to avert the threatened danger of a diversion to the States of the trade relations of that country. Let me turn to another question which has been adverted to on several occasions, as one looming in the not very distant future. I refer to the relations of Canada to the Empire. Upon this topic I took, three or four years ago, an opportunity of speaking, and ventured to suggest that an effort should be made to reorganize the Empire upon a Federal basis. I repeat what I then said, that the time may be at hand when the people of Canada shall be called upon to discuss the question. Matters cannot drift much longer as they have drifted hitherto. The Treaty of Washington produced a very profound impression throughout this country. It produced a feeling that at no distant period the people of Canada would desire that they should have some greater share of control than they now have in the management of foreign affairs; that our Government should not present the anomaly which it now presents—a Government the freest, perhaps the most democratic in the world with reference to local and domestic matters, in which you rule yourselves as fully as any people in the world, while in your foreign affairs, your relations with other countries, whether peaceful or warlike, commercial or financial, or otherwise, you may have no more voice than the people of Japan. This, however, is a state of things of which you have no right to complain, because so long as you do not choose to undertake the responsibilities and burdens which attach to some share of control in these affairs, you cannot fully claim the rights and privileges of free-born Britons in such matters. But how long is this talk in the newspapers and elsewhere, this talk which I find in very high places, of the desirability, aye, of the necessity of fostering a national spirit among the people of Canada, to be mere talk? It is impossible to foster a national spirit unless you have national interests to attend to, or among people who do not choose to undertake the responsibilities and to devote themselves to the duties to which national attributes belong. We have been invited by Mr. Gladstone and other English statesmen—notably by Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, very shortly before his Government fell, to come forward. Mr. Gladstone, speaking as Prime Minister of England, expressed the hope he cherished, that the Colonies would some day come forward and express their readiness and desire to accept their full share in the privileges and responsibilities of Britons. It is for us to determine—not now, not this year, not perhaps during this Parliamentary term, but yet, at no distant day—what our line shall be. For my part I believe that while it was not unnatural, not un-

reasonable, pending that process of development which has been going on in our new and sparsely settled country, that we should have been quite willing—we so few in numbers, so busied in our local concerns, so engaged in subduing the earth and settling up the country—to leave the cares and privileges to which I have referred in the hands of the parent State; the time will come when that national spirit which has been spoken of will be truly felt among us, when we shall realize that we are four millions of Britons who are not free, when we shall be ready to take up that freedom, and to ask what the late Prime Minister of England assured us we should not be denied—our share of national rights. To-morrow, by the policy of England, in which you have no voice or control, this country might be plunged into the horrors of a war. It is but the other day, that without your knowledge or consent, the navigation of the St. Lawrence was ceded forever to the United States. That is a state of things of which you may have no right to complain, as long as you can choose to say: "We prefer to avoid the cares, the expenses and charges, and we are unequal in point of ability to discharge the duties which appertain to us as free-born Britons;" but while you say this, you may not yet assume the lofty air, or speak in the high pitched tones, which belong to a people wholly free. The future of Canada, I believe, depends very largely upon the cultivation of a national spirit. We are engaged in a very difficult task—the task of welding together seven Provinces which have been accustomed to regard themselves as isolated from each other, which are full of petty jealousies, their Provincial questions, their local interests. How are we to accomplish our work? How are we to effect a real union between these Provinces? Can we do it by giving a sop now to one, now to another, after the manner of the late Government? By giving British Columbia the extravagant terms which have been referred to; by giving New Brunswick $150,000 a year for an export duty which cannot be made out as worth more than $65,000 a year? Do you hope to create or to preserve harmony and good feeling upon such a false and sordid and mercenary basis as that? Not so! That day I hope is done for ever, and we must find some other and truer ground for Union than that by which the late Government sought to buy love and purchase peace. We must find some common ground on which to unite, some common aspiration to be shared, and I think it can be found alone in the cultivation of that national spirit to which I have referred. (Cheers.) I observe that those who say a word on this subject are generally struck at by the cry that they are practically advocating annexation. I believe that the feeling in the neighbouring Republic has materially changed on this subject, and that the notions which were widely spread there some years ago, and the desire to possess,

as one Republic, under one Government, the whole of this continent, from north to south, have died away. A better and a wiser spirit, I believe, now prevails—largely due, perhaps, to the struggles which are unhappily occurring in that country. The attempt to reorganize the South has been going on for some years, and owing, I think, to a very great error in judgment as to the way in which it should be effected, it has been largely a failure. There is great difficulty, and there are frequent disorders in the South. Then there are the conflicts of interest between the Eastern and Western States, very great conflicts and heartburnings. Then there are the alarming difficulties and complications arising from the inordinate political power which has been grasped by great corporations. And I think that the best and wisest minds in the United States have settled down to the conviction that the management of the United States with its present territory is just as difficult a task as their best men can accomplish, and that it would not be wise to add to their existing complications and difficulties by any such unwieldy accession or unmanageable increase as this great domain, the larger half of the whole continent, would be. I think that among those circles in the United States which are to be looked to as influencing the future, there is a great modification of view on this point, and there would be, even were we disposed, as I hope we shall never be disposed, to offer to join them, a great reluctance to take us. But I believe we have a future of our own here. My opinion coincides with those to which I have been referring in the United States. I believe that that country is even larger than it ought to be in order to be well governed, and that an extension of its territory would be very unfortunate in the interests of civilization. "Cribbed, cabined, and confined" as we ourselves are to the South by the unfortunate acts of English diplomatists in the past, giving up to the United States territory which, if we had it to-day, would make our future absolutely assured, but still retaining as we do the great North-west, I believe we can show that there is room and verge enough in North America for the maintenance of two distinct governments, and that there is nothing to be said in favour, but on the contrary everything to be said against, the notion of annexation. These are the material reasons, independent altogether of the very strong and justly adverse feeling arising from our affection for and our association with England, and the well settled conviction which, I believe, exists among the people of this country that a Constitutional Monarchy is preferable to a Republican Government. The Monarchical Government of England is a truer application of real Republican principles than that of the United States, and I have no hesitation in saying that the Government of Canada is far in advance, in the application of

real Republican principles, of the Government of either England or the United States. (Cheers.) But, with the very great advantages which we enjoy over that portion of our fellow-subjects living in England, by reason of our having come into a new country, having settled it for ourselves, and adapted our institutions to modern notions, by reason of our not being cumbered by the constitution of a legislative chamber on the hereditary principle, by reason of our not being cumbered with an aristocracy, or with the unfortunate principle of primogeniture and the aggregation of the land in very few hands, by reason of our not being cumbered with the difficulties which must always exist where a community is composed of classes differing from one another in worldly circumstances so widely as the classes in England differ, where you can go into one street of the City of London and find the extreme of wealth, and a mile or two away the very extreme of poverty; living, as we do, in a country where these difficulties do not exist, where we early freed ourselves from the incubus of a State Church, where we early provided for the educational needs of our people, under these happy circumstances, with these great privileges, there are corresponding responsibilities. Much remains to be done even here before we can say that the ideal of true popular Government has been reached; and some mistakes have been made, in my poor judgment, in the course already taken. I do not believe it is consistent with the true notion of popular Government that we should have a Senate selected by the Administration of the day, and holding their seats for life. (Cheers.) I am not of those who would be disposed to abolish the Senate at this time. The Senate was supposed by those who framed the Constitution of the United States—to which we are bound to look as the framers of our Constitution looked—to be the representative of the various States as States, in which, being as States equal and co-ordinate sovereignties, they had, however unequal in their population and wealth, equal representation. That was the notion upon which, in the framing of that Constitution and in the framing of ours, a Senate was introduced. I am not prepared at this time to take the step of dispensing with the Senate. I desire to see a Senate selected upon truly popular principles, and in a way consistent with popular government, and I am inclined to believe that a Senate so selected would be a useful and influential body, and might perhaps accomplish an important object by removing from the House of Commons the notion that the delegation in that body from each Province is to act as an isolated band in defence of Provincial rights and in assertion of Provincial interests. Is it consistent with the notion that the Senators should represent the several Provinces that they should be selected by one Government? We know that under our

form of Government the Governor-General has no controlling voice in the selection of these gentlemen, that the Cabinet recommend A or B to him and he appoints him, or, if he does not, his Ministers go out of office. The practical result is that the Ministry of the day name the Senators. They name them for life. They may possibly be very good and efficient men when they are placed in the Senate. But even so they may become, as, I suppose, most of us will become some day, utterly effete, utterly incapable of discharging the duty for which they were selected, but so long as they can drag their weary limbs to Parliament once every second session, so long as they can be supported there, as I have seen them supported to the halls of Parliament to save their position, and sit for an hour or so as to register their names, they hold their seats as Senators, and are supposed to represent the special interests of the Province for which they were selected. That is one evil, supposing the selections to have been such as ought to have been made in the first instance, but we all know they have not been such as a rule. If the members of the Senate are to be the guardians of the interests of the Provinces, it is the provincial mind which should be referred to as to their appointment, and my own opinion is that the Senate, besides being very largely reduced in number, should be composed of men selected either immediately or mediately by the Provinces from which they come. I believe in the mediate mode of selection; I think that the selection by the Legislature of the Province and the appointment for moderate terms, not going out all together, but at different periods, would be a system under which that body would obtain an importance and a value hardly dreamed of under the present system. You want that body not to change as rapidly as the popular body, not to be composed exactly of the same class of men, but to change from time to time. You do not want a set of old gentlemen there with notions of the time when they were appointed perhaps, but which have not advanced with the age, to be dreaming in the Senate, blocking improvements in legislation as far as they dare, and only conceding them under an extreme pressure of public opinion. (Hear, hear.) You want a body to which it would be an honour to send any of the principal men of a Province, and which would have an importance which the United States Senate once had, and, though the lustre has perhaps diminished, still to some extent retains. (Cheers.) I think also that something may still be done towards securing freedom and purity of election. I am amongst those members of the Liberal party who are prepared to express their very great regret at the disclosures which have recently taken place in the Election Courts. From the earliest moment of my entrance into public life, I have taken a very earnest part in the effort to bring about freedom

and purity of election. In these struggles I did not say that my friends of the Liberal party had never resorted to improper means of securing their elections—I said you must not expect a different result when you enacted sham laws, professing to prohibit bribery and corruption, while you refused to provide proper means of enforcing those laws. I said that as long as it was seen that there were no means of carrying out these laws, the situation was worse than if there was no law, and both parties would go on disregarding the law, until it ended in the retirement of honest men as candidates for public life, and in the retirement from any participation in politics of those citizens whose notions of propriety, morality, and respect for the laws prohibited them from using such unlawful means. We were resisted both in the Local and Federal Legislatures as long as resistance was feasible, but fortunately for the Province, we were able to obtain a stringent law in Ontario before the elections of 1871, and the result was that these elections were infinitely purer than before. Though some of the elections were voided by illegal practices, the sums spent were not large, the corruption was by no means widespread, and the election may be said to have been comparatively fair. We were unable to get the law in the Dominion for the elections of 1872. The country in that contest was flooded with money, and I suppose it was the most corrupt election which ever took place in Canada. But public opinion was so strong on the subject that the Government which had refused to pass the law brought it in during the next session, and that law was in force when the elections of 1874 took place. I rejoice that it was so, and I repeat what I have said before, that I would not, as a member of the Government, have taken the responsibility of concurring in the dissolution of 1874, if that law had not been on the Statute Book. The result of the elections, as you are aware, was a very extraordinary victory of the Liberal party. A number of petitions have been presented, some on each side, and it has been found that no single election which was brought before the judges was conducted properly according to the law. Although no candidate has been found guilty of any impropriety, it has been found that many men belonging to the Liberal party, and prominent in the electoral districts, so far forgot what was due to their country and to their party as to be engaged in the disposition of funds in an illegal manner. My own opinion—founded upon my knowledge of what took place in some cases, upon what has come out before the judges, and upon the fact that, though it was competent to each of the petitioners to ask not only that the seat should be voided but that the other candidate should be seated if his hands were clean, none of them have dared to do so—is that there was an equivalent or a larger amount of illegal expenditure on the other side.

I have no doubt that if these gentlemen who are prosecuting those petitions with such energy—and I rejoice to see that energy displayed—had dared to say not merely—"You have been guilty of corruption," but "our candidate has not, and he can, therefore, take, and asks the seat," they conceded that the verdict of the people on the new elections, will be as a rule, in favour of the unseated member; and these people, understanding that perfectly well, would be very glad to have their candidate seated by the decision of the judges rather than undergo a new election to receive another adverse verdict. I do not believe the result of the elections has been materially affected by the expenditure, but there is no doubt of the gross impropriety of the acts disclosed; and the only excuse for it that I can see is that these gentlemen could not have fully realized that we had got the boon we had been struggling for, but thought the old corrupt course would be followed by the other side, and that whosoever won by any means, would keep the seat. In that case the results of these trials will have disabused the people of this country of any such idea. They will have found that we of the Liberal party who represented you in Parliament were not so recreant to our trust as to make an appeal to the country without a law which would be effective, and that we have got a law which will enable the people to conduct elections purely and to punish those who are guilty of corruption. I have a good hope that what has taken place will produce a beneficial effect on the men of both parties in the elections for the Local Legislature and that we may then see an election even purer than that of 1874. I need not, I suppose, repeat to the people of this riding the exhortation which I have addressed to other ridings—the exhortation addressed to the country generally by the Government through the address of Mr. Mackenzie before the late general election. I would point out to you that even a good law by which effective machinery is provided is almost useless unless the popular sense and feeling be committed to the support of it, and that the main force and efficiency of any such law is dependent upon the mind, the will, and the determination of the people to sustain the law and frown down those who transgress it. I hope the Liberal party of this Province will take that course. I believe they will. I have a firm confidence that now, both sides having learned that there is a means by which corruption can be discovered, and that the discovery of that corruption, practised by those who have acted with the concurrence of the candidate, will destroy the illusory victory which has been gained, the axe has been laid at the root of the tree, and we shall have fair elections for the time to come. There is another improvement on the Statute Book of which we have not received the advantage yet. I mean the ballot. But I think that still further improvements might

be achieved. I think every one will agree with me that one of the great difficulties in securing freedom of election in the past has been the reluctance of voters to go to the polls, the difficulty that was made about it, the compliment it was supposed to involve, and the attempt—too successful in many cases—to extort money as team-hire for going, when the voter ought to have been proud and happy to drive or walk, and if he had a team, while his neighbour had none, to take his neighbour as well, so as to strike his blow for the good cause. (Cheers.) I believe it is under the guise of hiring teams that bribery has to the greatest extent permeated the body of the electors. I believe that another system of bribery which has gained ground of late years is that of paying voters to abstain from voting. That is the system which is most likely to be resorted to under the ballot, for this reason; if you buy a man to stay at home, you can always tell whether he has kept his bargain or not: but if you buy him to vote for you, you cannot tell whether he has, because he may have voted against you. I am strongly impressed with the idea that some provision whereby voters should no longer imagine that they were to be invited, allured, complimented, attracted to the poll, their teams paid for, themselves solicited to go, would be a proper provision. Who are we who vote? Is it a right only that we exercise or a trust? We are but a very small proportion, perhaps not more than an eighth of the population, male and female, men, women and children. Is it in our own interests or for our own rights only that we vote? Are our own fates alone affected by our votes? Not so. The whole population of the country, our wives, our sisters, and our children, those male adults who have no votes, all these are affected by it. Therefore it is a trust, a sacred trust, which the voter holds in the exercise of franchise. True, it is a right, because the voter, in common with the rest of the community, is affected by the laws which are passed; but he is bound to vote in the interests of the whole community; and therefore I do not see why the Legislature should not point out to him that it is his duty, if he chooses to allow himself to remain on the register, to exercise the trust which he has undertaken. I would not go against any man's conscience. There may be some men, even in this country, of a peculiar persuasion, who hold it wrong to vote, but a provision permitting any man, upon his own application to the County Judge on the revision of the rolls, to be disfranchised, would get rid of any difficulties on the score of conscience. But if a man chooses that his name shall be retained on the list amongst the electoral body—which is itself a representative body, for those tens of thousands represent the hundreds of thousands for whom they vote and in effect legislate—then let him be told that it is his duty to exercise the franchise. I would not force him to vote for a

particular person. He may say: "I do not like either of the men." A man may be so crotchety and difficult to please that he cannot make a choice between the candidates. We cannot help that; our ballot is secret; but let the voter, at all events, go to the booth and deposit his ballot. Whether it be a spoilt ballot or a blank ballot we shall not know, but I think it is likely that every man who goes to the booth will deposit an effective ballot. I think those who remain on the roll should be compelled by law to deposit their ballots, and that a law establishing some penalty for the breach of this provision, unless they excuse themselves by proof of illness or absence from the constituency, would be a good law, and as far as this branch of the subject is concerned, would tend largely to increase the virtue of our present electoral system. Besides a moderate penalty to be sued for, I would be disposed to add a provision that the man who had failed to vote at an election, whether general or special, and who within 30 days did not file a solemn declaration excusing himself upon one ground or the other, should not be entered upon the roll of voters again at any period until after the next general election, so that he should not be counted amongst the trustees of the popular right, for a certain period at any rate. (Cheers.) You know how difficult it is to get men to vote at a special election. Men are busy in their fields or about their affairs, and they forget, I am sorry to say, how very few hours in the year they, as self-governors, devote to the discharge, of that highest and noblest privilege—the privilege of self-government. Let them understand, if at an election they prefer their business, their pleasure, or their occupations to the exercise of the franchise, that until after the next general election at any rate, they who have been proved to be unfaithful guardians, and have shown their little regard for the rights and privileges they hold, shall have no further concern or part in these matters, and shall leave to the faithful trustees the control which is theirs by right. (Hear, hear.) It may be said: "You are proposing a law which will bring forward a number of persons who do not care about politics, and whom it is better not to have at the polls," but it is my object to prevent their being brought forward by improper means. A great many of them are brought forward now. The corrupt man says: "I cannot go, I cannot afford the time." He does it to get a few dollars. The indifferent men—and there are many of them of a highly respectable class—should be made to see that is part of their duty to vote. Once they understand that it is their duty to take part in elections, I believe they are moral enough and conscientious enough to take that part, and I believe it will be taken generally for the good of the country. I am sure you will agree with me that a proposal which is calculated to poll out the popular vote to the utmost extent is a

proposal in the interest of real popular Government. There is much more likely to be a true expression of the people's feelings in that than in any other way. I do not intend to detain you with any remarks upon the general abstract question of the franchise. My own opinions on that subject I may perhaps give some other day. I may say that however little the present character of our franchise answers the theoretical views and principles of some, there is no doubt that as a practical measure, in its actual working, it does give the vote to such a large proportion of the people of this Province, that the popular vote fully polled and rightly counted would be a fairly accurate exposition of the popular opinion; but I believe that even without attempting radical changes, without attempting to lay down a principle for the franchise more satisfactory than that which now prevails, there may be some practical reforms in the present system. I shall limit myself to two. You are aware that the general franchise is based upon the ownership or tenancy or occupation of real property of certain values. Now, it is deeply to be regretted, on many grounds, that the rural communities of this Province do not determine, once for all, to do away with the false and injurious system of under-assessing property which prevails amongst them. (Cheers.) I have said in the Legislature, and I repeat here, that it is a disgrace to the people of Ontario that we should find the vast mass of our property deliberately under-assessed forty, perhaps fifty, per cent., by officers sworn to assess it up to its full value—(Hear, hear)—and this with the concurrence of those whom you place in power. It is done, in fact, because your councillors sanction it, and sometimes even so instruct the assessors. It is generally a miserable short-sighted attempt to procure a favourable equalization of the county rate. A township thinks if its property is under-assessed no other township will get an advantage over it, and so you have a system which is dishonest, which is a fraud on the face of it, and which, apart from its moral degradation, is injurious to the interests of the Province, because it keeps back from the knowledge of the people of England and of the world what our property is really worth. You tell them it is worth so many millions when the value might be truly doubled. It is injurious because such a system, artificial as it is, renders much more difficult a fair and equitable adjustment. In my city we are taxed very heavily, and we have found that the true course is to assess the property up to its full value, as that is the way in which every man is most likely to pay his fair share. But when you establish a fictitious basis, there are immense facilities for fraud and enormous difficulties in the way of a fair adjustment. More, it gives opportunities to partizan assessors which they could not have under a proper system, because if you bring down the assessment 50 per cent. you may bring it down to

the margin of the qualification, while if you have a fair valuation there would not be a man who would not be entitled to vote on any cottage or plot of land on which he lives. But when you under-assess you give the opportunity for fraud. I have seen a column of lots assessed at $190 and another column assessed at $210. What did that mean? Why, we all know that it meant simply that the $190 men were all of one stripe of politics, and the $210 men of the other stripe. (Cheers and laughter.) The thing would have been quite out of the question if you had determined to make your assessors assess justly and rightly. There is no use in passing laws if the people will not support them. You have the law, but so long as you instruct or wink at your assessor in doing this, or do not dismiss him for doing it, so long the law will be violated. (Hear, hear.) I mentioned in the Legislative Assembly my feeling of humiliation at this state of things, my hope that it would be amended, and my view that if so there would be no ground on that score for a change in the franchise. But in the class of householders it might be well to get rid at once of all that difficulty by prescribing that the simple occupation as a householder should give the vote. This is, in fact, a very old franchise in England, and can do no harm but would do some good here. Then there is another thing. There is a custom in this country, which cannot, I think, be too highly commended—there is a custom among those farmers who have raised a family of retaining one or two of their sons on the farm. They live there with the expectation that when the inevitable day arrives the faithful son, who has done his duty by his parent, has soothed his declining years, has worked for him, as he was worked for in the days when he was a child and helpless and his father was strong, will inherit the farm. That is a state of things which is highly desirable and should be perpetuated. That degree of mutual confidence, that pleasant continuance of the family life after the son has attained to manhood, is a matter of great importance to the moral standing and virtue of the people at large. It is my opinion that such adult sons would make as good a class of voters as you can find in the country. (Hear, hear.) I believe some of them leave the farms and discontinue that state of things because they desire to wear that badge of manhood, the franchise. I do not see why they should not wear that badge. I do not see why they should be penalized—educated as they are under our school system, and showing themselves to be alive to one of the highest duties of citizenship—by being excluded from the privilege. It would, I think, be well, when dealing with a system of representation which is not theoretically correct, a system which you cannot logically defend, but which you say works practically, to extend the franchise and give the right to vote to every adult son who

is living on the farm of his father. (Cheers.) You know that such votes have been obtained in the past by a process which I regret. By an evasion of the law, fathers have placed their sons on the roll, and they have obtained votes by a side wind. That is unfortunate, because it is against the law, and because such vote is not held freely, but to a great extent at the pleasure of the father. I do not care that a man should have the right to vote if I or some one else may tell him how he must vote. Give these men the right, and their votes will, especially under the ballot, be as free and as useful to the community as any others in the country. Before passing from this subject I desire to speak of one of the truest tests of the right to the franchise—I mean the educational test. There is no doubt that our future will be largely affected by the course we take with regard to the extension of education throughout the land. I agree with many of the remarks of Mr. Mowat on that subject. I commend heartily the public spirit which has led the people of this country to expend such large sums on education; but my information leads me to believe that the people have not done all that they ought to have done. It is not only expenditure which is needed, but it is equally important to take care that when you have the schools you send your children to them for a proper portion of the year. Then you cannot get good work without reasonable pay. You have improved considerably the rate of pay of your teachers in the last few years. Three or four years ago, after investigating that subject, I spoke to my own constituents upon it, and I say now again, that if you want to make all this expenditure effectual, it is a prime duty to consider how much is required in order to obtain a good teacher and to pay that sum whatever it may be. Without that the whole system is ineffective. The teacher is the key. To what purpose do you build brick school-houses, elect trustees, and send your children to school, unless you have an efficient teacher to instruct them? And you cannot get good teachers at the present rate of pay, increased though it is. Another point is this. In old and well settled countries where the farms are cleared and the men have become wealthy, where there is no reason, no necessity, for the children being kept at home, how is it that the average period of attendance is so short? In some parts the shortness of the average attendance is positively alarming. I exhort my fellow-countrymen to see to these things. You have established free schools, and you have resolved to tax every one to maintain them. We are all interested then in this matter, and it is to the general and wide diffusion of instruction and education that we must largely look for the great future that we expect. But, sir, with such a hope for the future before us, I believe we might effect immense improvements upon the present system of popular representation. For my

own part I have been for some time dissatisfied with our present mode of popular representation, as furnishing no fair indication of the opinions of the country. I do not think a system under which a majority in one constituency elects a member, the minority being hopeless, helpless, without any representation of its own at all, is a good system. I have been collecting some statistics on this subject, and it is extraordinary to what extent the popular voice, as shown in the popular vote, differs from the expression of that voice in the Legislature. In the State of Maryland you can find an election lately in which parties were so divided that two-thirds of the people polled on the one side, and one-third on the other. The result of the election was that the Republicans, who polled two-thirds, elected every member, and the Democrats, who polled one-third, did not elect a single man. That was not a fair or reasonable result. In the State of Maine something of the same kind happened. The Democrats had polled one-third of the votes, but only elected 43 out of 247 members. Coming nearer home, for perhaps our Tory friends will object to my taking illustrations from across the line, in Nova Scotia, in the year 1867, there was a bitterly fought contest on the question of Union or anti-Union. The result was that only Mr. Tupper was returned from the whole Province, and that by a very narrow majority, as a representative of the Union sentiment. I have analysed the statistics of that election, and I find that the real strength exhibited at the polls would have given, as nearly as I can estimate, seven to the Union side instead of one, and only twelve to the anti-Unionists instead of 18. Take Nova Scotia again in 1874. The returns gave 19 to the Government, one Independent and one Opposition—Mr. Tupper again. I will give him the Independent man into the bargain, because I think he belongs to that quarter. (Laughter.) The popular vote on that occasion would, as nearly as I can judge, have given 8 out of the 21 to that side instead of 2, and but 13 to the Government instead of 19. Our principle of Government is that the majority must decide. Upon what is it founded? Well, you cannot give a reason except this, that it is necessary. It is the only way in which Government can be carried on at all. But if the minority must, on this ground of necessity, bow to the voice of the majority, the majority is all the more bound to see that the minority has its fair share of representation, its fair weight in the councils of the country. The majority must recollect that it may become the minority one day, and that then it would like to have its fair share in those councils, and such disparities as these are not likely to induce a feeling of cheerful submission on the part of the minority. In Ontario, in the election of 1867—I cannot, of course, be precisely accurate in these matters, because there were some acclamation returns,

and there are other difficulties in making an exact calculation but there were 82 members to be returned. The whole popular vote would have resulted in a slight majority for the Liberal party over the Government, but discarding fractions, the result would give 41 members to each. The Government, however, carried 49 seats to 33, and so the Liberal party did not obtain its fair share in the Government of the country. A turn of 408 votes would have taken seventeen seats from the Government and given them to the Liberal party. We say we have representation by population, but we have not representation by population unless the population has a representation in the Legislature equivalent to its strength at the polls. In the late election of 1874 the popular voice, although very strongly in favour of the Government, was by no means so decided as the returns showed. And besides this 178 votes turned the other way would have changed eight seats, making a difference of sixteen on a division. Little more than double that number would have changed sixteen seats, or thirty-two on a division, and this in a Province where over 200,000 votes would, if all the elections were contested, have been polled. My own opinion is that it is not houses, and stocks, and farms that are represented, but human beings, with immortal souls—these are the true subjects of representation, the sharers in, the owners of political power, and I think a scheme ought to be devised, as a scheme has been devised, to give them a fairer representation. In England, in constituencies which return three or four members, a cumbrous mode has been adopted called the "restrictive vote," which I do not recommend, by which each man votes for one less than the whole number to be elected. That gives some representation to each side. In the School Board elections, which have caused the greatest possible interest and excitement, and have resulted in London in the return of an Educational Parliament which may vie with the Parliament of the Empire in ability in proportion to its numbers, the cumulative system has been with great advantage adopted. By this the voter, having as many votes as there are members, may give the whole of his votes to one candidate or divide them as he pleases. That system has been also adopted with the most beneficial results in the State of Illinois, where the returns under the amended constitution of 1870 have been within one of the actual popular voice. I say the system of representation under which we now live is inadequate to the purposes of the age. The complicated interests of society, the various views entertained by various sections of people, the enormous divergencies and the minor shades of divergency which exist, the fact that you cannot accurately or reasonably approximate the real strength of popular opinion as evinced at the polls by the return of members to Parliament—these considerations are sufficient to condemn

the existing system and send us on search for a better. That better can, I believe, be found, and if it be reserved for this Province or this Dominion to set the example of finding it, a great benefit will have been conferred by us on the cause of freedom throughout the world. I believe Mr. Hare's system or some modification of it—a system by which each voter may vote for any one he pleases, and give his vote should it not be required for his first choice, to second, third, or fourth candidates, in the order of his preference—would result in the return by unanimous constituencies of men having the confidence of those constituencies, and of just so many men on each side as the strength of that side at the polls would justify. What is my position to-day? I have a very large constituency. I represent a constituency in which many more votes were polled against me than sufficed to return Mr. Dymond. Within nine of 2,000 votes were polled against me. Can I say I represent those people? I do not. I do not represent their views. They thought I was wrong, they wished to defeat me, they wished to condone the Pacific Scandal and to support the late Government. I am bound to consider their individual wants, but I cannot say I represent their views. How are they represented? Some will say that people a long way off elected, say, Mr. Cameron, of Cardwell, or Mr. Farrow, of North Huron, represent them. That is a very peculiar mode of representation, by which the unrepresented minorities of adverse views in different constituencies are in effect told that they are to be content because there are others in like evil plight. Look at home. Turn to this Metropolitan district. Take, if you please, the old County of York, including Toronto, Ontario and Peel. You have there nine districts, and you have nine members all on one side, and not a single one on the other. The return at the polls gave five to four. The popular vote gave you five and your adversaries four, and upon a proper system of representation that would have been the proportion of the members. We shall have to settle before long the question of the Parliamentary system of the future. As the late Prince Consort said some years ago, Parliamentary systems are on their trial. When we provide a plan by which every man shall be represented, by which each side of opinion shall be represented in proportion to its strength, we shall have avoided the difficulties which result from the artificial divisions which we make, and which render the expression of opinion by the returns so essentially different from that shown at the polls. There is not time now to give you even a fair summary of the reasons for this reform. I must bring my speech to a close. I know, Sir, that I have made a rather disturbing speech, but I am not afraid of that. As far as I can judge, not much good can be done without disturbing something or somebody, and if that is the only

objection to be made to the sentiments I have uttered, I am quite ready to meet it. I may be said also to have made an imprudent speech—at least it might be said if I were one of those who aspire to lead their fellow countrymen as Ministers. It is the function of Ministers—we know it, and I do not quarrel with it—to say nothing that can be caught hold of—(Laughter)—nothing in advance of the popular opinion of the day, to watch the current of that opinion, and when it has gathered strength, to crystallize it into Acts of Parliament. That is the function of a Liberal Minister. The function of a Tory Minister is to wait till he is absolutely forced to swallow his own opinions. (Laughter.) My hon. friend, Mr. Mowat, will, I doubt not, by your suffrages, enjoy a long time in which to perform his high duty, but it may be permitted to one who prefers to be a private in the advanced guard of the army of freedom, to a commanding place in the main body—(Loud cheers)—to run the risk of promulgating what may be called a political heresy to-day, but may perhaps become a political creed to-morrow. (Cheers.) I am sure that whatever may be your disposition as to the opinions I have advanced, and however disinclined you may be to accept my proposals, you will receive them with toleration and liberality. I believe that feeling which is strongly existent in the ranks of our opponents, of intolerance of any difference of opinion, that determination without argument to write and speak down the man who advances anything new as revolutionary and unsafe, is not shared by the Liberal party. I believe you realize the value in the interests of true liberty of a free utterance before his fellow countrymen, of the distinctive opinions held by a public man. (Cheers.) I am quite sure you sympathize with the eulogy which the poet-laureate of England conferred upon the old land, and you desire that his words of praise should be properly applicable to the new, when in immortal verse he sung:—

> You ask me, why, tho' ill at ease,
> Within this region I subsist,
> Whose spirits falter in the mist,
> And languish for the purple seas?
>
> It is the land that freemen till,
> That sober-suited Freedom chose,
> The land, where girt with friends or foes,
> A man may speak the thing he will;
>
> A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown,

Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent:

Where faction seldom gathers head,
But by degrees to fulness wrought,
The strength of some diffusive thought
Hath time and space to work and spread.

Should banded unions persecute
Opinion, and induce a time
When single thought is civil crime,
And individual freedom mute;

Tho' Power should make from land to land
The name of Britain trebly great—
Tho' every channel of the State
Should almost choke with golden sand—

Yet waft me from the harbour-mouth,
Wild wind! I seek a warmer sky,
And I will see before I die,
The palms and temples of the South.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The United States and Canada: A Political Study. By GEORGE M. WRONG. New York and Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press. [1921.] Pp. 191.

IN this series of six lectures delivered by Professor Wrong at the Wesleyan University under the George Slocum Bennett foundation, the author has examined the conditions under which has arisen the dominance of the English-speaking peoples in America; he has placed in contrast the divergences and noted the similarities of their institutions; and, last but not least, he has clearly outlined Canada's status in the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is beyond question that in this respect Professor Wrong has rendered an international service. We are not surprised to find in Continental Europe little comprehension of the relations which seem at once to unite and to separate the British communities throughout the world; but perhaps Canadians may be pardoned for a little surprise that those relations are so imperfectly realized by their neighbours. It is barely twenty-five years since a distinguished American statesman could hardly be induced to believe that Canada possessed and exercized the right of levying customs duties upon products of the United Kingdom imported into the Dominion. A quarter of a century previously Sir John Macdonald had encountered a similar lack of comprehension during the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington.

The author has given in broad but clear outline the distinguishing features of each form of government. He recognizes that while the British North America Act avows the purpose of establishing a constitution for Canada similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom, yet many leading features of our system were drawn from the constitution of the United States. It is not necessary to concern oneself with Lord Haldane's niceties as to the character, federal or otherwise, of the Canadian constitution. In truth, it is federal in the ordinary acceptance of the term; and the principle of federalism was drawn wholly from the example of the United States.

Professor Wrong lays emphasis upon the consideration that the constitution of the United States was framed in idealism, while that of Canada has grown out of tradition. The framers of the American con-

stitution were necessarily influenced by the tendencies of political thought in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In Great Britain the same tendencies almost succeeded in eliminating from the British system a feature which strongly marks its divergence from that of the United States: namely, the presence of responsible ministers in parliament amenable to the will of the people's representatives. In one aspect it is curious, but in another perfectly natural and logical, that the United States, as Professor Wrong points out, have never established and apparently never desired that form of direct legislative control over the executive for which Canadians contended nearly one hundred years ago, even to the point of rebellion. The American theory of checks and balances requires an executive independence which the Canadian scheme of government could hardly afford.

Within the nations of the British Commonwealth the formal executive is not a party leader; he stands apart from all parties, and acts by the advice of his ministers under the conventions of the constitution as the will of the people directs. The real executive is to be found in his advisers. In the United States the President is at once the executive and the leader of the dominant political party. He fulfills the functions of both King and Prime Minister, and he exercizes greater power than either. He attains the position through the severities of an election contest, in which neither party spares the other. When the battle is over, he stands before the whole country as the head of the nation, and is recognized as such by all parties.

Professor Wrong's lectures are well conceived and instructive. When a large and complex subject is treated in narrow compass one would naturally expect an occasional omission or expression that might give rise to misunderstanding. In discussing the omnipotence of parliament it might have been useful to explain that the legal power of the British parliament with respect to the Dominions is overridden and controlled by constitutional conventions. Perhaps, also, the author should have made it perfectly clear that in Canada, as in the United Stares, it is for the courts to determine whether any legislative body has overstepped the limits of its jurisdiction.

The author's words respecting the opportunities of democracy on this continent and with regard to the overwhelming responsibility which rests upon the British and American Commonwealths for the peace of the world are timely and impressive. His contribution to the political thought of both countries must be of service in each.

Our neighbours have given us a worthy example in establishing foundations such as that under which these lectures were delivered. One recalls the William Earl Dodge foundation at Yale, which has brought

forth excellent fruit, and doubtless there are others. It is to be hoped that the wealth of Canada will seek opportunity for usefulness in the establishment of such foundations in this country.

R. L. BORDEN

Mélanges Historiques; Études éparses et inédites. Par BENJAMIN SULTE. Compilées, annotées, et publiées par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. Volume 7. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1921. Pp. 163.

M. MALCHELOSSE continues his task of bringing out in permanent form the fugitive papers into which Dr. Sulte has for many years been throwing the result of his researches. The value of this task can hardly be overestimated. In spite of some of the obvious defects of Dr. Sulte's work,—such as the lack of specific reference to authorities, and the almost journalistic disregard of literary form,—there is perhaps no other Canadian historian who has such an encyclopedic knowledge of the highways and byways of Canadian history, and there are few writers who approach the study of history in a more genuinely scientific spirit.

Of the papers in the present volume several appeared many years ago. "L'Episode de l'ile de Sable"—an essay which settled the date (1598) on which La Roche disembarked his first colony on Sable Island—was published as long ago as 1892, when the question with which it deals was still open. A brief sketch entitled "La Famille et la Rivière Gatineau" appeared first in 1879. Two papers on "The Jesuit Relations" date from 1898, when the Thwaites edition of the *Relations* was appearing. Others are of more recent composition. A delightful paper on the history of maple sugar ("Histoire du sucre d'érable") appeared first in 1911. An essay entitled "Le docteur Badelart et le mal de la Baie-Saint-Paul", which contains an account of a curious epidemic which affected the population of the St. Lawrence valley between 1774 and 1786, was published in 1916; another entitled "Duberger, By et le plan relief de Québec", which gives an account of the history of a model of the city of Quebec at the beginning of the nineteenth century, now in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa, was written in 1917; and a valuable paper on "Pierre Ducalvet", which places Haldimand in a new light before French-Canadian readers, was written as recently as 1920.

Two papers, indeed, contained in the present volume, have never hitherto seen the light. One of these is an account of the so-called Kensington rune-stone ("Au Mississippi en 1362"), which is mainly remarkable because it appears therein that Dr. Sulte is now convinced of the authenticity of the rune-stone, and believes that the Norsemen actually penetrated to the headwaters of the Mississippi by way of Hudson Bay in the middle of the fourteenth century. The other hitherto

unpublished paper is a Canadian martyrology from 1640 to 1665, which must have cost the author a vast amount of research.

Almost without exception, it is a matter of congratulation that these contributions to Canadian history have been rescued from the oblivion to which the ephemeral form in which most of them first appeared threatened to consign them.

W. S. WALLACE

The Illinois Country, 1673-1818. By CLARENCE W. ALVORD. (*Centennial History of Illinois*, volume I.) Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 1920. Pp. xx, 524.

SINCE the appearance of the American Nation series no more notable co-operative history has been undertaken in the United States than the *Centennial History of Illinois*. This history was designed to celebrate the first hundredth year of the state's existence. Its first volume, however, carries the narrative back one hundred and fifty years earlier, and describes the beginnings of things in the region that became Illinois. Professor Clarence W. Alvord, editor-in-chief for the series, reserved for himself this volume, for the writing of which he was so adequately prepared. Over a decade ago Professor Alvord startled those interested in the history of the Middle West by finding the Cahokia and Kaskaskia records stretching back to the time of French domination in the Mississippi Valley; his editing of these important records gave us the prefatory chapter on the "County of Illinois," which set that region in its international relations and showed its importance as a sphere of influence desired by France, England, and the United States. Somewhat later he edited for the Illinois Historical Collections the British series, largely made up of papers obtained from public and private collections in England, most of which had never before been known. As a result of this editorial work he published in 1917 his *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, which was so novel in character and important in conclusions that it was awarded the Loubat prize for the best work in American history issued during five years.

The present volume on the Illinois Country from 1673 to 1818 brings fresh laurels to the author's fame. It is no mere local history; rather it is a pivotal history, showing that on the prairies of the Mississipp iValley were worked out decisions determining the fate of nations and the supremacy of free government. For the larger portion of the period with which the volume deals, relations were close between the inhabitants of Illinois and those of the St. Lawrence Valley. During the French régime Illinois was disputed territory between Canada and Louisiana. Governed after 1718 from New Orleans, its connections with Quebec were

nevertheless considerable. Under the British authority trade as well as government followed the route of the Great Lakes and the Ottawa River to Canadian centres. The story is thus of peculiar interest to Canadians. More than this, much of the volume is based upon hitherto unknown and inaccessible material, so that chapters six to eleven are practically new both in interpretation and in material.

There are few Western historians to-day who can better digest a large amount of "raw" historical material and place the conclusions in permanent and artistic form than Professor Alvord. There are few who have a larger grasp of the essentials of history and the underlying currents that determine its course. The story crosses easily from Paris to Kaskaskia, from Montreal and Quebec to the western trading posts, without loss of continuity. It is the author's ability to see events in their larger relations that gives this his most recent volume its chief value for both Illinoisians and lovers of good history elsewhere. Withal the proportions of the book are well arranged. After about fifty pages given to topography and the aborigines, about half of the remaining space is allotted to the French régime from 1673 to 1763; the remainder is appropriately divided between the rule of the British and the American domination. One of the most remarkable and illuminating chapters is that on "The City States," showing how the Canadian-French habitants when thrown on their own resources were capable of maintaining local government and of securing peace and order. Canadians will also find much to interest them concerning the "grand period" of their history, the age of discovery, the sway of Frontenac, the fur trade and the missions; while the chapter on "The Great Decision" sums up the elements of the conflict that threw French America into the hands of the founders of the British Empire.

With the production of this centennial history of Illinois there dawns, it is to be hoped, a new era for state histories. Each state and local unit has an especial viewpoint from which its story may be oriented, some contribution of unique value to the history of the entire country or period. If the noteworthy example of Illinois is followed, the mosaic of universal history may be made up of separate stones polished by the skill of such scholars as Professor Alvord and his associates.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756: A History. Volume I. By GEORGE ARTHUR WOOD. (Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University: no. 209). New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1920. Pp. 433. ($4.50.)

WILLIAM SHIRLEY is a prominent figure in all the histories of the American colonies in the eighteenth century, and of the struggle for Canada. In 1912 two volumes of his official correspondence were published, edited by Mr. C. H. Lincoln; any gaps in one's knowledge are now filled by Professor Wood's biography. Professor Wood's book is planned on a large scale. The present bulky volume takes Shirley's career only to 1749, and is to be followed by another, dealing with "Mr. Shirley in his setting as commissary at Paris for the settlement of the Nova Scotia boundary, as governor and general in the early phases of the decisive struggle for Canada, and as governor of the Bahamas" (p. 413). Whether one who is after all only a secondary figure deserves so full-length a portrait is doubtful. The present volume has the merits and defects of the enlarged Ph.D. thesis. It is conscientious and impartial; it shows careful research in published and unpublished sources; and it scrambles along in that heavy conglomerate style with which the younger American historians have made us so terribly familiar. This is the more unfortunate, as every now and again a shrewd colloquialism shows that, if Mr. Wood can only get away from his documents, he has a sense of humour and an insight into character.

Shirley is interesting both in himself and in his environment. For Canadian readers the most interesting part of the book is the account of his successful attack upon Louisbourg in 1745, due to his unwearied efforts in coördinating a vacillating home government and half-a-dozen suspicious and impecunious provincial legislatures; and his unsuccessful attempt to follow up the capture by an attack upon Canada. No new light is thrown upon the siege of Louisbourg, but Shirley's attempt to follow it up has not been so fully dealt with elsewhere. Shirley had a plan, to be carried out, like the attack on Louisbourg, mainly by the colonial militia in coöperation with the British fleet; the Duke of Bedford at the Admiralty had another, in which the colonial militia were to play a subordinate role. Either might have succeeded, but the Duke of Newcastle and the remainder of the British government, worried by the war on the continent, by the invasion of the Young Pretender, and by their own natural laziness and stupidity, vacillated till both went by the board. It may be that the attempt could not have been successfully carried through without a more thorough establishment of British sea-power than was envisaged by either Shirley or Bedford; but the spring on Louisbourg had been successful, and the spirit of New England was so high that the *coup* might well have been followed up by the attack on Canada. One's chief feeling in reading the book is that of admiration for the legislature of Massachusetts and for the high spirit of the New England colonies.

W. L. GRANT

Vers l'émancipation (première période). Cours d'histoire de Canada à l'université de Montréal, 1920-21. Par l'Abbé LIONEL GROULX. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1921. Pp. 308.

THE ABBÉ GROULX is rapidly making his way to the front as one of the most considerable Canadian historians of the day. His first important contribution to Canadian history was his *La Confédération Canadienne, ses origines*, published in 1918. This was followed in 1919 by *La Naissance d'une race*, and in 1920, by *Lendemains de conquête*, both of which have been reviewed at length in the pages of this REVIEW (Vol. I, pp. 307-8; pp. 396-402). Now comes from the press the present volume, *Vers l'émancipation (première période)*, which is a detailed study of the first decade of British rule in Canada, from the Royal Proclamation of 1763 to the Quebec Act of 1774.

All these volumes are based on lectures delivered by the author at the University of Montreal, and illustrate the serious and detailed manner in which Canadian history, or at any rate one phase of Canadian history, is being dealt with at that seminary of learning. They bear perhaps undue traces of the lecture form in which they were first cast; they contain flights of rhetoric and appeals *ad captandum* which seem out of place in a serious historical work. But they are founded on a very thorough study of the sources of Canadian history, and, whatever may be thought of the views which they advance or their general tone, no one who wishes to keep in touch with recent developments in regard to Canadian history can afford to ignore them.

Vers l'émancipation (première période) falls into five chapters. The first, entitled "La politique d'assimilation", deals with the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the way in which the policy embodied in that proclamation worked out in practice. The second, "Au tribunal des juristes", is a study of the long series of legal deliberations and reports which culminated in the revival of "the laws of Canada" in the Quebec Act of 1774. The third, "Notre cause au parlement", is an analysis of the debates on the Quebec Act in the British parliament. The fourth, "L'Acte de Québec, sa teneur et ses causes", is a really notable study of the policy of the Quebec Act itself, and the motives which actuated those who framed it; and the fifth, "Le Canada de 1774", is a review of the state of the colony when the Quebec Act was passed. This method of treatment entails some overlapping and repetition, and it would have been better perhaps if the Abbé Groulx had isolated the various questions raised, either explicitly or tacitly, by the Royal Proclamation—the question of the status of the Roman Catholic Church, the question of representative institutions, and the question of finance—and treated them separately, as he has, to some extent, treated separately the ques-

tion of the laws of the colony. But for lecture purposes his treatment of the period had no doubt some advantages, and perhaps one would have no right to complain of it if there were an index, which is lacking.

These chapters are, without exception, written from a distinct point of view. The Abbé Groulx says, quite frankly, in his preface, that it is his ambition "to write and to teach history as a Catholic and a French Canadian ought". ("Notre ambition et notre droit sont de l'écrire et de l'enseigner comme doivent le faire un catholique et un Canadien français.") The result is similar to what one might expect if a Scottish-Canadian Presbyterian were to announce, in a work on Canadian history, that he approached his subject from the point of view of a Presbyterian and a Scottish-Canadian. The whole tone of the book is partisan. The Abbé Groulx has too much intellectual honesty to suppress essential facts; but he approaches his subject with certain prepossessions, and these inevitably colour his interpretation of the facts. The good Abbé, in fact, has a preconceived philosophy of Canadian history. Progress, in his eyes, consists in the growth of nationality; the sublime event toward which the whole creation moves is national independence. "Un heure vient ou parvenue à l'âge adulte une nationalité peut céder à l'instinct naturel qui la pousse vers l'indépendence" (p. 297). The history of Canada since 1763, is, for him, the story of the gradual advance of the French-Canadian people *vers l'émancipation*.

One could adduce many illustrations of the way in which this point of view colours the Abbé Groulx's treatment of his subject; but one or two must suffice. The whole of the Abbé's first chapter, on "La Politique d'assimilation", is based on the assumption that there was a definite attempt made in 1763 to turn Canada into "a newer New England". There were, it is true, in the Proclamation of 1763 and in the Royal Instructions to Murray, signs that such a policy was contemplated (though it is doubtful how far the terms of the Proclamation were due to mere ignorance and ineptitude); but this policy was virtually still-born, and was almost immediately reversed. The Quebec Act merely regularized, in some respects, conditions which had come into existence long before 1774. Chief Justice Hey, for instance, testified at the bar of the House of Commons in 1774, that in the court of King's Bench he had admitted the Canadian laws "indiscriminately in general" (Cavendish, *Debates*, p. 151). It is difficult to understand how anyone who has read the documents as attentively as the Abbé Groulx appears to have done can have failed to realize that, from 1764 to 1774, there was never any question with the authorities, either in Canada or in England, of a "policy of assimilation".

The Abbé Groulx is very severe on Murray, though he must know

that Murray was the friend of the French Canadians, and threatened to resign rather than put into effect in Canada the penal laws against Roman Catholics. Maseres is "un huguenot bilieux". Even Carleton gets small thanks for his statesmanlike attitude with regard to the French Canadians. "England", in fact, is the villain of the piece. If, by any chance, Englishmen do right, it is because they are forced to do so, or because they have some ulterior design in view. There is a complete failure to remember that in 1774 religious toleration was a new and almost untried experiment. There is everywhere an underlying assumption that Englishmen of the eighteenth century, having conquered Canada, should have behaved as if they were actuated by the most enlightened ideals of the twentieth century. The present is read into the past.

The Abbé Groulx has such an admirable knowledge of the sources of Canadian history, and he writes with such vigour and grace, that one wishes—if only for the sake of unity in "this Canada of ours"—that he would be objective rather than subjective, and that he would cease to treat history as though it were the handmaid of politics.

W. S. WALLACE

A History of the Organization, Development, and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada, from the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the Present Time. With illustrative documents. Edited by THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE GENERAL STAFF. Volume III: *The War of the American Revolution; The Province of Quebec under the Administration of Governor Frederic Haldimand, 1778-1784.* [Ottawa. 1921.] Pp. xxix, 271.

THE first two volumes of this "history of the Canadian army" were noticed by us in the second number of this REVIEW (pp. 210-212). The present volume has all the merits and all the defects of its predecessors. It covers the period of Haldimand's governorship, from 1778 to 1784; and the military side of the history of these years has perhaps never been told in such detail, nor with such a faithful reliance on the original documents, as here. The editor has been particularly fortunate in having had at his disposal for this period the almost embarrassing wealth of the Haldimand Papers; and he prints from the Haldimand Collection many documents which have never hitherto seen the light. Indeed, the very copious selection of "illustrative documents", occupying as it does over two hundred pages, is the most commendable feature of the book.

At the same time, the *format* of this volume, as of its predecessors, is disappointing; and one must again express regret that the editor has not

thought fit to include in the volume any account of the bibliography of the period or any footnotes giving references in support of new or questionable statements. In a prefatory note, the editor has explained, doubtless in reply to criticism, that "as the principal documents . . .are printed verbatim herewith, footnotes, indicating sources for each particular statement, seem superfluous". But this is not the question. The question is whether, in the narrative sections of the book, the editor would not have been well advised to provide cross-references to the documents in certain cases; for, at present, if one wishes to find the authority for any given statement, he must wade through a mass of irrelevant documents on the bare chance that he may find it. It is not enough to say that "the narrative . . . is based upon contemporary records, and will not be found to conflict with them in any material point". Even contemporary documents vary greatly in their authority; and it is barely conceivable that in some cases the documents on which the Historical Section of the General Staff relies might be found not to be unimpeachable.

Another defect of the book is that the narrative chapters are devoted too exclusively to an account of the military operations, and are lacking in a clear account of the formation and organization of the loyalist levies which used Canada as a base for their raids during the American Revolution, as well as of the regular troops, both British and German. To refer, for instance, on consecutive pages, to "the Royal Regiment of New York" (p. 9) and "Sir John Johnson's regiment" (p. 10), without any indication that they are the same, is merely to darken counsel with words; and to refer frequently to such corps as Butler's Rangers, without explaining the character and composition of the corps, is to leave the reader without information to which he is entitled.

We must confess ourselves to be grateful to the Historical Section of the General Staff for its energy in undertaking a military history of Canada, for the research that it has shown in preparing the history, and for the original materials that it has now made available in print. But we should be derelict in our duty if we professed an unqualified admiration of the manner in which the task is being accomplished.

W. S. WALLACE

Log of the Columbia, 1790-1792. By JOHN BOIT. (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1919-1920, vol. 53, pp. 217-275.)

A New Log of the Columbia. By JOHN BOIT. Edited by EDMUND S. MEANY. (The Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xii, pp. 2-50.)

THE fur-trade on the north-west coast of America began in 1785. British, French, and Americans all strove for its control; in the end the last

were the victors. The early British traders gave to the world, almost immediately, a narrative of their voyages; Portlock and Dixon, who were on the coast in 1787, published in 1789 separate accounts of their discoveries and adventures; Meares issued in 1790 his story of his voyages to the coast in 1786-1789; Colnett's voyage of 1792 appeared in 1798. So, too, the French: Marchand's voyage (1790-92) was published in 1801, and that of Roquefeuil (1816-19) in 1823; though Peron's voyage of 1796 did not appear until 1824. But for some reason the American traders published nothing. A few small items, it is true, did appear, as, for instance, Shaler's voyage of the *Delia Byrd* in 1804, which was published in the *American Register*, 1808; but no connected or detailed accounts have ever been published. They did, however, exist, for Ingraham mentions an instance where an American vessel was carrying a gentleman for "the purpose of writing a history of the voyage". Cleveland may perhaps be regarded as an exception; yet, even in that case, while the voyage was made in 1799, his book did not appear until 1842—long after the trade had ceased to exist.

The first American trading voyage was that of the *Columbia* and the *Washington* in 1787-1790; the second, if Metcalfe, of whom scarcely anything is known, be excepted, was that of the *Hope* in 1790-1792; the third was the return voyage of the *Columbia*, 1790-1793. The stories of these pioneer American voyages exist only in manuscript, with the exception of Haswell's Log, of which a summary was appended to the 1886 edition of Bancroft's *History of the North West Coast*. Great interest attaches to the second voyage of the *Columbia*, because of her discovery of the Columbia River in May, 1792. Unfortunately, neither Haswell's Log nor Hoskin's Narrative, which were supposed to be the only existing records, touches this event. When the Oregon Question began to excite attention one of the owners of the *Columbia* obtained her official log and made a copy of the portion from May 7 to May 22, 1792, being the entries relating to that discovery. This extract is well-known; it has been frequently republished; perhaps it is most accessible in Greenhow's *History of Oregon*, Appendix E, pp. 434-6, and in Greenhow's *Memoir*, pp. 125-7. No other account of the voyage was known, and great disappointment was naturally felt when it was learned that the original document vouching for the discovery had been "used as waste paper". It was therefore with surprise and delight that the public heard in 1919 that a complete journal of this voyage of the *Columbia*, kept by John Boit, the fifth officer, had been found and presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society. This document has now been issued in its entirety by that society; and the *Washington Historical Quarterly* has reproduced the portion from the arrival of the *Columbia* off Clayoquot

Sound on June 4, 1791, to October 28, 1792, when the ship was well on her way to China.

This journal shows that the *Columbia* followed consistently the old plan of the early traders in flitting from place to place along the coast. Take, for instance, her movements between April 1 and October 1, 1792. After wintering in Clayoquot Sound, the vessel sailed southward as far as Cape Mendocino, then northward to the vicinity of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, thence southward discovering Gray's Harbour and the Columbia River, thence northward to Quatsino Sound and into Queen Charlotte Sound, then back to Quatsino Sound again, thence northward to Queen Charlotte Islands, thence back to Quatsino Sound once more, thence southward to Nootka Sound, thence northward to Queen Charlotte Islands, thence back again to Nootka Sound, thence southward to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and thence to China. It is not surprising that Ingraham, who was in command of the *Hope*, considered it a better plan to visit a promising village and remain at anchor there so long as furs could be obtained. The competition was becoming too keen for good results to be obtained by a vessel continually on the move.

A strange error may be noted as indicative of the scrutiny to which Indian reports of the presence of other traders should be examined. The journalist, under date of October 14, 1791, says that they were informed by the natives that the *Hancock*, Captain Crowell, was then in the Strait of Juan de Fuca. But Ingraham's Journal shows conclusively that on October 8, 1791, the *Hancock* was at the Sandwich Islands, and, having sailed therefrom about October 12 for China, did not return to the coast until July 3, 1792. Again it is difficult to identify the "five sail of Spaniards" that the Indians said were, on September 11, 1791 (p. 18), up the Strait of Juan de Fuca; Elisa was in that vicinity earlier in the year, but he had only three ships under his command. As an instance of the contradictory stories of unprovoked attacks by the natives and retaliation by the traders it may be pointed out that the Indians' version of the incident of June 29, 1792 (pp. 36-37), in which such an attack and retaliation are described, is, as given in the *Viage*, that Gray fired on them in order to make them barter their peltry at a lower rate. Such charges and counter-charges are quite common in the history of the maritime fur-trade.

Professor Meany has added a concise and accurate historical introduction and a considerable number of notes explanatory of, or connected with, some of the references in the journal. These are quite correct and satisfactory as far as they go; but many things have been left unexplained, and but little has been done either to inter-relate the journal with the contemporary published accounts or to bring the place-names

into terms of modern geography. The location of St. Patrick's Bay, Port Tempest, and Massacre Cove has been left unsolved; Hatch's Island (p. 12) appears to be Bonilla Island; Hancock's River (p. 16) is, of course, the Massett of to-day.

This journal is the most important "find" that has been made in the past twenty years relating to the history of the North-West Coast. Professor Meany has done well in republishing it, so as to give it a larger circulation in the community directly interested.

F. W. HOWAY

A History of the British Army. By the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE. Vol. IX (1813-1814) and Vol. X (1814-1815). With a separate volume, containing thirty-one maps and plans. London: Macmillan and Co. 1920. Pp. xxvi, 534; xviii, 450. (£4, 4 sh.)

IN these two volumes of nearly a thousand printed pages, the author continues the history of the British Army from the spring of 1813 to the end of the Waterloo campaign.

In his preface he states that the copy for them was actually completed by the end of 1915, but that he was unable to obtain the services of a competent cartographer to make the maps, and printing was deferred until the war was over. Meanwhile he undertook with some reluctance what proved to be the ungrateful task of writing an official account of the war then going on, which he has since abandoned, owing to the restrictions imposed upon him, which seemed to make its satisfactory accomplishment impossible. He now announces his intention of endeavouring to complete his present valuable work down to year 1870, and it is to be devoutly hoped that he may succeed.

The general situation in Europe is briefly reviewed in the first chapter of volume IX. The author then proceeds to relate the events of the inglorious British campaign on the east coast of Spain under Sir John Murray. The organization of the main army, before undertaking the triumphant march to Vitoria and the Pyrenees, receives careful attention. The incidents of that victorious campaign, ending in the expulsion of the principal French army from Spain, the desperate fighting in the mountain passes and valleys, the siege of San Sebastian, and the battles in the south of France, are well described.

Mr. Fortescue is in truth a severe critic and seldom entirely satisfied with the conduct of any commander on either side. He has a keen eye for mistakes and delights in pointing out any that have been made by Napier, for whom he has scant respect. His own strong prejudices are evident. He dislikes and distrusts democracy and plainly regrets the passing of the old order. In his opinion, Lord Castlereagh was "the

ablest of our Ministers of War," and "the ablest of living English statesmen;" and "the Duke of York, our best Commander-in-Chief" (X, pp. 182, 229).

Sir John Murray, Lord William Bentinck, Sir Alexander Cochrane, the Prince of Orange, Gneisenau, and others are roughly handled. Wellington's shortcomings are not spared, any more than those of his opponents. Not infrequently, however, the author's judgments are almost nullified by the extreme violence of the language in which they are expressed.

Volume X begins with a short chapter on Sir Thomas Graham's expedition to Holland, followed by a view of the European situation and a continuation of the narrative of events in the south of France. The next deals with the assault on Bergen-op-Zoom and the abdication of Napoleon. A third describes Lord William Bentinck's campaign in Italy and the conclusion of the war in the Peninsula. An excellent "Summary of the Period, 1803-1814," contains much interesting information respecting the functions of the War Office, which is scathingly described as having been "a sink of jobbery and extortion". In the Medical Department, it is stated that "jobbery, favouritism, and corruption were such as to discourage any good man from entering the service. . . . the general hospitals were hotbeds of waste and dishonest dealing in favour of every one except the patients" (X, p. 194). The department of the Chaplain-general was perhaps a little better, as "the more part of the chaplains seem to have been morally correct, but helpless in their strange surroundings, ignorant of the world, ignorant of men, and therefore inefficient . . . . In any case the chaplains as a body were a failure" (X, p. 201).

But Mr. Fortescue can praise as well as blame. During this period, as he relates, except for a short interval between 1809 and 1811, the Horse Guards "remained under the admirable direction of the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief." It may be observed, indeed, that some ill-natured criticism had taken place in parliament and out of it, of matters that savoured strongly of "jobbery," which brought about this temporary retirement, but that is passed lightly over. The heads of the three principal departments under the Duke's control were "men of decided ability, and Calvert, in particular, was remarkable alike for high character and excellent understanding. Under their administration the government of the Army was conducted with efficiency and without friction; while the unfailing industry of the Duke of York, his accessibility to all officers, his readiness to look into all grievances, and his unswerving loyalty to his masters in the Cabinet, made him an ideal chief. If the whole business of the military forces could have been left

to the Horse Guards, there would have been infinitely less bungling in the organization of the military strength of the country, and a far smaller proportion of abortive and absurd expeditions" (X, pp. 201-2).

It is rather disheartening to have this pleasing picture blurred by the discovery that one of these three gentlemen, James Willoughby Gordon, who was Military Secretary until 1812, and afterwards Quartermaster-General, is elsewhere referred to as inspiring the writer "with a feeling very remote from respect" (X, p. 191).

Nearly one-half of this volume is naturally devoted to the memorable campaign which culminated in the battle of Waterloo. The conduct of Wellington on that occasion, and his character as a commander and a man, are effectively described.

One chapter of sixty-seven pages in Volume IX summarizes the principal events of the war with the United States in 1813. Another of thirty-eight pages relates yet more briefly those of 1814 on the Canadian frontiers, while a third of forty-two deals with the expeditions to Penobscot, Washington, Baltimore, and New Orleans. The chief secondary authorities cited for these are Kingsford, Mahan, and Lucas, who, oddly enough, is sometimes referred to as Sir C. and at others times as Mr. Lucas. There is also some indication that a few of the original records have been examined.

Although Mr. Fortescue does not attempt to justify the conduct of Sir George Prevost at Plattsburg, he makes a strong plea for a revision of the unfavourable judgment that has generally been passed upon that officer. "Prevost died before he could stand his trial," he writes, "and, in default of his appearance, judgment has been given against him. This is very unfair. The whole weight of civil as well as of military direction lay upon him, and throughout the three wearing years of his command he was called upon to make bricks without straw. At the outset he was bidden to do his best without hope of troops or of money; and, though he received more of both than could have been expected, he never received them at the appointed time, and thus was unable to lay his plans with any certainty of being able to execute them. Above all he had no naval force, for but few officers and men could be spared from England; and yet this war was to all intent a naval war inland. Hence his instinct was to husband his resources, to stand constantly on the defensive, and to welcome every chance of an accommodation; and it cannot be said that such policy was altogether incorrect . . . . On the whole it must be said, taking his civil and military administration together, that he fulfilled an extremely difficult duty with no small measure of success, amid endless worry and anxiety, and latterly, as it should seem, though he was not yet fifty years of age, under the burden of failing

health. When all is said, the criticism levelled at Prevost rarely rises above the natural but superficial cavilling of local and personal prejudice, and never regards the situation in its entirety. Yet, this is, above all, a case in which it must be remembered that, though subordinates may reap the credit for any local success, the responsibility for every failure everywhere recoils upon the Commander-in-Chief" (X, pp. 134-5).

While the narrative contained in these chapters, is in the main, fairly accurate, a number of errors in detail appear, which cannot be easily accounted for.

For instance, it is stated (IX, p. 308, note) that the 104th Regiment had arrived in New Brunswick late in 1812. The New Brunswick Fencibles was converted into a regiment of the line in 1810, and recruited up to the establishment there. Many of the junior officers and most of the men were natives. York is described as having "no defences except a ruined fort and five guns" (IX, p. 309). The fortifications were poor enough, but not in ruins, and an official return of garrison ordnance at York, dated March 31, 1813, shows that eighteen guns were available. The state- ment that "the cannonade of Fort George began at 4 a.m. of the 27th May," 1813, is incorrect. A letter from Lieut.-Colonel Harvey to Colonel Baynes, dated May 25, shows that it began at daylight that morning. "Sixteen small schooners" (IX, p. 323) should certainly be amended to read ten. "Lieutenant" Oliver Perry is described as building and fitting out his squadron at *Fort Erie* (IX, p. 324), and another reference is made to "the enemy's naval station at Fort Erie" (IX, p. 327). Major-General Procter's name is consistently mispelled. Lieut.-Colonel McDouall always figures as *M'Donall*. Châteauguay is invariably written *Châteaugai*. Prevost is said to have "moved his head-quarters during the third week in July to the Niagara frontier" (IX, p. 330). The correct date is August 21. The date given for Wilkinson's advance upon Lacolle (X, p. 101) should be March 29 instead of 19. "Nineteenth" (X, p. 105) should be Ninetieth. The width of Chippawa Creek, given as "fifty yards" (X, p. 107), is more correctly stated by Captain Mahan at one hundred and fifty yards, and the "thin belt of forest" at Street's Creek (X, p. 108) as "a strip of thick wood". "Twenty Mile Creek" (X, p. 111) should undoubtedly read Twelve Mile Creek. The village of Queenston was not "burned by the American militia" (X, p. 111). "Two five-pounders" (X, p. 113) should read two twenty-four pounders. "Fort St. George" (X, p. 110) and "Burlingham Heights" (X, p. 124) are mistakes that require no comment. This list might be much enlarged. These are small defects, it is true, but they sensibly detract from the real merits of the book.

Inaccuracies in quotation furnish more serious grounds for complaint. Yeo is quoted as having written to the Admiralty:

> I assure you, Sir, that the great advantage the enemy have over me from their big twenty-four-pounders almost precludes the possibility of success unless we can force them to close action, which they ever have avoided with the most studious circumspection (IX, pp. 323-4).

Yeo's letter was addressed to Sir John B. Warren and the entire sentence reads as follows:

> I have deeply to lament the loss of our masts, otherwise in a quarter of an hour we should have brought them to close action, but I can assure you, Sir, that the great advantage the enemy have over us from their long 24 pounders almost precludes the possibility of success unless we can force them to close action which they have ever avoided with the most studied circumspection.

Procter is quoted as writing with respect to the proposed destruction of "the enemy's naval station at Fort Erie" (X, p. 327):

> It could easily have been done a short time since, it will now be a work of difficulty . . . I would not willingly attack it without the whole of the first battalion of the Forty-first . . . It is not too late if they were sent at once to Long Point. Again, on the next page, Had the force ordered been sent to me I could have taken Presqu'ile thus securing the command of the Lake . . . If the command be lost it will be difficult to recover it (X, p. 328).

What Procter actually wrote was:

> In my last letter I mentioned that I Conceived it requisite the whole of the 41st Regiment should be in this district with as little delay as possible. I have only to say that the Detention of the Force ordered here by the Commander of the Forces has prevented this District being in a state of security, which the Destruction of the Enemy's Vessels at Presque Isle would have effected. A service that might very easily have been completely effected a very short time since, but which I apprehend may now be attended with much difficulty. . . . . I shall make the attempt willingly on Presque isle; except I have the *whole* of the first Battalion, which I have reason to believe there is not any real intention of sending me (Procter to McDouall, July 4, 1813).
>
> If I had received from the Niagara Line the Reinforcement which you directed should be sent, I should have it in my power by the destruction of the Enemy's Vessels in the Harbor of Presque isle, to have placed the Dock Yard and Post of Amherst in a state of security, that under existing circumstances, it cannot be said they are at present, however, though certainly more difficult to be effected, it may not be too late, if agreeable to Requisition the remainder of the 41st Regiment are immediately sent to Long Point (Procter to Prevost, July 4, 1813).

Prevost is quoted as having written to Downie on September 10, 1814:

> I ascribe it to the unfortunate change of wind, and I shall rejoice to learn from you that my expectations have been frustrated by no other cause (X, p. 129).

To be properly understood the whole letter should be quoted, but the latter part of it actually reads as follows:

> I ascribe the disappointment I have experienced to the misfortune of a change of wind, and I shall rejoice to learn that my reasonable expectations have been frustrated by no other cause.

Volume X contains a very satisfactory index to both new volumes. The maps and battle-plans are remarkably well prepared.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK

Cours d'Histoire du Canada. Par THOMAS CHAPAIS. Tome II: *1791-1814.* Québec: Librairie Garneau. 1921. Pp. 343.

THIS is the second volume of a series of lectures on the history of Canada which Senator Chapais, who is Professor of History at Laval University in Quebec, has been delivering at that institution. The first volume has already been noticed in the pages of this REVIEW (vol. I, pp. 314-316), and the praise which was accorded to the first volume is equally deserved by the second. Fortunate indeed are the students who sit at the feet of such a sound historian as Senator Chapais has once more shown himself to be in this book. These lectures are no mere *réchauffé* of secondary authorities; they are based on an intimate study of the original documents, and while they do not perhaps add much to the sum of our knowledge, they are written with such an excellent historical judgment and with such a full appreciation of the background of British politics, that they have a distinct value of their own.

The title of the volume is perhaps a trifle misleading. The lectures do not attempt to cover the whole field of Canadian history from 1791 to 1814; they deal only with the history of Lower Canada during these years, except for a few pages which trace the course of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada. Of the political history of Upper Canada, or of the history of exploration and the fur-trade in the West, there is not a word. Perhaps these phases of Canadian history will be treated in a later volume: one does not like to think that the study of Canadian history at Laval University is confined to the study of the political history of the French-Canadian people, interesting and vital as that no doubt is to French-Canadian students. We are, French Canadians and English Canadians, co-heritors in a great heritage; and it would be a calamity if French-Canadian university students were to go out into the world without some knowledge of the history of the whole Dominion.

Within the limits, however, which he apparently set himself, Senator Chapais has acquitted himself in a manner which deserves admiration. He appears to have neglected no important source of information; and his method of treatment is dispassionate throughout. He has his opinions, as every historian is entitled to have, but he holds them without rancour and animosity. Much as he deplores the course followed by Sir James Craig, he has a kindly word for Craig's sincerity, and he confesses that Craig would probably have made a good governor in one of the crown colonies (p. 232). Even the egregious H. W. Ryland, who

probably did more to embitter the relations between *les deux races* in Canada than any one other person, he describes as in private life "honorable, intègre, digne d'estime" (p. 148). He actually goes out of his way to point out that in 1809 *Le Canadien* admitted that the official language of the colony was English (p. 81, note). The fact is of no practical importance to-day; but straws such as this show the way the wind blows. They show that Senator Chapais, French Canadian though he is, is an historian first and a French Canadian afterwards.

One criticism—and that a criticism rather of form than of anything else—occurs to one. The constant recurrence of "nous" and "notre histoire" and "notre langue" is intelligible in a course of lectures delivered by a French-Canadian professor to French-Canadian students; but on the printed page it has an appearance of provincialism. The best French and English historians do not thus use the first person plural pronoun; they prefer to be more objective. No doubt if Senator Chapais had recast the form of his lectures for publication, he would have eliminated this feature of his book; but it must be confessed that, as the lectures now stand, this feature jars on the non-French-Canadian reader.

The book is, nevertheless, one that no student of Canadian history should neglect. It is a masterly treatment of the period with which it deals; and the lists of "Sources et ouvrages à consulter" at the end of each chapter are alone worth the attention of the historical student. One looks forward with pleasureable anticipation to the next instalment of this *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*.

A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, with an account of the other banks which now form part of its organization. By VICTOR ROSS. Volume I. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xviii, 516.

PROFESSOR FREEMAN'S definition of history as past politics was inadequate. Much of what is vital to man does not touch the field of politics. But it is true that a wide range of interests touches politics, and among them is banking. Finance lies in the background of many, perhaps most, of our social problems. What a tale of politics would a frank history of the Bank of England tell, of Whig support and Tory antagonism, of anti-Jacobite resolves that the Stuart should not come back to the English throne, since, if he did, the bank founded by Whig money would be in danger. Banks have forbidden, perhaps also they have made, wars. German finance was bribed into supporting the recent war because it was promised new fields to exploit. During the war it was to the banks that governments looked to steady public credit. The history of a great bank is in large measure the story of the conditions in the society where it operates.

The Canadian Bank of Commerce, founded just after the federation of Canada in 1867, has published in a handsome form the first volume of its history. The chief author is Mr. Victor Ross, a Toronto journalist. Three of the six chapters, however, have been written by Professor Skelton of Queen's University,—those dealing with the days before banks and with early banking in Upper and Lower Canada, and with the history of the Merchants Bank of Prince Edward Island, and the Bank of British Columbia. Dr. C. W. Colby, late of McGill University, has written the chapter on the Eastern Townships Bank. Mr. Ross himself has written the chapter on the Halifax Banking Company and the Gore Bank. Of the banks thus described those in Nova Scotia, Ontario, and British Columbia are the oldest in these provinces, and all five have been absorbed by the Bank of Commerce. The arrangement of the book leaves us rather in the air in respect to the Bank of Commerce itself. Its history is reserved for the second volume. In these pages it stands rather mysteriously in the background. It is younger than any of the five which it drew to itself. Nearly one-third of the book is given to a valuable appendix which is in large measure a history of the various aspects of Canadian currency. There are also statistics showing the dividends of the banks. In only a few years were they unable to pay dividends.

The book has been prepared very carefully. The secretary of the Bank, Mr. Trigge, has sifted the facts. Though sometimes we have "to loan" for "to lend", the English style is good and on a high plane. Apart from the intrinsic interest of the story, the most striking feature of the book is the illustrations. These, with the text, constitute a history of currency in Canada. They include also many portraits of bank officers, and scenes in the history of the bank such as those of the Cariboo trail in British Columbia. There are reproductions of the card money of the French period, the first paper currency in North America, which in the last days of the French régime became so fertile an engine of the frauds of the intendant Bigot. Issues of currency by private companies, governments, and banks are given. At one time even individuals issued their own currency; one of the quaintest things in the book is an account (p. 128) of currency printed on leather by a shoemaker of Prince Edward Island. Currency in Canada has a bewildering history. The list (p. 62) of gold and silver coins held by the Halifax Banking Co. in 1831 makes our own difficult problems of currency and exchange seem almost simple. It was only a few years before the federation of Canada in 1867 that the dollar standard of the United States was adopted. The movement associated with the railway era which began in Canada about 1850 had made a common unit of currency a necessity. Spanish doubloons,

patriot doubloons, half eagles, the pound sterling, York shillings, pistareens, were only some of the varieties of the coinage in circulation. We see one of the subtle forces working for Canadian union when we find Nova Scotia and what are now Ontario and Quebec adopting the dollar currency before they confronted political union.

Banks began in Canada only a century ago. To-day they are so vital a factor in commercial life that it is not easy to picture a society in which they did not exist. How, without banks, could matters of exchange be adjusted, could credits and debits pass from one country to another, could reserves of money be held securely, could needed loans be effected? The answer is that governments and individuals discharged the functions of banks. One of the interesting things in this volume is the account of the Army bills issued in pre-banking days by the military command during the war of 1812 in denominations as low as one dollar. These were issued in payment for supplies and also, no doubt, for the pay of the soldiers, and they were used as currency. Private merchants took deposits from their customers and issued due bills circulated locally. In British Columbia, in the early days of the gold seekers, there was no bank to take charge of the precious metal. For security misers buried their own gold dust, in itself an invitation to the robber. The bank came as a relief from anxiety for the individual.

There is no doubt that the Canadian banking system is based in large measure on what was done by Alexander Hamilton in the United States. The Bank of Montreal, the first Canadian Bank, began in 1817, but it was not until 1822 that the principle was established that banks should receive charters, conferring, no doubt, privileges but creating also obligations. In the United States, Hamilton, in founding the National Bank, which existed for only twenty years, had to meet the objection that banking was no affair of government and least of all of the federal rather than of the state government. To create the bank he had to accept severe restrictions. In Canada these were expressed in limitations upon the debts which the bank might incur in proportion to its capital and in government supervision. In a new country it was wise to follow Hamilton's example and to restrict the banks in respect to loans upon real estate. Probably Canada would have been saved from some desolating "booms" if this principle had always been carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter. But the restriction has not been thought necessary in England, and in Canada to-day it involves a serious handicap in respect to securing capital for the needed supply of houses. Nova Scotia was not under the same law as the older Canada. So chaotic, indeed, was colonial banking that in 1833 the British government laid down rules which should apply to all colonial banks. They

must redeem their notes in specie, they must limit discounts to directors, they must not lend money on the security of their own stock, they must lend only on securities easily realizable, and the shareholders must be liable for double the amount subscribed for their shares.

It is impossible here even to outline the growth of banking unity in Canada as it kept pace with political unity. United with the Canadian Bank of Commerce of to-day are five other banks which had their beginnings in as many Canadian provinces. The story of each of these institutions has its own distinct interest. The Halifax Banking Co. was the creation of the first great Canadian capitalist. Enos Collins was one of the more than twenty children of his father, and he died worth from six to nine million dollars, a vast fortune even now. He and four of the eight partners in the bank sat in the council of twelve which was the second chamber and also the executive government of Nova Scotia. Naturally this was attacked by a reformer, such as Joseph Howe, and banking played a leading part in the political issues of Nova Scotia before 1840.

The Merchants Bank of Prince Edward Island sprang, too, out of local needs. In Upper Canada William Lyon Mackenzie assailed the Gore Bank at Hamilton in which his rival, the Tory leader, Sir Allan MacNab, was a conspicuous figure; and banking and the Family Compact worked in alliance. We find another interesting type of local conditions in the creation of the Eastern Townships Bank in Lower Canada. The people of the Townships spoke English and insisted on having English, not French, land laws. Before the railway, they were remote from Montreal, and so they created a bank of their own. In remote British Columbia another type of bank was created. About 1860 capital was superabundant in England. It then took four months for goods to reach British Columbia and the shortest route for passengers was across the Isthmus of Panama and from there by San Francisco to Victoria. Yet, persuaded by fortune-seekers in British Columbia, London capitalists founded the Bank of British Columbia. They retained control in London, but it is amusing and sometimes tragic to see how futile were their efforts to check in their agents the speculative spirit inevitable in a new and rich country.

In his introduction, Sir Edmund Walker mentions the humours of banking, and some of them are noted here. The old days were more easy-going than ours. There were many holidays. The death of King Charles the Martyr, the Restoration of Charles II, and the Gunpowder Plot were observed, together with other incidents forgotten now. The system of inspection, rigorous to-day, but even so still fallible, was loose; the Bank of British Columbia was, it was said, a "gentleman's

bank", and it was not regarded as gentlemanly for an official to arrive without notice and take charge of an office. Invariably, as the banks were united, more rigorous methods were adopted, and all to the advantage of financial stability. It is quite clear that the path of the banker was thorny and that, even with a discount rate as high as thirty-six per cent. in the far west, profits were by no means assured. The union of the local banks in a larger whole followed naturally the political union of the country which offered wider opportunity. This helped to equalize profits. There might be a good year in Nova Scotia when there was a bad one in British Columbia.

There are the facts here for a philosophy of banking based on the need of a stable basis for public confidence and credit and the circulation and exchange of values and the reaction of these things on political unity. The story in this book is that of the transition from primitive barter to the highly organized systems of to-day which few people really understand. The mysteries of exchange are still almost beyond analysis. This book is a notable record of the achievements of the banker. It is more than a record of the past in which intelligence and energy made capital available for social service. It is a forecast of a future, clouded and difficult beyond anything ever known before. In the small communities of earlier days the felt need brought to the front natural leaders. To-day the vast mechanism of the banks may foster the coming to the front by mere routine of men who are bankers and only bankers. In England and in Canada the complaint is now often made that many leading bankers are not adequately educated for their great tasks. It is for the banks to find a policy which will correct this fault. They command vast resources, and the public will support them in offering adequate rewards to adequate education. By this story of its past the Canadian Bank of Commerce has shown its desire to link banking with the wider aspects of society and has added a vital chapter to the economic history of Canada.

GEORGE M. WRONG

The Life of Dr. McCulloch. By the Rev. WILLIAM MCCULLOCH., D.D. Edited by ISABELLA WALKER MCCULLOCH and JEAN WALLACE MCCULLOCH. Truro, Nova Scotia. 1920. Pp. 218. ($2.50.)

THE life of Dr. Thomas McCulloch is the history of the progress of non-sectarian higher education in Nova Scotia, and in a great measure the history also of the gradual ascendancy of the Legislature over the Council. It was only, indeed, when the Legislature at last became supreme that non-sectarian higher education was firmly established in Nova Scotia. In the struggle Dr. McCulloch played a conspicuous part. In fact,

while Joseph Howe was still a Tory, Dr. McCulloch was advocating greater freedom for dissenters, both in education and politics; and Howe in later years admitted that his change of view-point was effected by Dr. McCulloch's writings.

Intending to accept a call to Prince Edward Island, Dr. McCulloch arrived in Pictou from Scotland in the winter of 1803. As the passage of the Strait was dangerous at that time of year, he remained in Pictou, and finally accepted a call to the Presbyterian Church in that village. In 1803 King's College at Windsor, which had been established by royal charter and was supported by a government grant, was closed to all who would not profess the Episcopal faith. Dr. McCulloch recognized the need of higher education for these dissenters, who comprised about four-fifths of the population of Nova Scotia. With this in view, he established a school in his own house, and shortly afterward erected a log school-house, in which subjects of a higher order were taught than those in which tuition could be obtained in the common school. This school was the beginning of the famous Pictou Academy, and the first non-sectarian school for higher education in the province of Nova Scotia. In 1811 Dr. McCulloch was appointed by the government principal of the provincial grammar school, and in this school he was subsequently given a room in which to instruct divinity students, and was made professor of divinity by the Nova Scotian synod of the Presbyterian Church. Here many difficulties were encountered and overcome, and progress was made; but at last the school could not withstand the assaults made against it and the lack of spirit of its supporters, and in 1838 closed its doors. Then Dr. McCulloch accepted the invitation of the government to undertake the principalship of Dalhousie College, where he laboured with varying success until his death, five years later. He did not live to see the fruit of his unselfish work; but the early complete emancipation of all dissenters was greatly due to his influence.

The biography has been written by Dr. McCulloch's son William, and has been published, after the death of the latter, by two of his granddaughters. Much is contained in the volume of little interest to those outside of the family circle; and many names have been suppressed which would have added interest to the narrative. It is hard to see why these names have been omitted, as now almost a century has passed.

J. F. CAHAN

Canada in the Great World War. By various authorities. Volume VI: *Special Services, Heroic Deeds, etc.* Toronto: United Publishers of Canada 1921. Pp. viii, 393.

'MOPPING up" is a difficult and uninteresting literary process, and

although the work has here been cleanly and adequately done, the sixth and presumably last volume of this general history of Canada in the war lacks the coherence of the earlier instalments that have received favourable notice in this REVIEW. Yet there is much interesting material in it for the layman. The three opening chapters deal with the Artillery, the Engineers, and the Army Medical Corps, and very wisely specialize in explaining the nature of the work of these units to the non-technical reader. Attempts to compress an immense amount of detail into short chapters in a volume of this kind are not successful.

In the second part of the book, which deals with religious, social and women's activities in the war, two very modest chapters on what the "padres" and the Salvation Army tried to do, are both more effective than the catalogue of activities attempted on the Y.M.C.A., Knights of Columbus, and women's organizations, in the last of which particularly there are inevitable omissions that to some readers will seem notable. The chapter on the Chaplains' Services is one of the best in the book, only slightly marred by the apparent blunder of putting the Canadian Mounted Rifles on the Somme at the very time that they were being annihilated at Mount Sorrel, and by a tinge of bitterness on the subject of promotions which appears on the same page (134). Even better is Mr. L. J. Burpee's chapter on the C.A.M.C., which in particular deals with admirable restraint with the Bruce and Baptie Reports controversy. There is a chapter on demobilization which goes to the extreme of caution in completely omitting specific reference to riots in the Rhyl district. A curious absence of proportion appears in the chapter on Russia, as the northern campaign, in which the only Canadian unit employed was Colonel Sharman's artillery brigade, receives twenty pages, while the Siberian expedition of over 4,000 Canadians of all arms receives only two or three short paragraphs.

The last third of the book contains *Gazette* accounts of the Canadian V.C. exploits, and an appendix of the names of the various officers commanding the Canadian overseas units. The latter is a subject full of pitfalls for those who have not time to go carefully into the complexities of acting, temporary, and permanent commands, but the editor should hardly have missed the fact that Colonel Hamilton Gault returned to Canada in command of the unit that he raised (see p. 321). The constant use of the word "Hun" for "German" in every kind of context calls for a mild protest. Surely this is now an anachronism. The vast majority of fighting soldiers have long since given a half-playful sense to a word that undoubtedly served a perfectly legitimate purpose as propaganda, but is quite out of place in military history.

R. HODDER WILLIAMS

Letters from the Front; Being a Record of the Part Played by Officers of the Bank in the Great War, 1914-1919. Edited by CHARLES LYONS FOSTER; supplemented, and incorporated in this volume, by WILLIAM SMITH DUTHIE. Vol. I. The Canadian Bank of Commerce. [1920.] Pp. clix, 344.

THIS magnificent volume is a memorial to the part played by officers of the Canadian Bank of Commerce in the Great War. It contains a complete list of enlistments from the bank, the photographs of those members of the staff of the bank who laid down their lives, and of those who were decorated or mentioned in despatches, and a striking series of excerpts from letters written by Bank of Commerce men at the front. These letters were originally published in pamphlet form during the war, primarily for circulation among members of the bank staff, both at home and overseas; but are now collected in one volume, with the addition of supplementary letters, and are offered to the public, in the hope, as Sir John Aird says in his introduction, that they "will prove of value to those who desire first-hand impressions of the fields on which Canada's sons have won immortal fame".

It is perhaps too much to say that these letters have any historical value. The men in the trenches often knew less of what was going on than anyone else. But these letters should be of use to the historian as illustrative material, and perhaps an occasional letter might even be used to establish a doubtful point. The main interest of the book, however, lies not in its value as the raw material of history, but in its quality as a memorial of the part played in the war by the officers of a great Canadian bank.

The Story of Canada's War Finance. By Sir THOMAS WHITE. Montreal: The Canadian Bank of Commerce. [1921.] Pp. 70. (Gratis.)

IN this little book, Sir Thomas White reviews his stewardship throughout the war as Minister of Finance. He was, in a very real sense, the "pilot who weathered the storm", for the strange events of August, 1914, were even more bewildering for the Canadian than for the British statesman. In England, the Stock Exchange was closed for a time, and a moratorium was hastily declared. It is said that for a moment the financiers who met at the Bank of England to consider emergency measures, were at a loss for immediate expedients. But once the panic that threatened to develop had been allayed by special orders, the machinery for raising public loans, on a scale sufficient for the struggle, was at hand and ready. And in the British fiscal system the Chancellor of the Exchequer possesses a means of getting revenue, more elastic than any to be found elsewhere. Canada had neither of these advantages. The domestic

loans that had been floated before the war were trifling judged by the standards now common. Canada had neither organization nor resources of the kind she needed. Her fiscal system, devised with an eye to the protection of infant industries, as well as for revenue purposes, was quite inelastic. Worst of all, her industries without exception were depressed.

The problems that faced the Finance Department were thus novel in kind as well as in proportion. Sir Thomas White explains, step by step, the gradual evolution which at last made it possible to raise, by means of three Victory Loans, the very large sum of $1,700,000,000. He details the currency reforms which served as a foundation, and the reasons for their adoption. He traces the great fluctuations in foreign exchange, which led to the "pegging" of exchange rates, on a scale still difficult to realize. He describes the rôle of the Royal Mint at Ottawa, which for very many months was the keystone on which rested all the complicated structure of Anglo-American finance. Not least important is his account of the new fiscal expedients to which he resorted, the reasons therefor, and the weaknesses that (in his opinion) distinguished some of them. The book is a rare combination of good economics and good journalism. Wide in its scope, and complex in its subject-matter, it is a triumph of compression. It is an essential document for the proper appraisal of the part played in the war by Canada; and the financial policy pursued in wartime, if it be thought to need vindication, is surely vindicated here.

To the future student of our war finance, it is probable that the process which we have agreed to call "inflation" will appear of overwhelming interest. Sir Thomas White writes as a man of business for his fellows, and is not directly helpful here. He does not attempt a strict analysis of the delicate but obscure relations between an excessive issue of fiat money, the level of prices in the markets, rates of interest, and the movement of exchange rates. Indeed, from his account of what happened, it is at least doubtful whether he has fully worked out those relations for himself. But though this lessens somewhat the value of his work (and if he had made such an analysis, he would have been compelled to write a much larger book), it presents nevertheless a side of the problem of inflation which academic thinkers, visualizing war expedients from the peaceful seclusion of a study, are sometimes apt to forget. Sir Thomas White emphasizes, from first to last, the fact that what was done had always to be done quickly. War is always a series of emergencies. War expedients are apt to bring with them ulterior consequences which the ministers themselves are not able to foresee. They leave behind them as a legacy the perplexing financial problems

of peace with which the present is making us familiar. But the overwhelming impression which will be carried away by readers of this book, is that the first requisite in a Finance Minister who has to deal with crises is a capacity for prompt decision. The man who waits for second thoughts is courting disaster. It is more important to save the banks from a run when war is impending than to save them from a crisis when treaties have been signed. The measures adopted in the first week of the war were effective in preventing panic. They were adopted so hurriedly that (as Sir Thomas White retrospectively confesses) they were actually quite illegal. But they served their purpose, and made great efforts possible.

G. E. JACKSON

Canada. Von LOUIS HAMILTON. (Perthes' Kleine Volker-und Länderkunde: 8 Band.) Verlag Friedrich Andreas Perthes A. G. Gotha. 1921. 174 S. (M. 24.)

THE series in which this publication appears is for "use in practical life". Consequently the volume consists of a compilation of information. The chapters deal with a variety of topics. Geography and natural resources occupies sixty pages; population forty pages; industries, transportation, and trade seventy pages; and general topics such as history and political conditions fill in the remaining forty pages. Particular emphasis is placed on a discussion of the German-Canadian tariff war and trade, of the possible effects of the political situation on the tariff, of the political status of Canada as a nation, of the possible influence of the Hudson Bay Railway and other transportation improvements on the marketing of wheat in Europe. The history of Canada from Cabot to the present time is dealt with in eight pages.

The significance of the compilation is in its appearance and its character rather than in its information. The fur-trade is considered, but the author finds himself obliged to omit such an important subject as banking. Very little of the material is taken from sources dated as late as 1919, and some from sources no later than 1914. Nevertheless, information "in deutscher sprache über Canada" is slight (p. vii). The series is an index of the strenuous reconstruction efforts of Germany, and the present volume is undoubtedly a testimonial to the new position which Canada has gained in German appreciation because of the war.

H. A. INNIS

Fifteenth Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario. By ALEXANDER FRASER. Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. Toronto: King's Printer. 1920. Pp. xix, 782.

DR. FRASER'S voluminous publication chiefly consists of manuscripts, here photo-lithographed, on the Huron language by the Rev. Pierre Potier, S.J. (pp. 1-688). It also embodies (1) the "Account Book of the Huron Mission at Detroit and Sandwich (1740-1751)", by Frs. Richardie and Potier, with translations and notes by Richard R. Elliott (pp. 689-715); (2) two "Huron Glosses" from the *Jesuit Relations* (pp. 717-724); and (3) a "Grammar of the Huron Language, by a Missionary of the Village of Huron Indians of Lorette, near Quebec, found amongst the papers of the Mission, and translated from the Latin, by Mr. John Wilkie" (reprinted from the *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, 1831), (pp. 725-777).

Potier's manuscripts include his "Elementa Grammaticae Huronicae" (pp. 1-157); his "Radices Huronicae" (pp. 161-455); and the "Extraits de l'Evangile" and other pious exercises, translated into Huron (pp. 461-688).

As may readily be seen, the bulk of the materials presented are first of all intended for linguists and students of Iroquoian dialects. The "Account Book" and a short sketch of the census, organization, etc., of the Huron villages in the neighbourhood of Detroit (pp. 148-157), are the only parts of any interest to the students of history and ethnology.

For nearly three centuries the Iroquoian dialects have been the object of missionary studies. A slow and gradual progress in the understanding of the fundamental elements is apparent in the extensive early contributions, among which that of Potier occupies the front rank. But no grammar or lexicon has yet been produced the technical value of which would satisfy our present-day requirements or enable a linguist to undertake a thorough comparative study of Iroquoian dialects in relation to each other or to those of other North American linguistic stocks, Siouan or Algonkin, for instance.

The earliest and crudest attempt at penetrating the secrets of an Iroquoian dialect dates back to the first part of the seventeenth century; it is found in the "Dictionaire de la langve Hvronne" (1615-1630) of Frère Gabriel Sagard Théodat (in his *Histoire du Canada et Voyages*, Paris, 1636, vols. 3-4). Father Jacques Bruyas's Mohawk "Radices verborum" (Shea's *Library of American Linguistics*, x, 1863, pp. 123), recorded at the end of the seventeenth century, revealed some progress in a sound direction; little, however, seemed yet to have been accomplished in the way of analysing the component grammatical elements; classification had gone no further than outlining four groups of radicals or conjugations. Pronominal elements and suffixes were yet to be isolated from their supporting verb and noun stems.

A long step forward is noticeable in Potier's grammar. Analytic

work by that time reached far enough to reveal the existence of the two fundamental Iroquoian paradigms and the five outstanding classes of radicals.

Although prepared in the same period, Rev. David Zeisberger's *Essay of an Onondaga Grammar* (reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Philadelphia, 1888, pp. 1-45) is far more elementary, and an improvement only as compared with Bruyas's sketch, which must have been known to the author.

A later stage in the study of Iroquoian was evidenced in Father J. A. Cuoq's *Etudes philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages de l'Amérique* (by N.O., 1866), and in his subsequent *Jugement erroné de M. Renan sur les langues sauvages* (Montreal, Dawson Bros., 1869), and *Lexique de la langue iroquoise* (Montreal, 1882). In Cuoq's *Lexique* the noun and verb radicals appear stripped of their pronominal elements; and a number of prefixes and suffixes are given independently of their context.

Although due acknowledgement may not be on record, the authors of the above-mentioned grammars and lexicons drew most, if not all, of their materials from the records already available at their missions and gradually improved upon by their unnamed predecessors. Thus it is known at Caughnawaga that Cuoq's data were derived from Rev. Joseph Marcoux's manuscript studies of Mohawk (1819-1855) which are to this day utilized by the Caughnawaga missionaries. Father Potier's model for his Huron grammar and vocabulary, according to Shea (quoted in the above *Fifteenth Report*, pp. 707-8, footnote), was Father Chaumonot's manuscript studies of the Lorette sub-dialect.

Later philological studies on the Oneida and Wyandot dialects are those of Dr. Franz Boas ("Notes on the Iroquois Language", in *The Putnam Anniversary Volume*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, The Torch Press, 1909) and of C. M. Barbeau ("Classification of Iroquoian Radicals with Subjective Pronominal Prefixes", *Memoir 46*, Geological Survey, Can., 1915). Scientific accuracy in phonetics was aimed at, in these monographs; and phonetic processes or laws were explained, the result of which was further to account for and simplify apparent irregular features.

Further bulky materials in manuscript form, on the different Iroquoian dialects (Cayuga, Seneca, Wyandot, Tuscarora, Cherokee, etc.) are also available at the Smithsonian Institute of Washington (J. N. B. Hewitt) and at the Anthropological Division of the National Museum of Canada (C. M. Barbeau and A. A. Goldenweiser).

In spite of the many published contributions, none of the Iroquoian dialects can as yet boast of a fair and correct record of its various features, and the comparative study of the dialects with a view to discovering their genesis has not yet seriously been attempted.

The amount of work involved in the preparation of a grammar like been able to find their place in one of the regular sub-classes of the five that of Potier is astounding, especially when it is considered that, at the time, scientific experience in that field was non-existent and the assistance of expert native interpreters was presumbaly not to be had.

As was to be expected in the circumstances, shortcomings are conspicuous in Potier's efforts. Some of these, rather than meritorious features, may briefly be indicated here. Word groups, in Iroquoian, consist of a verb radical or of a verb and noun radicals, and of several closely attached prefixes and suffixes. These units can be sundered into their component elements only with the help of a thorough knowledge of the elements involved and of phonetic processes regulating the combination of vowels and consonants. The analysis of these elements had not proceeded far in Potier's time. Thus what we would expect to be single stems, in "Radices huronicae" (pp. 161-444), really consist of complex units—prefix, radical or radicals, and suffix. A radical, besides, may be repeated several times in the list, according to the various suffixes modifying it. Such a list, being obviously burdened with extraneous and oft-repeated features, is cumbersome and confusing. Most of the "radicals" listed in the first conjugation are actually preceded by the prefix *-at-*, "self" (Potier's so-called "Reciprocal Verbs", p. 59), which automatically brings them into the first conjugation, while they may in fact belong to any one of the five conjugations.

Few of the phonetic and grammatical rules unconsciously observed by the Hurons in forming their word units or "clusters" were perceived by the early grammarians; and the syntax governing the relation of the "clusters" to each other was only vaguely outlined. As Potier, for one, usually dealt with concrete cases rather than with broad generalizations, his grammar is lengthy and confusing, consisting largely of unessential features, and is insufficient to procure a grasp of the fundamentals. Instead of coping with the genius of the language, he painfully retained a method and frame only suited to commonplace European notions. Thus the Huron verbs are laboriously ushered through the cumbersome modes of our conjugations, while in most cases the indication of a few prefixes—*e-* for the future, for instance—would have been sufficient. No less than three pages are devoted to his so-called "reduplication", in the sense of iteration ("De Reduplicatione", pp. 24-27), while the only feature under observation was the prefix *sa-*, "again". A more complete digestion of the linguistic data and the understanding of some phonetic processes would have done away with many obscure points and, in particular, with his lengthy section on "De Verbis Ano-

malis" (pp. 32-47), consisting of verbs given singly for want of having conjugations.

In other cases, important grammatical features escaped Potier's attention. His "Relationes" or combined pronouns (pp. 17-23), for instance, nowhere include the actually existing prefixes for from two to five persons in the dual. The terms "Relatio activa" and "relatio passiva" seem to be misnomers; the Huron equivalent of "ego-illum", etc., is termed "relatio activa", and that of "ego—ab illo", etc., as "relatio passiva", while, in fact, the second should have been translated "he—me, he—him", etc., no such distinction as "active" and "passive" being in evidence.

Lack of sufficient accuracy in the phonetic record of sounds was a serious drawback. From the mere orthography the reader could not generally reproduce the words exactly as they were to be articulated; for, in Iroquoian, there are a large number of functional glottal stops and breathings, vowels lengthened or shortened according to the meaning to be conveyed, stresses or accents characterizing certain syllables. For instance, in the pronouns for the dual (Paradigm A), the "first person exclusive" only differs in the length of a vowel from the "third person masculine", *a-* being brief in the first case and long in the second. From a phonetically accurate list of stems a large number of instances could be cited where the meaning of equivalent syllables hinges only on the presence or absence of a glottal stop, breathing, a stress or a long vowel; *e.g.*, *-ara*, to count; *ara'*, to run; *-a.ton'*, to be possible; *-a' ton*, to say; *-gya*, to bark; *-'gya*, to hold, etc. None of these features being indicated in the early grammars, ambiguity could only result when the reader depended exclusively on the written record.

It is safe to conclude that, on account of such inaccuracies and imperfections, Potier's grammar and lexicon cannot serve as final records of the Huron language; their only utility lies in the fact that they embody a vast amount of fairly accurate raw linguistic materials to be utilized and sorted out by a linguist aided by a supplementary field knowledge of another Iroquoian dialect. Potier's contribution had the additional value of being one of the only two extant records (the other being Chaumonot's) of Huron proper, a dead language for the past fifty years. We say "dead language", for Wyandot as it is still spoken by a few survivors on the Detroit River and in Oklahoma, is not the absolute equivalent of the Huron described in the written records. Several shades or slight differences are consistently in evidence, in the paradigms for instance; and the consonant *m* in Wyandot has for an equivalent the usual Iroquoian *w* in Huron; *e.g.*, eagle is, in Huron, *tsawenhuhi* and, in Wyandot, *tsamenhuhi*.

A puzzle here confronts us. The present-day Wyandot being different enough from Huron to be described as another sub-dialect, how is it that Potier while studying it should exactly reproduce the Lorette Huron characteristics without even pointing to a difference? Still, no doubt is possible, from tradition or historic records, that the Detroit and Oklahoma Wyandots are the direct descendants of those located in the vicinity of Detroit at the time when Potier was writing, and that their sub-dialect has not become materially altered since. The most likely presumption is that Potier's work is largely, if not exclusively, that of a compiler writing up and classifying the materials of his predecessors, which were available at the Lorette Huron mission. Thus as an American residing in England might retain his native accent, Potier quite possibly may, at Detroit, have persevered in the notions acquired while in training at Lorette, and worked upon Lorette manuscripts without seriously attempting to fit them to his Detroit environment.

A somewhat curious corroboration of this view was found in another field. The Detroit Wyandots had nine clans (the Deer, Bear, Porcupine, Beaver, Big Turtle, Mud Turtle, Prairie Turtle, Hawk, and Wolf clans); the Lorette Hurons, on the other hand, had only three: the Deer, the (undifferentiated) Turtle, and the Wolf. When Potier describes the Wyandot clans (p. 152), however, he merely gives the three clans known at Lorette without bothering about those existing at his very doorstep; which confirms us in the impression that, as a whole, he was seeking his information in written sources rather than in facts observed at first-hand. The perfection of his own manuscripts in itself indicates that he may have been more at home in his workroom than in the smoky barkhouses of his flock.

To conclude. Although the photolithographic reproduction of the MSS. in Dr. Fraser's *Fifteenth Report* is on the whole very satisfactory, we find many lines blurred, which makes the deciphering of characters more than arduous in spots. The readers of the Grammar will note that, after the two missing manuscript pages 11-12, the heading ". . . *par s*" (p. 15) is the equivalent of our "objective pronominal prefixes" or "paradigm B"; this set of pronouns is given as a counterpart to ". . . *parad. C*" (p. 7), our "paradigm A" or "subjective pronominal prefixes".

It is somewhat to be regretted that, in an otherwise carefully prepared volume, the printer's work should have been marred by some awkward misprints, for instance: the title (p. 457) should be "Extraits de L'evangile" instead of ". . . evan*gelé*"; in *Abbreviations* (p. 160), the more important oversights consist of "re*u*proque" instead of "réciproque"; "si*n*e ru (respectu)" instead of "sive ru (Latin), ou bien";

"*e*-(etiam) ou une (or) un" should be ". . . et (or) aussi" meaning "also"; *à* (as in p. 371) does not stand for "autem" but for the Latin equivalent of "by" in English.

For his untiring zeal in publishing valuable documents on ancient *Huronia*, Dr. Fraser deserves great credit and praise. The only point in his interesting general introduction we cannot quite agree with is that with reference to the origin of the three groups of the Hurons after their dispersion (p. xviii). The present-day Oklahoma Wyandots were not originally a third independent group, but the direct descendants of the Detroit River band, whose ancestors, owing to political troubles in the middle of the eighteenth century, drifted away from the Detroit settlements to establish a village, first at Sandusky (Ohio), and later at Upper Sandusky; this group moved out, in 1843, to the site of Kansas City (Kansas), and was, in 1871, transferred by the American government to their present reserve in Oklahoma (see, among other references, P. D. Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts*, Toronto, 1870.) In our investigations at Wyandot Reserve, Oklahoma, we have found no evidence of there being any Neutrals among them. The Detroit band and their Oklahoma relatives are, we presume, the direct descendants of the Tobacco or Petun Nation, while the Lorette tribe represents the original eastern villages of the Hurons. This would account for the sub-dialectal differences formerly extant in the two bands.

C. M. BARBEAU

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

[ANON.] *The Meeting of the Imperial Cabinet* (Round Table, June, 1921, pp. 535-557).

A discussion of the problems before the meeting of the prime ministers of the Empire held in London in July, 1921.

ASHBOLT, A. H. *An Imperial Airship Service* (United Empire, July, 1921, pp. 499-502).

A concrete proposal for the formation of a commercial company, backed by the governments of Great Britain and the Dominions, for the institution of inter-imperial communication by airship.

BULKELEY, J. P. *The British Empire: A Short History.* With an introduction by Sir CHARLES LUCAS. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. 238 (*3sh. 6d.*)

An outline, apparently intended for use in schools.

CARON, l'abbé IVANHOË. *La politique coloniale de l'Angleterre aux xviie et xviiie siècles* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxvi, no. 4, pp. 341-245).

A brief, but judicious, account of British colonial policy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, written primarily to serve as an introduction to a book on the history of colonization in the province of Quebec which the author is bringing out.

EGGLESTON, F. W. *Imperial Unity and the Peace Treaty* (Quarterly Review, April, 1921, pp. 286-306).

A study of the problem created, in the British Commonwealth of Nations, by the inclusion of the self-governing Dominions in the League of Nations.

FINDLAY, the Hon. Sir JOHN. *The Future Government of the Empire* (United Empire, July, 1921, pp. 515-524).

A plea for the creation of some machinery for continuous consultation between the British government and the governments of the overseas Dominions.

HIGHAM, C. S. S. *History of the British Empire.* London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1921. Pp. 284. (*5 sh.*)

A text-book.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Canada and the Imperial Conference* (Contemporary Review, July, 1921, pp. 61-64).

An attempt to state Canada's attitude toward some of the problems before the Imperial Conference.

POLEY, A. P. *The Imperial Commonwealth: A Survey of Commercial, Industrial, and Social History from the Tudor Period to Recent Times.* London: Cassell and Co. 1921. Pp. 388. (*12 sh. 6d.*)

A text-book for more advanced students.

SMITH, WILLIAM ROY. *British Imperial Federation* (Political Science Quarterly, June, 1921, pp. 274-297).

A discussion, by an American student, of the problem of the government of the British Empire, with an account of the movement toward imperial federation, and of the history of the Imperial Conference, the Committee of National Defence, and the Imperial War Cabinet.

WILSON, PHILIP W. *The Imperial Conference* (North American Review, June, 1921, pp. 725-735).

A brief, but suggestive, survey of the imperial problem.

WOODWARD, W. H. *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire, 1500-1920.* Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. 352. (6*sh.* 6*d.*)

A survey of the growth of the Empire since 1500.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

[CANADA, HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE GENERAL STAFF.] *A History of the Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada from the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the Present time.* With Illustrative Documents. Volume III: *The War of the American Revolution; The Province of Quebec under the Administration of Governor Frederic Haldimand, 1778-1784.* [Ottawa. 1921.] Pp. xxix, 271.

Reviewed on page 280.

CHAPAIS, THOMAS. *Cours d'histoire du Canada.* Tome II (1791-1814). Montréal: L'Action Française. 1921. Pp. 350. ($2.00.)

Reviewed on page 289.

GROULX, l'abbé LIONEL. *Vers l'émancipation: Cours d'histoire.* Montréal: L'Action Française. 1921. Pp. 312. ($1.00.)

Reviewed on page 278.

RIDDELL, Hon. W. R. *When Human Beings were Real Estate* (Canadian Magazine, June, 1921, pp. 147-149).

A note on the history of slavery in Canada.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Mélanges Historiques: Etudes éparses et inédites.* Compilées, annotées et publiées par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1921. Pp. 163. ($1.00.)

Reviewed on page 274.

(2) The History of New France

CARON, l'abbé IVANHOË. *La bataille des Plaines d'Abraham* (Le Canada Français, mai 1921, pp. 193-206).

A valuable discussion of the topography of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

CASEY, MAGDALEN. *Dollard des Ormeaux and the Siege of the Long Sault* (Canadian Magazine, August, 1921, pp. 326-331).

A popular account of a famous incident in early Canadian history.

GOSSELIN, Mgr AMÉDÉE. *Jean Jolliet et ses enfants* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiv, sect. i, pp. 65-81).

Genealogical and other notes, supplementing the information about the Jolliet family contained in the late Ernest Gagnon's monograph on *Louis Jolliet.*

LIBBY, WALTER and CHARLETON, M. *Finds Stobo's Letter: New Light on the History of Pittsburgh.* [Reprinted from "Pittsburgh First", published by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, July 4, 1921.]

An account, and reproduction, of two important documents which have recently come to light in the archives of the court house at Montreal—the original of the terms of capitulation of Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754, with Washington's signature; and the original of the sketch of Fort Duquesne made by Robert Stobo, and sent by him to Washington on July 28, 1754, together with a letter which accompanied the map.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Inventaire des biens de Julien Tavernier, ancêtre de la Mère Gamelin* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 4, pp. 109-115).

An inventory of the household goods of a Montreal merchant who died in 1756.

————. *Les juges de Montréal sous le régime français, 1648-1760* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 6, pp. 177-183).

Biographical and genealogical notes.

ROY, RÉGIS. *Navires canadiens* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 6, pp. 184-186).

Notes on the history of the ship-building industry in New France.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Troupes du Canada, 1670-1687* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiv, sect. i, pp. 1-21).

A chapter in the military history of New France, devoted mainly to an account of the formation of "la prétendue troupe de la marine".

SURREY, N. M. M. *The Commerce of Louisiana during the French Régime, 1699-1763.* (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law: Vol. 71, no. 1.) New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1916. Pp. 476; maps, diagrams, bibliography. ($3.50.)

Contains chapters on the trade of the Illinois country, and on the fur-trade from Canada.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

MCLACHLAN, R. W. *Some Unpublished Documents relating to Fleury Mesplet* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiv, sect. ii, pp. 85-95).

A supplement to the author's paper on *Fleury Mesplet, the First Printer of Montreal*, published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1906.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *La politique en chanson* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 4, pp. 126-128).

Reproduction of a French-Canadian political ballad of 1832.

SKELTON, ISABEL. *The Name "Canada"* (Canadian Magazine, August, 1921, pp. 312-314).

An account of the controversy which raged in 1864-1865 over the name to be applied to the new federation of British North American provinces.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

COLQUHOUN, A. H. U. *Sir John A.—After Thirty Years* (Canadian Magazine, June, 1921, pp. 93-97).

An estimate of the place of Sir John Macdonald in Canadian history, in the light of the thirty years that have elapsed since his death.

DONALD, ROBERT. *The Imperial Press Conference in Canada.* London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1921. Pp. xvi, 296. (25*sh.*)

A record, handsomely illustrated with photographs, of the visit made to Canada in the summer of 1920 by delegates representing the press in all parts of the British Empire.

GLENDINNING, J. C. *"Oh! Canada." Personal Impressions as a delegate to the Imperial Press Conference of 1921.* Derry: The Standard. [1921.] Pp. 86.

A visitor's impressions of Canada in the summer of 1920.

GRANT, W. L. *Canada.* (Victoria League pamphlets on the British Empire.) London: Victoria League. 1921. Pp. 20. (6*d.*).

A pamphlet written with a view to familiarizing people in other parts of the Empire with Canada.

HAMILTON, LOUIS. *Canada.* (Perthes' Kleine Volker- und Länderkunde zum Gebrauch im praktischen Leben: Achter Band.) Gotha: Verlag Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G. 1921. Pp. xi, 256.

Reviewed on page 299.

MACMURCHY, MARJORIE. *Arthur Meighen: Canadian.* (Canadian Magazine, June, 1921, pp. 108-115).

A character sketch of the prime minister of Canada.

MACTAVISH, NEWTON. *The Rare Product of His Generation* (*J. W. Flavelle*) (Canadian Magazine, August, 1921, pp. 267-271).

An appreciative sketch of the work of Sir Joseph Flavelle.

MUNRO, W. B. *Problems of City Government* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1921, pp. 139-150).

A discussion of some aspects of city government in Canada, in the light of the author's researches into city government in the United States.

RUSSELL, Mr. Justice. *The Career of Sir John Thompson* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1921, pp. 188-201).

Reminiscences of Sir John Thompson, written by a personal friend.

TAILLON, Sir LOUIS-OLIVIER. *A propos des écoles de Manitoba* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxvi, no. 4, pp. 286-293).

A defence of the attitude of the governments of Macdonald, Abbott, Thompson, and Bowell toward the Manitoba school question in the years 1890-1896.

WRONG, GEORGE M. *The United States and Canada: A Political Study.* New York and Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press. [1921.] Pp. 191.

Reviewed on page 272.

(5) The History of the Great War

[GREAT BRITAIN, BATTLES NOMENCLATURE COMMITTEE.] *The Official Names of the Battles and other Engagements fought by the Military Forces of the British Empire during the Great War, 1914-1919; and the Third Afghan War, 1919.* Cmd. 1138. London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1920. (9*d.*)

The report of the Battles Nomenclature Committee, as approved by the War Council.

MONTGOMERY, Major-General Sir ARCHIBALD. *The Story of the Fourth Army in the Battles of the Hundred Days, August 8th to November 11th, 1918.* With a Foreword by General Lord RAWLINSON. London: Hodder and Stoughton. [1920.] Pp. xxiii, 370; maps and illustrations. (63 *sh.*)

Contains an authoritative account, sumptuously illustrated, of the operations of the Canadian Corps during August, 1918.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

CHISHOLM, Mr. Justice. *Our First Common Law Court* (Dalhousie Review, April, 1921, pp. 17-24).

An account of the establishment at Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia, in April, 1721, of "the first court of judicature to administer the common law of England within what is now the Dominion of Canada".

RICHARD, EDOUARD. *Acadie: Reconstitution d'un chapitre perdu de l'histoire d'Amérique.* Ouvrage publié d'après le MS. original, entièrement refondu, corrigé, annoté, mis au point des recherches les plus récentes, avec une Introduction et des Appendices,

par HENRI D'ARLES. Tome troisième. Québec: Typ. J.-A. K.-Laflamme. 1921. Pp. viii, 547.

To be reviewed later.

(2) The Province of Quebec

BELLERIVE, GEORGES. *Brèves Apologies de nos Auteurs Feminins.* Québec: Librairie Garneau. 1920. Pp. 139; illustrations.

A sort of biographical dictionary of French-Canadian women writers.

CARON, l'abbé IVANHOË. *Les censitaires du coteau Sainte-Geneviève (Banlieue de Québec) de 1636 à 1800* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 4, pp. 97-108; no. 5, pp. 129-146; no. 6, 161-175).

The local history of a suburb of the city of Quebec.

CHARTIER, Chanoine ÉMILE. *La race canadienne-française: Etude ethnologique et statistique* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1921, pp. 113-136).

An account of the origin, growth, and present outlook of the French-Canadian people.

————————. *Le Canada français* (Revue Canadienne, vol. xxvi, no. 4, pp. 272-285; no. 5, pp. 343-353).

Papers on various phases of the history, economics, religious life, etc., of French Canada, originally delivered as lectures in Paris.

D'ARLES, HENRI. *Nos historiens—Etude de critique littéraire.* Montréal: L'Action Française. 1921. Pp. 250. (90c.).

To be reviewed later.

DAVELUY, MARIE-CLAIRE. *Barbe de Boullongne* (L'Action Française, juillet, 1921, pp. 425-433).

A biographical sketch of one of the pious women who helped to found Montreal.

MAURAULT, Abbé OLIVIER. *L'Eglise Notre-Dame actuelle* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, mars, 1921, pp. 415-438).

Continuation of a paper on the church of Notre-Dame in Montreal, contributed by the author to the *Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne* for September, 1920.

MORIN, VICTOR. *French-Canadian Literature: A Review and a Defence* (Canadian Magazine, July, 1921, pp. 219-230).

A paper written with the object of familiarizing English-speaking readers with some of the excellences of French-Canadian literature.

(3) The Province of Ontario

[ANON.] *Records of the Lives of Ellen Free Pickton and Featherstone Lake Osler.* [Oxford:] Printed for private circulation. 1915. Pp. 258; illustrations.

A collection of original documents, journals, and letters, setting forth the history of a well-known family which came to Upper Canada in 1837. Though intended only for the members of the family, the volume has considerable historical interest.

CARMAN, FRANCIS A. *The Honourable Richard Cartwright* (Canadian Magazine, July, 1921, pp. 190-196).

"A sketch of one of the founders of Upper Canada and the part he played in the politics of his day."

KENT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Papers and Addresses.* Volume 5. Chatham, Ontario; published by the Society. 1921. Pp. 100.

Contains a number of essays on the local history of the county of Kent. Miss M. Flewellyn writes on the history of the village of "Ouvry, Talbot Road, Raleigh"; Mr. T. D. Niven on "The Caledonia Settlement, Chatham Township"; Mrs. F. L.

Arnold on the "History of Kent Bridge"; Mr. Alexander Young on "McKay's Corners"; Mr. O. K. Watson on "The Beginnings of Ridgetown"; Mr. Louis Goulet on "Some Kent Patronymics" and "St. Joseph de Kent". Mr. John W. Young contributes an analysis of the contents of the *Chatham Tri-Weekly Planet* for May 20, 1857.

RIDDELL, Hon. W. R. *Humours of the Times of Robert Gourlay* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiv, section ii, pp. 69-83).

Odds and ends illustrating the lighter side of Robert Gourlay's passage through Canadian history.

————. *Robert Isaac Dey, Gray—The First Solicitor-General of Upper Canada—1797-1804* (Canadian Law Times, June, 1921, pp. 424-432; July, 1921, pp. 508-518).

A sketch of the life of the first solicitor-general of Upper Canada, supplemented by copious notes.

YOUNG, A. H. (ed.) *The Parish Register of Kingston, Upper Canada, 1785-1811.* With notes and introduction. Kingston, Ontario: The British Whig Publishing Company, Limited. 1921. Pp. 207. ($2.00.)

To be reviewed later.

————. *The Rev. John Stuart, D.D., U.E.L., of Kingston, U.C., and his Family: A Genealogical Study.* Kingston: Whig Press. [1921.] Pp. 64. ($1.50.)

To be reviewed later.

(4) The Western Provinces

HOWAY, Judge F. W. *The Attitude of Governor Seymour towards Confederation* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiv, section ii, pp. 31-49).

An account of the history of pre-Confederation politics in British Columbia, with especial reference to the part played by Governor Seymour in blocking Confederation.

JOHNSTON, LUKIN. *The Case of the Oriental in B.C.* (Canadian Magazine, August, 1921, pp. 315-318).

A brief discussion of the problem of Oriental immigration into British Columbia.

PRUD'HOMME, le juge L.-A. *Monsieur Georges-Antoine Belcourt, Missionaire à la Rivière Rouge* (Transaction of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xiv, sect. i, pp. 23-64).

An account of the life of a French-Canadian Roman Catholic priest who served as a missionary in the west from 1831 to 1848.

SMITH, CHARLES W. *Pacific Northwest Americana: A Checklist of Books and Pamphlets relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest.* Edition 2, Revised and Enlarged. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1921. Pp. xii, 329.

A new and enlarged edition of a union checklist of Pacific Northwest Americana first published in 1909, and representing the resources of thirteen representative libraries.

UN SAUVAGE. *Agression des Féniens* (L'Action Française, juillet, 1921, pp. 435-446).

An account of the Fenian raid of 1871 in Manitoba, extracted from a work on the history of the west which is to appear shortly.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

BONAR, J. *The Mint and the Precious Metals in Canada* (Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, March, 1921, pp. 216-254).

A valuable paper, by the former deputy-master of the Ottawa Mint, giving an account of the history and operations of the Mint. The paper is followed

by appendices containing much statistical information with regard to gold mining, currency circulation, wholesale prices, etc.

COOPER, Col. JOHN A. *The International Trade Situation in Canada* (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1921, pp. 7-11).

A survey by the former Canadian government representative in New York.

FALK, J. H. T. *The Future of Social Service Work in Canada* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1921, pp. 182-187).

A forecast by the Director of the Department of Social Service in McGill University.

FERRIER, W. F. and FERRIER, D. J. *Annotated Catalogue of and Guide to the Publications of the Geological Survey of Canada, 1845-1917.* Ottawa: Geological Survey of Canada, Department of Mines. 1920. Pp. 544; maps.

An analysis of the publications of the Canadian Geological Survey, containing not only author lists, but guiding lists (with index maps) which serve as regional bibliographies. An appendix gives a partial list of papers by members of the staff of the Geological Survey published elsewhere, but in some cases obtainable from the Survey.

HOOPER, W. E. *A Billion-and-a-half-dollar Experiment in Government Ownership* (Scribner's Magazine, April, 1921, pp. 428-432).

An account of the Canadian national railways.

LORRAIN, LÉON. *Le Commerce canadien-français* (L'Action Française, juillet, 1921, pp. 386-396).

A discussion of the present position and future prospects of French-Canadian trade, from the Nationalist point of view.

PELLETIER, GEORGES. *Notre industrie* (L'Action Française, juin, 1921, pp. 322-356).

A study of French-Canadian industrial development.

ROSS, VICTOR. *A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, with an account of the other banks which now form part of its organization.* Volume I. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xviii, 516.

Reviewed on page 290.

WHITE, Right Hon. Sir THOMAS. *The Story of Canada's War Finance.* Montreal: The Canadian Bank of Commerce. 1921. Pp. 70. (Gratis.)

Reviewed on page 297.

V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

DALY, Rev. GEORGE THOMAS. *Catholic Problems in Western Canada.* With preface by the Most Reverend O. E. MATHIEU, Archbishop of Regina. Toronto: The Macmillan Company. [1921.] Pp. 352.

A discussion of the problems, religious, educational, and social, confronting the Roman Catholic Church in the Canadian West.

LAPALICE, O. *Le pain bénit à Notre-Dame de Montréal* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 5, pp. 153-160).

The history of a now obsolete religious ceremony, once practised in the church of Notre Dame at Montreal.

SISSONS, C. B. *French in the Schools of Ontario—Sixty Years After* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxviii, no. 3, pp. 254-263).

A comparison of the attitude of the educational authorities in Ontario toward the problem of the French language in the schools in 1851 and in 1914.

TAMBLYN, W. F. *A University in the Making* (Canadian Magazine, vol. lvi, no. 5).

An account of the origin and development of Western University at London, Ontario.

The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. II. TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1921 No. 4

NOTES AND COMMENTS

IT is necessary to say once more that the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has no editorial opinions, no political prepossessions. Both in articles and reviews, it gives to writers the widest latitude with regard to expression of their views, provided these views are within the law, and are supported by reasoned argument. The Board of Editors are, indeed, anxious to have Canadian history and public affairs interpreted in these pages from as many different points of view as possible. With regard to reviews of books, all the management of the REVIEW can undertake to guarantee is that books are placed in the hands of competent reviewers, who may be relied upon to review them in good faith and without prejudice. If any author considers himself aggrieved by a book-review in these pages, he will find the management of the REVIEW only too glad to afford him reasonable space to correct the statements complained of, either in a communication from himself, or from some other authoritative person.

We welcome to Canada Mr. Basil Williams, who has come from England to succeed Professor C. W. Colby in the department of history at McGill University. Mr. Williams represents that combination of scholar and man of affairs which is the fine product of the Oxford tradition. His historical work shows that he has long been interested in the outer Empire. He is the author of the authoritative *Life of Lord Chatham*, and of the best *Life of Cecil Rhodes*. The former grew out of early studies in the foreign

policy of Walpole, published in the *English Historical Review*; the latter out of an acquaintance with the Southern Cross which began when he abandoned a safe career in England to serve in the South African War, and which was continued as part-editor of *The Times History of the War in South Africa*. In politics he is Liberal Imperialist, and twice contested Rugby in the Liberal interest; the same spirit led him in 1911 to edit a very interesting volume of *Home Rule Problems*. Since then he has edited a notable series of "Makers of the Nineteenth Century," of which his own *Cecil Rhodes* and Lord Charnwood's *Abraham Lincoln* are perhaps the chief. He is also a practical lecturer, having held in 1920 the position of Ford Lecturer at Oxford University. During the Great War he served in the Artillery, and afterwards in the Intelligence Branch. In partnership with Professor Fryer, Professor Basil Williams may be trusted to give to his students a sane and wide outlook upon Canadian and Imperial problems, and to inspire them by his high enthusiasm for accurate scholarship.

Mr. Thomas Seccombe, who has come to Queen's University to take the chair of English Literature, has also a close connection with the study of history, having been from 1891 to 1901 associated with Sir Sidney Lee as assistant editor of *The Dictionary of National Biography*. While his writings deal chiefly with English literature, he has also written a study of *Parkman and Prescott*, and he has always dealt with literature not merely as *belles-lettres*, but as an expression of the national life.

Most of the contributors to this number are well known to readers of the REVIEW. Professor George M. Wrong, who writes on *Democracy in Canada*, is head of the department of Modern History in the University of Toronto; and Mr. R. Hodder Williams, who contributes *Some Reflections on Anonymous Iconoclasm*, is an Associate Professor in the same department. Mr. Walter M. Sage, the author of the paper on *The Gold Colony of British Columbia*, is a member of the staff in History in the University of British Columbia. Captain C. E. Lart, who edits an interesting document with regard to the battle of Ticonderoga, is a resident of Cornwall, England, who has been working in the Public Record Office in London; and Colonel William Wood, the editor of the Quebec petition to Queen Victoria in 1857, is a well-known Canadian historian who lives in Quebec.

DEMOCRACY IN CANADA

TO-DAY there is probably more doubt in men's minds as to the best type of political institutions than there has been at any previous epoch of the modern world. Those who, during the American Revolution, demanded "Liberty or Death" had no doubt as to the blessings of the liberty which meant democracy. The leaders of revolution in France were certain that the path to human happiness was to be found in the liberty, equality, and fraternity which should follow the destruction of the Bourbon despotism. Later, in England, the people who secured the extension of the right to vote by the first Reform Bill believed that the nation's happiness hung on the issue. There was equal certainty on the opposing side; the Duke of Wellington could not conceive of a better system than that overthrown by the Reform Bill. In Canada, between 1840 and 1849, we find reformers describing with almost frantic earnestness the happiness certain to issue from self-government. But now this certainty is gone. Popular rights have grown; the people rule; no longer the rich but the poor control the state. The Whig party has disappeared because its tasks have been achieved and now its successor in England and in Canada, the Liberal party, is receiving its most staggering blows, not from Tories who desire no change, but from disillusioned believers in democracy who no longer hold the earlier Liberal dogmas. These, it is urged, have not touched the vital thing, the economic reorganization of society. The only person sure of himself is the man who wishes to leave things as they are, and he dreams of an impossibility.

The long-coveted democracy has thus brought new doubts. Many things in public affairs have deteriorated. The quality of most of the leaders in public life is probably not as high as it was fifty years ago. Parliament has more power, but political life has less dignity, if we may judge from some of the scenes in parliament. The editorial page of the daily newspaper is not as good as it

was, because the editor has now to reach not only the educated but the uneducated, and adjusts his tone to their needs. The cities in Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which, with their intelligence and movement, ought to be guiding stars in politics, send to parliament some of the poorest type of members to be found there, and in their domestic affairs often reward with the highest honours not men of distinction but the political intriguer and the demagogue. This is how democracy has worked, and there is no going back, for power can return from the many to the few only if the many consent, and this they will never do. Thus it has come about that thoughtful men are puzzled and fearful. They have entered a forest, and they know as yet no way out.

It is at such a time that the opinions of a veteran observer, who still retains faith and hope in political society, are best fitted to produce a steadying effect. Lord Bryce[1] has been for more than sixty years an alert student of politics. His classic work, *The Holy Roman Empire*, was written when he was barely out of his 'teens. He refers to events in the sixties as if they were the happenings of yesterday. Ancient Rome is as real to him as modern Washington. He has been a professor at Oxford, and a cabinet minister in England. He is the author of the most widely-read book interpreting the politics of the United States, and was the British ambassador to that country. He has travelled in every continent and studied on the spot every type of human society. No other living man has observed more closely, or written with greater industry, or greater freedom from prepossession or abstract dogma, than this amazing veteran. And he closes his book by saying that hope is "one of the cardinal virtues", and that "Democracy will never perish till after Hope has expired".

In this utterance, it is true, there is no dogmatic faith that democracy will not perish—but hope must perish first. If democracy fails it must pave the way to something better than itself, or mankind must cease to be inspired by the faith that life is not a vain battling to end in the dismal swamp of failure. Lord Bryce has chosen six democracies by which to illustrate his study: they are France, Switzerland, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and, not least perhaps, Canada. Four of them, it will be observed, are English-speaking, and naturally so, for these are the most advanced democracies. It is well to study

[1] *Modern Democracies*. By Viscount Bryce. Two Volumes. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1921. Pp. xv, 508; vi, 676.

with these French democracy, the child of the revolution which shook the world. France remains a vast unitary state under a single legislature. Switzerland, on the other hand, is a loose federation, and for it Lord Bryce reserves his highest praise. He has not ventured to study British democracy in its home. In thus refraining he has seemed to give us Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Few are better fitted than he to analyse the democracy of Britain, for has he not shared in its government? For forty years, as he says, he has been a member of legislatures and cabinets in England; but this, he thinks, makes unbiassed observation impossible. We must respect his reasons, even though we think that his detachment would have been adequate.

Lord Bryce keeps his eye on democracy as it is, not as it might be, and defines it simply as the rule of the majority. If in a democratic state the majority is ignorant and corrupt, then democracy is ignorant and corrupt. We clear the ground at once of mystical conceptions of the sacred rule of the people. Plato thought that in Heaven might be found the idea of the perfect state. If so, its copy is not to be found on earth. The rule of the people is just the rule of the majority of men, and now of women too, in the state. It has never been proved that there is any peculiar virtue in majorities. Probably the minority is as often right as is the majority. Certainly the minority is right when it presses for some needed reforms for which it must win the reluctant consent of the majority. Orators may flatter a crowd by protesting that the people always think on a high plane. But the term "the People" has in each environment its own special significance. "The People", to the white orator in the Southern States, means the whites, to the exclusion of the blacks, who may be a majority. "The People," to the German demagogue in Silesia, would probably have meant the Teutonic and not the Slavic race.

Thus when we discuss democracy, we mean only the rule of the majority. Why has it come into being, and how has it worked? In confronting the first of these questions Lord Bryce places severe restraints upon himself. He is discussing not the origins but the working of democracy. He makes no attempt to analyse those impulses in man's being which make to him the liberty to take the wrong path more precious than the reward of taking the right path under constraint. There is no discussion of sovereignty or the social contract. Lord Bryce doubts, indeed, whether the desire for self-government is very strong in mankind.

What they desire is good government, and if they can get it without effort on their own part they are content to take no share either in setting up or in administering free institutions. The average man is rather like the indolent member of a club who wishes to be comfortable and is willing to leave everything to the committee, if only the machine is made to work smoothly. If he is denied what he considers his due, sooner or later he will make trouble. This is not to assert his desire to assume responsibility, but only his resolve to get rid of a nuisance. Men have fought tyrants not so much to assert their own right to rule but to get rid of cruelty and greed. Lord Bryce asserts that in England the people have not greatly desired political power. The Reform Bill of 1832 did indeed express a popular demand, but it was satisfied by a very moderate extension of the right to vote. Later extensions of the franchise to the masses have been made by the upper and middle classes. It is not clear that the mass of the women in England desired the vote when it came to them. It was the activities of a few educated women which brought it to women as a whole.

Now when democracy has come and we dismiss any mystical belief in it as a final form of government, we are free to confront in the spirit of reason its merits and its defects. In a good democracy, says Lord Bryce, the majority will show a high sense of duty, and the individual, since he is only one of many, will seek the welfare of the many and not that of himself alone. He will ask for no special privileges. Public questions are intricate and he must confront the labour of study to understand them. He will follow reason and not passion. He will be honest himself and demand honesty in others. If he seeks office it will be that he may render public service. Working with his fellow-citizens, he will not only recognise liberty and equality but will expand in the sympathy and kindliness which the French called fraternity and Mazzini termed humanity.

We should deceive ourselves if we should hold that as yet any democracy has produced all these qualities. Democracy is due to a variety of causes. In America it grew up because equality of social conditions involved equality in political privilege. Democracy was fostered in Europe, in some countries, at least, by religious beliefs which, making men equal in the sight of God, tended to make them equal in the sight of each other. But the most potent cause of democracy has been the unwisdom, the scornful spirit, and the crude selfishness of ruling castes

whether regal, noble, or rich, which have stirred resentment and made the many insist on asserting rights inalienable, as they thought, from manhood. To take power from others does not, however, involve the capacity of the victor himself to exercise it. We may dismiss an unworthy physician and still know not how to heal ourselves. Democratic theory has gone wrong in assuming that the right to vote brings with it either the will or the capacity to use it well. The mistake was natural. To overthrow a tyrant has involved perils and efforts which have strained the fullest capacity of revolutionaries. Little wonder that they should assume that, with the despot gone, all would be well and should forget that in themselves were the same strains of selfishness which had made the despot and that, the old tyranny vanquished, they must confront the menace of a new one.

If they faced the future without misgiving they were, by so much, off their guard. "No government," says Lord Bryce, "demands so much from the citizen as Democracy", and he adds for our comfort that "none give so much back". The citizen has not, as yet, met well the demands upon him. When self-interest surged through other channels than those of despotism, the citizen was ill equipped to meet the new form of menace. To work a sound system men must be alert, unselfish, energetic, and industrious in public affairs, and the average man was none of these. Natural indolence is perhaps the greatest enemy of well-being. It is mastered by the love of power, by ambition to be great, by pride of position, by the promise of wealth and ease, by public spirit. Only the last of these would make man do his full duty in politics, and it has not yet become the endowment of the many. The average man is quite a decent citizen. That he takes pride in his country is readily seen by his resentment at contemptuous criticism. He believes in what is called in America his "home town", and is eager and enthusiastic in celebrating its glories. He would like to do his duty. But he has his own affairs to think about. He has little training for the task of judging the problems of politics, and he is apt to adopt the indolent belief that others can look after public matters better than he and to become passive. Al the time, especially in a new country, politics offer the reward of publicity and power to the self-seeker, and of gain to the corrupt. These have the eternal stimulus of self-interest, and they make democracy their tool. Hence the demagogue, the boss, and the profiteer.

To meet these dangers the best capacity in the state is necessary, and it is too often not available. It is a rough task to gain and hold the suffrages of the many, a task uncongenial to the refined and the comfortable. In Canada at least many of these are either too much occupied with necessary business, or too lacking in public spirit to take part in politics. Inferior men take what should be their place. New agencies appear for creating or controlling public opinion and, most potent of them all, the newspaper press. "It is," says Lord Bryce, "the newspaper press which has made democracy possible in large countries." Daily the newspaper addresses its thousands. Its opinions reach nearly every home. Their anonymity produces the effect of an authority impersonal and mysterious. The individual leader can be in only one place at one time, and has the limitations of his personality. The newspaper speaks everywhere and always. Great is the power of iteration. The daily repetition of opinions becomes impressive. The indolent readily adopt opinions ready-made, and the newspaper tends to become the chief working force of democracy.

A newspaper, as Lord Bryce points out, has two aspects. The first is that it disseminates news and opinions. No one need accept its opinions, and it assumes no responsibility for advocating what it declares ought to be done, It is only a voice. Its other aspect is that it must be made to pay. In Canada it has become the chief means of advertising business. To do this effectively it must go to the many. The more readers it reaches the more it is paid for reaching them. It must appeal to the average man. It must meet enterprising rivalry. If its opinions are unpopular, its readers will tend to decline in number. Yet a democracy learns by a break with what is, and by turning to the less popular course of what should be. The newspaper may have to encounter the dilemma of the timid bather; if he tries to learn to swim he may drown in the effort, while if he does not learn to swim he may in some crisis drown for lack of this knowledge. How is the newspaper to rebuke popular error and advance truth, and at the same time to remain popular for business reasons? The tendency is undoubtedly to retain popularity at the expense of boldness of opinion. Few newspapers are prepared to sacrifice financial success to the sternness of truth, and yet the newspapers are the chief educators of democracy.

Democracy, in spite of inherent difficulties in its working, has undoubtedly achieved some great results. "Let cynics say

what they will," says Lord Bryce, "Man is not an irrational animal. Truth usually wins in the long run." If democracy yields sometimes to bellicose racial and religious passions, it shrinks from the penalty of war, and it did not cause the great world conflict. Democracies have proved more honest than oligarchies. In these the few have enriched themselves and impoverished the many—witness the reign of Louis XIV in France. Under democracy, in spite of corruption, moral standards have improved. For proof of this we need only compare Walpole with even a shifty modern prime minister. Democracies have shown greater political wisdom than oligarchies. Can any one doubt that if, thirty or forty years ago, England had had a real democracy, unchecked by oligarchic class influence, the Irish question would have been settled? Lord Acton once said that a roomful of great leaders, of Luthers, Cromwells, Richelieus, Napoleons, Pitts, Peels, Gladstones and Disraelis, would really make up a encyclopaedia of political error. These leaders would differ and wrangle, while the many, knowing where the shoes pinch because they are wearing them, would make straight to the cause of trouble. Democracies too are not ungrateful to their leaders. A Henry VIII at one stroke dismisses and ruins a Wolsey; an ill-balanced German monarch flouts a veteran Bismarck. But the people do not change their devotion so quickly and will reverence and follow leaders whose day is really past. The people like a man of courage, who takes risks, and they will follow him. Many a politician has failed because he kept his ear to the ground instead of carrying his head high in the air and appealing to the devotion of the crowd.

Canada is probably the third in Lord Bryce's esteem of the six democracies. Political defects are no doubt more glaring in the United States than they are in Canada—but remedial measures are also more active and effective. Canada has little to put side by side with the alert and scientific study of public affairs so general in the United States and one of the finest products of its universities. Like the United States Canada is a vast country with every right to face the future in confidence. The climate is stimulating, if in places severe, and promotes health. Nature, says Lord Bryce, has endowed Canada with coal in quantity only second to that of the United States. He does not lay stress on the fact that the great central and most populous regions of Canada, Ontario and Quebec, are without coal. Ontario at

least is tributary to the United States for fuel. Social conditions in Canada are favourable. Agriculture is the chief industry. Most of the farmers own their own farms; there is no landlord class. There are not many great capitalists, while there is a large number of well-to-do people able to cultivate the amenities of life. Labour questions are not dangerous. In Canada there is one great and menacing problem—the antagonism in race and religion between the French and the English. No other English-speaking country is haunted by a similar problem. One might add, however, that, grave as it is, it does not approach in seriousness the problem of the negro in the United States.

Lord Bryce's account of democracy in Canada is not, on the whole, very cheering. There are good features. Public order is well preserved. The judiciary is incorruptible. There is an honest, if not a very expert, civil service. Education is widely diffused and, among those of British origin who are native to Canada, there are practically no illiterates. The demagogue has been less in evidence in Canada than in any other of the six democracies except Switzerland. Party is less rigid than it is in the United States. Here, indeed, Lord Bryce might have stated the case more strongly than he does. Literally, party has broken down in Canada. Dozens of newspapers which, a few years ago, would have sung the party tune without reserve, are now neutral and non-committal. Municipal government has been on the whole free from corruption. Recently Montreal has had its scandals, but in the other large cities there has rarely been anything more corrupt than lobbying for jobs and contracts. In the smaller towns, of the east at any rate, the defect has been an undue parsimony which has shrunk from needed expenditure on education, on roads, and on sanitation. The legislatures in Canada are still respected, and there has been no such freak legislation as that in some American states which goes so far as to name the minimum length of the sheets on the beds in hotels.

If the good features of democracy in Canada do not unite to make a brilliant picture, its bad features are sufficiently alarming. There has been gross bribery in elections. Legislatures, if not municipalities, have been corrupted by money; charges have been proved against even cabinet ministers, and it is still true that financial interests have undue weight in governmental policy. The level of honour among politicians in Canada is lower than it is among those of Australia or New Zealand. There has been jobbery, waste, and extravagance in spending public

money. Public opinion is slack and not easily aroused. Above all, the best elements in the country have tended to hold aloof from politics, and there is a lack of dignity in public life.

This is Lord Bryce's indictment of Canadian democracy. It must be said that, in respect to Canada, his insight is less penetrating than it is in regard to either the United States or Switzerland. The reason is probably that he has made only a few transient visits to Canada, while he has dwelt long in the United States, and has been frequently in Switzerland. He overestimates the number of the French in Canada. They are not the two and a half millions which would make them about one-third of the population. There are fewer than two millions (a million more are in the United States) and probably they are less than one-quarter of the population. This result is, indeed, striking enough, when we remember that the three million French in North America are descended from not more than ten thousand immigrants from France. It is not quite the case that "of those in Quebec extremely few speak English". The French in Quebec speak English in a proportion greater than that of the English who speak French. Lord Bryce says correctly that the two races live apart, but it is doubtful whether "this separation is mainly due to religion". The English-speaking Roman Catholics in Montreal also live apart from the French. The reason is probably some subtle influence of tradition and training which makes people, differing in language and history, draw away from each other.

The chief defect of Canada is its lack of political education. There is not in the country a large class of persons qualified to form and to guide opinion. The urgent problems have been those of national development, involving the free expenditure of money. When governments are spending great sums, the need of eternal vigilance is urgent. Canada inherited its political parties from England. The Toryism of England was based upon realities in society. That of Canada, which in the early days opposed the securing of self-government, was merely terrified reaction. In an old society the steadying force of traditions made the fabric of society really immune to attack from either party. Grote the historian said that he had come not to care greatly which party won in an election, for each would be bound by the realities of life. In Canada, however, the fundamentals of political life were at issue. Tories charged their opponents with the resolve to break with their British allegiance, and to create either

a republic or to join the United States. In the absence of great issues, these appeals to passion were the staples in elections. No wonder that politics ceased to attract the finer minds. The tone of public life became worse instead of better.

In the five other democracies examined we find great variety. Despotism and oligarchies have usually worked on similar lines with a central authority controlled by one strong person or by a small ruling clique. Each of Lord Bryce's six states is unlike the others. It is for Switzerland that he reserves his highest praise. Of its four million people half a million own land and are under this steadying influence of property. The Swiss people are composed of three races, and in the federal diet three languages —French, German and Italian—have official standing. Fortunately racial and religious divisions do not coincide; the French, for instance, are partly Protestant, partly Roman Catholic, so that racial unity is not protected by the barrier of language and religion. In the smaller cantons of Switzerland it is still possible to gather all the voters at one place in the open air in order to make laws,—"the oldest, simplest and purest form of democracy which the world knows" (I, 337). Judges are elected and also even school teachers. There is direct legislation by the people, and the referendum is in constant use. The President, chosen only for a year at a time, has no authority greater than that of his six colleagues on the governing body of the Federal Council. Party, which, as Lord Bryce says, has been "worked to death" in England and Canada, barely exists. In a state so small the people can judge issues for themselves and do not need party guidance. Intimidation of voters, corruption by money, and fraud in elections, are not known. No titles or decorations are given by the state. If politics are humdrum and the salaries for office holders small, none the less do men of intelligence take part in politics. In Switzerland democracy secures pure and good government.

France presents many contrasts. Four million people in Switzerland have the function of government so subdivided that each little community is really self-governing. Nearly forty million people in France are under a single political authority, which appoints to even the pettiest offices in every part of the country. France has a stupendous centralized bureaucracy. It has parliamentary government without what has lain at the basis of parliamentary government in England, only two great

parties with recognized leadership in each of them. France has a dozen parties and no recognized leaders. New combinations of groups are always possible with a resultant change of ministry.

Mediocrity is the characteristic of the French politician. For the most part men of distinguished family and leaders in the great world of business are not active in politics. There is intense cleavage in respect to religion, and a press both very good and very bad, its bad elements, owing to a loose law of libel, going to extremes hardly found in any other country. The French deputy is likely to be a lawyer, or a doctor, or even a school teacher. He is busily active among his constituents and they will expect him when in Paris to select a domestic servant or to buy an umbrella. Petty commissions of this kind, the securing of small offices for supporters, occupy much of his time. His heart is in local politics and in personal issues. He is alert, keen, and resourceful. But the range of his interests is limited. There is so much to be done by a deputy with a government that controls all expenditure everywhere and maintains power by patronage! Personal questions are the most vivid in the French chamber and behind these lies a rather drab and sometimes corrupt democracy. If France once had a Richelieu and a Mazarin to rule her, she now has in their place the local lawyer or doctor with the schoolmaster as his chief ally. There are no great national parties. No one party has even candidates for election in anything approaching all the constituencies of France.

In the English-speaking world we find still further variety in working democracy. New Zealand has a delightful climate; its people are homogenous; there are no racial or religious cries; and there is very little crime. As a unitary state, it is different from federal Australia. In both, the Asiatic is excluded—a call to Australia to fill her vacant spaces, if she wishes to continue this policy. In both socialistic ideas of government have gone far, yet in both, in contrast with the United States and Canada, we find the great landowner. In New Zealand, with a million people, one hundred and fifty thousand are said to live from salaries paid by the government. This carries on even life insurance and a great loan business, sometimes lending money at five per cent. when the bank rate is eight or more. While there has been honesty in details of expenditure of money, needed public works have been neglected and needless ones carried out for party reasons. The result is now a heavy burden of debt. The small field, the absence of political education of the people,

give, as Lord Bryce shows, the touch of commonplace to New Zealand politics. No very cheering message comes from a democracy which had a clear field in a new land. "Corruption is rare, but the standard both of tone and manners and of intellectual attainment is not worthy of communities where everybody is well off and well educated, and where grave problems of legislation call for constructive ability" (II, 338).

The same is true of Australia. There is little corruption; it has remained for Canada and the United States to be the most corrupt of the six democracies. Public order is well preserved. Ministries have been unstable, in sharp contrast with federal Canada, where ministries tend to endure too long; in ten years federal Australia had seven cabinets, while in forty-one years South Australia had forty. Mr. Hughes, the present prime minister of Australia, has said that life in Australia is itself a gamble. Wool is one of the great products and, in the not infrequent dry seasons, so large a proportion of the sheep die that only owners with large resources can go on. One result is the large estates in Australia. Each of the three English-speaking federations, the United States, Canada, and Australia, shows the characteristics of the period of its creation. The United States is the most conservative, until recently accepting changes in the constitution only reluctantly. Canada is in form less democratic, with its appointed Senate and the apparent strength of executive authority. Federal Australia, the child of the twentieth century, has more fluid politics. The term of the House of Representatives is three years. The Senate is elected by popular vote and is more radical than the other house. To be well-off is to be suspect and this intense class antagonism excludes from politics men of wealth and even the lawyer class. Labour has the upper hand. But a Labour ministry has to accept exact direction from the caucus of the Labour party. There is no foreign element such as has in the United States corrupted municipal politics. Until recently racial and religious cries have been little heard of. Now the Irish question troubles politics. With control by labour and with the government as a great employer, wages are high and efficiency is mediocre. Lord Bryce obviously thinks that Australia is gambling with its resources and in danger of financial disaster. But his counsel is, "Never despond; unexpected good arrives as well as expected evil. . . . The more highly educated class in particular may arouse themselves to take a livelier interest in public affairs and so send more of their

best men into a political career" (II, 260, 263). This is always Lord Bryce's solvent.

The greatest democracy, that of the United States, has for Canada absorbing interest. It is Canada's only neighbour. Canada is, indeed, the only considerable country in the world with but one neighbour. The United States has only two, Mexico and Canada, presenting sufficiently vivid contrasts. It is probably a misfortune for Canada that she is subject to but one type of adjacent influence, that of a nation much more populous and powerful than herself. Had she neighbours east, west, and north, the variety of influences would be more stimulating, if there was not the barrier of language. She would be, too, less dependent on the policy of one neighbour. In some respects Canada and the United States know very little of each other. Lord Bryce is the first writer to bring together in one book adequate studies of the working of the two systems. In each English is the prevailing language, and people of British origin take the lead in politics. Both countries are deeply rooted in British traditions. It is amusingly true that, however much the United States may protest its distinct type of national life, its literary and social traditions are intimately linked with those of England. Shakespeare and Milton mean more to the literature of to-day in the United States than does the work of any American author. None the less is it true that the Americans persist in regarding themselves as a new people whose birth dates from 1776. And in some respects they are.

While many people in Canada read American newspapers and are familiar with the names of persons prominent in American public life, it is still true that the people of eastern Canada, at least, regard the United States with an interest languid compared with that which they take in England. The great books which they read on literature, history, and politics are English, not American. In Canada there is little serious study of American institutions, while in the United States there is practically none of those in Canada. The people of Canada, familiar with the working of a system in which parliament has plenary authority, can hardly understand one in which the elected legislatures fill almost a secondary place. Except in municipal affairs, no one is elected in Canada to hold a specific office or to hold office for a specific period fixed by law. At any time a legislature may be dissolved or a prime minister may be replaced, without an election, by a bitter rival, if this rival can only command the support

of parliament. Canadians find difficult of comprehension a system under which one can know for years ahead the exact date at which elections will take place. Canadians find it also hard to understand a government which has no real cabinet, though the name is used in the United States. Few Canadians realize that there is not even a nominal cabinet in such a state as New York and that the American plan is not to have a collective unity in government, but to divide power, and, in the states, at least, to elect officials to do one and only one thing, whether it is to be a secretary, or a treasurer, or a maker of roads. Canadians only dimly understand how a county can be governed with no semblance of a county council by officials each of them quite independent of other elected officials. The election of judges; a city council with two chambers: to be asked to vote at an election for or against no less than thirty important issues and in addition several scores of candidates: such things seem to the average dweller in Canada freak politics.

Canada has developed under maxims of British politics to which no heed is paid in the United States. To people steeped in British traditions too much is left to chance when an elected ruler of the state is given full executive authority for four long years; the consequences seem too serious should the test of power show him not to be the right man. A prime minister certain to hold office for four years, no matter what might happen, is hardly thinkable in Canada. It has long been held in British constitutional usage that the second chamber must give way to the popular house if the people's will has been clearly indicated on the matter at issue, and that only the popular house can initiate votes of money. But in the United States the second chamber, the Senate, has greater authority than the House of Representatives; it can even propose votes of money. Americans, for their part, would find it hard to understand the Canadian system in which members of the Senate are appointed by the leader who has a majority in the House of Commons, and in which also the federal government has the power to disallow acts passed by the local legislatures. In the United States there is, for a variety of reasons, a distrust of legislatures, and many state legislatures are forbidden to legislate on a multitude of things. Capitalists sleep the easier because of such prohibitions. In Canada these nowhere exist.

Lord Bryce's summing up of the results of democracy in the United States, while hopeful, is certainly not flattering. The

system has fostered the accumulation of great wealth by a few; there are more men of enormous wealth in the United States than in all Europe. The state legislatures and, in a lesser degree, Congress, do not enjoy public confidence, and the system does not produce great men as leaders. The civil service is not equal to the needs of a great nation. In some states the judiciary does not command respect. Criminal justice is tortuous in its methods, and men clearly guilty escape punishment. State laws are at times so badly enforced that personal and property rights are not secure. The tone of public life is not high, and parties are ruled by selfish oligarchies. Organized wealth has too much influence in securing favours from the state, while, by way of reprisal, corrupt legislators levy blackmail from corporations by threats of injurious legislation. Lord Bryce explains elaborately how all these evils have come about. They are curable. The United States has a greater proportion of men educated at universities than any other country in the world, ten times as many as continental Europe, perhaps three times as many as Great Britain. There is a constant acute analysis of public issues, and this is having a remedial effect. Not only in the federal government, but in ten of the states, there are good civil service laws. A pathway through the forest is becoming clear.

In the United States the political pot is always boiling. The belief is that the oftener elected officials have to go back to the people for a renewal of their mandate the greater is the public security. When it was suggested that the cure for ineffective or corrupt judges was to pay a higher salary and to elect for a longer period, Lord Bryce heard the answer that the real cure would be a lower salary and a shorter term so as to keep the judges in touch with the people and to prevent any class consciousness. Here is that belief in a mystical sanctity in the people which gives them eternal wisdom. To enable the people to register the decisions so constantly demanded from them, a vast machinery is needed. Lord Bryce estimates that the men working the party system in the United States are more numerous than all the elected officials of the country and more numerous than those working the political machinery of the rest of the world. In this vast organization the workers are for the most part looking after their own interests. Naturally they desire to keep up the divisions of party, and the two-party system is probably more strongly entrenched in the United States than in any other country in the world.

It is easy to deride this eternal activity of the party machine. It is so bewildering that some electors give up effort at discrimination and vote blindly or do not vote at all. What is a voter to do when confronted by a ballot with scores of names, no one of which is familiar to him? Goldwin Smith used to say that, in the municipal elections in Toronto, when he had a choice among half a score of names, he used to take counsel from his butler and vote as he advised. The butler with his vision limited to local issues would know something about the candidates. The situation was not really so ridiculous as Goldwin Smith thought. The butler no doubt was reading closely his daily evening paper. He at least knew his men and, from the point of view of an inevitable democracy, it was a good thing that he should be so well informed. If elections are incessant, attention to public questions must also be incessant. In this there is political education, and Lord Bryce is of the opinion that the habit of frequent voting stimulates thought. The whole people become seriously interested in public affairs, and public opinion becomes the real ruler. In spite of the rigours of party, in respect to elections, the press of the United States is probably more ready to discuss public questions on their merits than is that of either Canada or Great Britain. One can read a great newspaper in the United States for weeks without learning to which side in politics it adheres. In Congress members break away from party more frequently than do representatives in other countries where the continued existence of a government depends on their support.

There is little doubt that, with striking differences, Canada is treading the same path as the United States. The one conspicuous failure in the United States is in municipal government. This has been largely due to the crowding into cities of a foreign population. This population is sometimes so dominant and arrogant that in New York, for instance, it was found impossible to put on the stage *The Merchant of Venice*, showing the Jew in an unfavourable light. To newcomers the franchise was conceded lightly with the result that the reverse of the old complaint of taxation without representation appeared, and there was representation—and rule—without taxation of the penniless invaders. The same phenomenon is beginning to appear in larger Canadian cities. As the United States has increased in population, the smaller has become the number of men possible for election to national office, since only a few can have a fame reaching the millions. National leadership is also becoming

more difficult in Canada. There are no nation-wide newspapers. It is hard to move British Columbia by cries effective in Nova Scotia. But difficulties of leadership are softened in Canada by the mode of choosing them. It is the members of parliament, knowing their men, who choose the leaders, and not conventions of a thousand people with bands and songs and organized shouts for favourite sons. But in Canada because the leader is chosen by the few, it is long before he is known to, and trusted by, the many.

Lord Bryce's book is full of wise maxims, the weighty product of a rich experience. It is an encyclopaedia of teaching in what should and what should not be done. This sober study is a call to the democratic nations to confront their intricate problems in the chastened mood of those who have dared to look facts in the face. There is nothing to cause despair, but there is equally nothing to cause any great exhilaration. It is comforting to know that in a great crisis the hearts of the people respond to the appeal for effort and sacrifice. For all time the spirit of the chief democracies during the great war will remain evidence that there is a nobility in the many which, when appealed to, will save the state. We know now that, in a great crisis, democracy is not weak but strong. It is in the daily humdrum that it proves weak. In personal affairs every one knows that vigilance in respect to small details, an insistent reëxamining and readjustment of methods, is necessary to security. The private citizen must husband carefully his resources or confront blank ruin. For the state the same watchful alertness is needed. But state problems are intricate. Only a few understand them. If these are men of the right type, and the people trust them, all is well. But here is the weakness of democracy. Wealth and leisure make excuses for holding aloof. Leaders of coarser type rush in, and the working of democracy falls to the level of such leaders. There is no cure but in the self-sacrifice of good men to take their share in public affairs. The people will trust and follow the best elements in the community if these will undertake the labour of leadership. It was so unlikely a person as Machiavelli who said that the people are more prudent and stable than a prince, and show better judgment.

Has democracy, asks Lord Bryce, done anything for the soul? We may, with conviction, answer Yes. It has taught the people, however blindly, to ponder the problems of their own well-being.

It has fostered self-reliance and dignity of character among those who feel that they possess their share of authority in the state. It is slowly teaching alertness in checking the aims of designing selfishness. It has made articulate the needs of the people, even if it has not always found a remedy. It has effected searching criticism in public affairs, even though this is sometimes by the means of a scandal-mongering press. It has been the real friend of widely-diffused education. To-day, as a result of the stirring of democracy, there has come a phase of real equality, that equality of opportunity to learn which has made it possible for the labourer to read the same books and newspapers as the peer and to become his equal in intelligence. If the people possess all the wisdom that there is in the nation this wisdom has whatever increase in volume reading may bring.

Democracy has not brought purity in public life. It may be charged that it has not fostered fraternity among peoples, though this is met by its frequent and sincere efforts to befriend the down-trodden in tyrant-ridden states. It has not produced content. The growth of democracy is one chief cause of the wide-spread unrest of to-day. But discontent is not a vice, if it aims at helpful improvement and not at mere destruction. Democracy has not ended the authority of the few. Rather has oligarchy won a new authority by its sometimes insidious cultivation of the consent of the many. But this after all is, as Napoleon was wont to say, despotism by the will of the people and not by divine right, and what the people can do they can learn to undo. The best test of the strength of democracy is in the answer to the question whether those who have lived under it would be willing to change to any other known form of government. A chamber, as Cavour said, is better than an ante-chamber. Under the worst evils of democracy the people are at least free to exercise their own judgment and to make effective their own decisions.

GEORGE M. WRONG

SOME REFLECTIONS ON ANONYMOUS ICONOCLASM[1]

THE historians of our post-war politics will have small excuse to undervalue the importance of personalities in the modern democratic state. Reticence and suspicion may continue to dwell in Record and Foreign Offices. Here and there a link may be lost by the obstinate loyalty to service rules of some soldier or permanent official who "resigned owing to ill-health", or by the tradition of cabinet honour that in the British commonwealths still steadfastly resists the easier ethics of the new journalism. But in the field of intimate biography we are building mighty stacks of straw for the makers of bricks. Contarini Fleming's "life without theory" has come into its own. Mr. Keynes and Mr. Lansing, Mrs. Asquith and Colonel Repington, Mr. Bullitt and Mr. Blunt, Sir Philip Gibbs and Captain Peter Wright—already their name is legion. Thus are laid the foundations of the new legends of our leaders in war. But *autres temps, autres moeurs*. The legends will not be Napoleonic; neither will they create Honest Abes.

The diarist, the apologist, the smasher of idols may be devoured by the intellectuals for their spice and their epigrams, and then thrown aside. But none the less they are potentially important as creators of a new *histoire intime*—such stuff as legends are made of. They have captured the public ear as triumphantly as the parliamentary sketch writer challenged the reporter of debate ten or fifteen years back. In the war and in the peace the spot light of modern publicity was thrown always and incessantly upon individuals—generals, prime ministers, presidents, kings. Through six of the most crowded years of history that great mystery, "reason of state," let in only such

[1] "A Gentleman with a Duster": *The Mirrors of Downing Street* (1920) and *The Glass of Fashion* (1921). London: Mills and Boon.

"Anonymous": *The Mirrors of Washington*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921.

"Domino": *The Masques of Ottawa*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1921.

light as might silhouette the persons of the drama. And the instinct for what the public wants would have been deficient indeed if the crew behind the footlights had missed the first opportunity to pick out for the great audience the features of such actors as they had watched "back-stage". It may be that temptation sometimes dulled discretion; that one or two have forgotten, in very delicate times, that a dangerous book written in English is a declaration of war on all democracy. But the future historian will know better than the contemporary how to appreciate the weight of this criticism. The veil-lifters are themselves nearly all public figures. They come out into the open when they hit; another hits back; and extravagances cancel out.

But another form of intimate history, now no less popular than autobiographical reminiscence of other people, will be more difficult to appraise. Its essence is anonymity, pessimism, iconoclasm. And if Junius is documentary evidence in one age, why not, in another, "A Gentleman with a Duster", who "became famous in twenty-four hours"?

The Mirrors of Downing Street has run through twelve editions in Great Britain alone. It is brilliant, savage, shocking. The disillusion that it breathes exactly suits the days of disenchantment in England and distrust in America. It washes enough dirty linen to be sensational, and claims a moral excuse for publication which makes men feel that dirty linen ought to be washed. It makes new statements of fact which, though undocumented by even the writer's name, have often every appearance of verisimilitude. Its innuendos are almost always skilful. The "Gentleman with a Duster" gravely apologizes that "inspired by a pure purpose, I might very easily have said far more than I have said". He was evidently behind the scenes; and while he chooses to remain just a "Gentleman with a Duster" it is not for us, but for the more cautious of our successors, to decide just how far behind the scenes he was.

If this book stood alone it might well have been treated, perhaps amiably, certainly not too gravely, as the reaction of the sight of aftermath upon a war worker. The author has been frequently likened by the reviewers to the Lytton Strachey of *Eminent Victorians*. The parallel seems superficial, for Mr. Strachey's opinions of Cardinal Manning or Florence Nightingale are documented, however pungent, while "A Gentleman with a Duster" has chosen to put a tremendous strain upon credulity.

But—granting the parallel—*Eminent Victorians* was an isolated *tour de force*; and Mr. Strachey the brilliant iconoclast is forgotten in Mr. Strachey the eminent historian. It is easy to imagine the trivialities about Queen Victoria's daily life that he might have made to pass for the background of his legend, and very deliberately ignored.

But *The Mirrors of Downing Street* does not stand alone. The publishers, and for that matter the public, saw to that. Within a few months "A Gentleman with a Duster" has given us a second edition of personalities, with more moralization and fewer epigrams. "Anonymous" has examined the *Mirrors of Washington*; and now "Domino" is poking holes in the *Masques of Ottawa*. These three anonymities have presented to the future historians ready-made judgments of the manners, the morals, and the motives of fifty-one of the outstanding figures of the democracies of England and North America. The studies are very provocative, and will almost certainly draw fire. A biographer of Mr. Balfour has already entered the lists to chastise the "Gentleman with a Duster". But the new *histoire intime* is becoming a cult. The time has come to weigh its value. It may be that the historian may be called on to decide very early in his researches whether any *histoire intime* is a safe guide to the study of the war generation.

The three writers have given us considerable variety by which to judge the new method. He of Downing Street takes as his central facts the winning of the war and the tragedy of the khaki peace. He of Washington focusses the attention primarily on the Republican triumph of 1920. He of Ottawa, calling the subject of his first sketch "the unelected Premier of Canada", has the forthcoming general elections with him in most of his pages. The first has certainly been in personal relationships of some kind with most of the big war and post-war figures in English politics; the second knows less about high policy in the United States, more about party machinery; the third is somewhat ostentatiously an outsider—"Do not imagine that I spend much time at once in Ottawa." A difference in method naturally follows. The sensationalism of the first book wanes in the second and is almost absent in that which deals with Canadian national figures. (This last book, by the way, in spite of some qualities missing in both the others, is in every way of less importance. It offers little that is not opinion, and opinion is not the *métier* of the intimate historian.) The Englishman, from his inside

position, talks the most small scandal and drags us down most often to the commonplace. Tit-bits like Lord Kitchener's lack of scruple in obtaining possession of *objets d'art*, or Mr. Lloyd George with "a cigar in the depths of an easy-chair, with Miss Megan Lloyd George on the arm, and a clever politician on the opposite side of the hearth", or Mr. Asquith "laughing deeply at a daring jest" are watered down by the time we reach Ottawa to the sartorial characteristics of premiers past and present. But it is fair also to say that the Englishman best appreciates the value of new facts (pending contradiction, they may be accepted as facts) in the serious estimation of public character.

However various their methods, the three arrive at one common conclusion that will have importance if they and their imitators really succeed in creating a post-war legend. They are out-and-out pessimists about the morals and intelligence displayed by democratic government under fire. Again, they approach by different roads. "A Gentleman with a Duster" would have us see in him a crusader believing that he must call on aristocracy to repent. "Domino" of Ottawa believes that "it is better to be a hopeful cynic, than a disgruntled idealist". "Anonymous" (from Washington) does not appear to believe in anything at all. But their gambits quickly lead to a single form of attack—smash the idols! They easily succeed in drawing an ugly picture. Men like Lord Carnock, Lord Fisher, Lord Rhondda, Mr. Root, are too gentlemanly, too big, too able, or too much interested, to be allowed to serve the state. The men on top are riddled with intellectual or moral infirmities. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith have lost the nonconformist conscience. The American Ambassador in London "lives on other peoples' weaknesses". Mr. Hoover has "no political intelligence". Sir Robert Borden "led by going alongside". "'Call me Jim' is the mental sea-level of the Republican administration." Mr. Root is the standing warning that "if you have an adroit and energetic mind . . . and must enter politics, hide it; otherwise democracy will distrust you. Whatever you do, be dull." "A man goes to Ottawa burning with zeal to inaugurate political liberation. Six months or a year produces sleeping-sickness." And so down go all the idols like nine-pins. There are a few survivors—Lord Haldane, whom democracy betrayed; Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, for whose "reinterment on the Supreme Bench" we are told the good Republican is beginning to pray; General Currie, the Canadian government's "worst D.S.C.R. problem"; and most of the

princes of industry and commerce. But of the politicians whom democracy allowed to win the war and make the peace, hardly one survives.

Now the business of the historian is to estimate values, and contemporary observers who destroy values are so many darkeners of counsel. Their present tendency threatens so to overemphasize the dead-level of democracy as utterly to misrepresent the political landscape. They rejoice to remove mountains of achievement and to set monuments upon the hillocks of might-have-been. For the "Gentleman with a Duster" the central British figure of the war and the peace is just "a man of straw". It is said of him that a scholar untried in practical politics is his ideal prime minister.

The advantages and disadvantages of anonymity have been widely canvassed. It will seldom appeal to the historian unless distinguished by continuous practice and coldly-reasoning impartiality, neither of which *desiderata* has yet been met by post-war writers. But there are two graver charges of malversation (for legend-making is a public trust), to be preferred against our intimate iconoclasts. First, they emphasize failure, and failure is the most dangerous criterion imaginable in a comparison between "ins" and "outs". No great harm can come *per se* of the exaggeration of good qualities in the occasional idol whom they have spared or built. But all proportion vanishes at once when, against the exaggeration of good in a few, they set the exaggeraton of bad in very many. They are far too ready to select bad qualities about which to be cynical. They pander to the inverted snobbery of the vulgar, which is tickled by being assured that the best that the state can find to honour are just common clay. They cannot, it would seem, always keep themselves untarnished by the atmosphere they create, for one of them offers us nothing more discouraging in his diatribe than the spectacle of his own failure tol ive up to his introductory homily when, at the end of several pages of circumstantial evidence about the villainy that compassed Lord Haldane's fall, he does not name—although he almost claims omniscience on the subject—the cads who "now sun themselves in the prosperity of public approval". On the other hand, his real contributions to history are studies in success—a picture of Mr. Lloyd George persuading munitions magnates to pool their secrets, another of Mr. Churchill risking political ruin by mobilizing the Grand Fleet at Lord Fisher's insistence without waiting to consult the cabinet. The truth

is that history is not made by pots calling kettles black. The only positive judgment of public character that is worth attention bases itself on the best that it can find to say, not the worst; on the achievement of the man, not upon his failure to be the superman. The great portrait-painter studies his subject in many moods, but the canvas shows but one—the strongest. It is not the master but the cartoonist who watches to catch his man in the looser moments for the sake of presenting to the public a design that matches his own conception or theirs, buff or blue. The result is in the first case the man, in the second a caricature.

This is the second objection to the methods of the writers of *histoire intime*, namely, that they range themselves with the cartoonists. The pencils of F. C. G. or Max Beerbohm have become the pens of men with an "uncanny power of vivid phrase-making". Concerned with the study not of normal people in normal times but of leaders burdened with unprecedented responsibilities, working under tremendous pressure, peculiarly susceptible to every kind of mental and physical reaction, the phrase-makers are trying to create legends by searching the occasional hour of relaxation for eccentricities and shortcomings in the common round of daily life. Triumphantly they catch the weary Titan off guard in his privacy, and think to prick thus the bubble of his public reputation.

The "Gentleman with a Duster" has made something of a fighting-ground of his assertion that Mr. Balfour's alleged indifference to servants is suitable and fair comment in an appraisal of his public career. Now the aphorism that "no man is a hero to his valet" is demonstrably far sounder than the proverb that "a prophet is not without honour save in his own country". The valet does not honour, not because he sees the intimate side of the man—(was Benjamin Disraeli no hero to Mary Wyndham Lewis?)—but because he is a valet. The valet resents variety; he can seldom appreciate that the absence of personal eccentricity is far more likely to be a vice than a virtue; and he never stops acting to keep up appearances.

One obsession in particular may beset the valet of the public man. He may never reconcile himself to that public man's duty to give every ounce of the best that is in him to the public, and to his consequent right to be judged by what he does for the public. The statements in the *Mirrors of Downing Street* may be true or they may be false. The defence of them in *The Glass of*

Fashion is woefully unconvincing. The point at issue, perfectly obvious in Mr. Raymond's retort, is the admissibility of private relationships of this kind as evidence of a public man's public character and service. The "Gentleman with a Duster" misses it entirely; but if there is really such a thing as the bar of history, is it conceivable that its verdict on public fame will be affected by kitchen gossip? There are few less agreeable personal traits than lack of consideration for domestic servants. But it would matter no more, in the next generation's estimate of his public character and utility, that Mr. Balfour should not have said good morning to his butler during the Peace Conference than that he should have read himself to sleep every night with detective novels while writing *The Philosophy of Doubt.* It is unfortunate that so great an admirer of Mr. Gladstone as the "Gentleman with a Duster" claims himself to be, has not realized the plain truth that there are hidden things in life that are very much better left hidden.

And so he who delves into the intimacies of public men's lives to find arguments of state is beset with snares. We may at least be grateful that "Domino" of Ottawa appears to see them and to draw back: "The little blank spots in Meighen's temperament are things that people like to talk about; when the same idioms [*sic*] in an average man would be set down as mild insanity." The new historian will remember with the new theologian that "Cain and Abel live on our street. Perhaps if we knew more about Abel we should be more tolerant to Cain." He will not mistake idols for gods. He will recall that an Athens may not only desire but need a Themistocles rather than an Aristides.

R. HODDER WILLIAMS

THE GOLD COLONY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

IT was in the early spring of 1858 that the gold rush to the Fraser River began. A new El Dorado had been discovered, and the wildest rumours were circulated in San Francisco and other American Pacific coast ports. This time the "strike" was on British territory, but that mattered but little to the Californian miners. It was enough for them that gold was to be had, and every ship clearing from San Francisco for Victoria and the Fraser River was crowded to capacity. The feverish excitement which then prevailed may be gauged by the following figures. In April 455 persons set sail from San Francisco bound for the new gold fields. In May the number was 1,262, but in June it jumped to 7,149. July saw the climax of the rush. The total for that month was 6,278, and of these 1,732 persons left San Francisco on a single day. By the middle of July the total number of miners in the gold district was over 30,000, but by August the fever had passed and only 254 set out in that month for the diggings.[1] The natural reaction had set in, and the reports being sent back from the Fraser were by no means so glowing as they had been.

It is to this gold rush that the settlement of the mainland of British Columbia is chiefly to be attributed. Before 1858 all that vast territory was practically a closed game preserve of the Hudson's Bay Company, the hunting grounds of half-breed and Indian trappers, a land of mountains, rivers, lakes, and primeval forests. There were a few forts along the Fraser and in New Caledonia, as northern British Columbia was then termed. There was some cultivation around the forts, for the Company was by no means blind to the possibilities of agriculture in British Columbia, but no attempt had been made, or contemplated, to induce settlers to cross the International boundary from Washington and Oregon. The fur-trader and the settler cannot exist long side by side, a fact which the Hudson's Bay Company, with

[1] Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, II, 17.

its Oregon experiences fresh in its mind, was by no means likely to forget.

Of course, the gold miners were prospectors and not settlers. Their main interest was centered in the "pan" and the "placer," the "dust" and the "nugget." By nature they were transients, ready to push on from sand bar to sand bar, ever intent on discovering the elusive "pay streak" along the banks, or even in the river bed, of the Fraser. But their coming meant the doom of the fur-trader and the establishment of permanent or semi-permanent "camps." Above all it meant the setting up of some sort of settled government in the new gold region.

At the time of the gold rush to the Fraser, the Hudson's Bay Company still reigned supreme over all Western Canada, from the Great Lakes to the Pacific. But its rule had lately been challenged, and it had hardly recovered from the investigation of 1857. The select Committee of the British House of Commons appointed in that year, headed by the Right Honourable Henry Labouchère, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and numbering among its influential members Mr. Gladstone, had reported in favour of ending in the year 1859 the exclusive sway of the Hudson's Bay Company over the vast territories west of the Great Lakes. It had also expressed itself of opinion that the connection of the Company with Vancouver Island, established by the Royal Grant of 1849, should be terminated as soon as was convenient, and that "means should also be provided for the ultimate extension of the colony [i.e., of Vancouver Island] over any portion of the adjoining continent to the west of the Rocky Mountains on which permanent settlement may be found practicable."[2] As events proved, the gold rush to the Fraser merely hastened the carrying out of this policy.

Before, however, we can investigate the reasons which led the imperial authorities to set up a separate government for the mainland and to create the colony of British Columbia, it will be well to outline the state of affairs in the neighbouring colony of Vancouver Island since this has direct bearing upon the early history of British Columbia. The Royal Grant of 1849 had made over to the Hudson's Bay Company sovereign rights over Vancouver Island, provided that the Company established there "a settlement or settlements of resident colonists."[3] The Company had

[2] *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. iv.
[3] *Vancouver Island Papers*, 1849, 103, p. 15.

lived up to the letter but not to the spirit of the agreement, and the few settlers who were on the Island, for the most part retired servants of the Company, were much dissatisfied with existing conditions.[4] In his evidence before the Select Committee in 1857, James Cooper, who had settled at Metchosen, Vancouver Island, stated that the population of the Island had decreased since he had been there, and attributed this fact to the maladministration of the Hudson's Bay Company. He went on to state that there was no encouragement for immigration into the country and that many people who had come to Vancouver Island had left it. He attacked the courts of justice set up by the Company, and considered the chief justice incompetent. Of course Cooper, although he had been for several years a member of Governor Douglas's council, was bitterly opposed to the Company, but his evidence is corroborated by that of other inhabitants of Vancouver Island. Land was sold for five dollars an acre, or four times the price demanded in neighbouring American territory. Moreover, the best land was held by the Hudson's Bay Company or its auxiliary the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, which had been formed to develop and manage the lands of the parent company, and the settlers usually had to go miles out from Victoria in order to get a patch to clear and cultivate. Alfred Waddington, in his *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, has put the case thus:[5]

> The truth is, the Company did not wish for colonists. Not that it refused to sell ground; on the contrary, any settler might go and choose it, when it was measured out to him and he paid for it. But as there was nobody but the Company to sell to or trade with, and as the Company only bartered, or seldom bought for cash, few wished, when their farm began to produce, to be obliged to exchange their goods for blankets, pots and pans, powder, or old muskets. In presence of all these objections many declined settling on the Island, and those who did without positively buying ground were treated as interlopers. Even to this day we are treated as interlopers, whilst foreigners are told that "they have not been invited".

[4] *Report*, p. 190. The Hudson's Bay Company asserted in 1852 that they had sold 1,478½ acres of land to 11 persons, and 19 more persons had applied for 2,355 acres, land which was being surveyed. During the same time the Hudson's Bay Company and its subsidiary, the Puget Sound Company, had "at their own expense, respectively sent out 271 males with 80 females and 84 children belonging to them. These men were chiefly agricultural labourers, the remainder were farm bailiffs, miners and mechanics" (*Vancouver Island Papers*, 1852, 83, p. 2). These facts are eloquent.

[5] Alfred Waddington, *The Fraser Mines Vindicated, or the History of Four Months*, Vancouver, 1858, p. 34.

The government of the Island was vested in a governor, a council, and an assembly. The first governor, Richard Blanchard, had been sent out from England by the imperial authorities in exercise of a right reserved by the Royal Charter of 1849. Blanchard's appointment had been made against the wishes of the Company, and his régime was unique in the annals of British Columbia. Having tried for two years to exist in a totally impossible position, in which his chief official duties were confined to writing despatches or acting in the capacity of a justice of the peace, with no place to reside except on ship-board or in the Hudson's Bay forts as an unwelcome guest, and with no salary from which to meet even necessary expenses, Blanchard retired in 1851, with more dignity than solvency, to the Home Land. He reappeared in 1857 as a witness against the Company which had treated him so shabbily. His successor in the governorship was James Douglas, the well-known chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who from 1849 on had been the real ruler from Fort Victoria both of Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia.

Douglas was assisted by a council of three, which increased to four in April, 1853. It is noted by Waddington that all the members of council had been or were servants of the Company. As the published minutes of the council amply testify, the chief duty of that body was to assent to acts introduced for its consideration by the governor. The council can hardly be said to have represented the people.

Nor was the Assembly, which was set up in 1856 and elected on a very restricted franchise, much more representative. It contained seven members, six of whom had been connected with either the Hudson's Bay Company or the Puget Sound Agricultural Company.[6] The Assembly went through the motions of carrying on popular government, but that is the best that can be said for it.

The real ruler of the Island was, therefore, the governor and chief factor, James Douglas. He was well fitted for his rôle of czar. His bust in the Provincial Archives at Victoria gives one a fair conception of the man. The firm set mouth, the erect chin, the heavy nose, and the shaggy brows, proclaim him to have been

[6] De Cosmos, in the *British Colonist*, December, 1858, states that "only one was wholly independent, the others were either Hudson's Bay Company or Puget Sound Company servants".

a master of men. Neither by nature nor by training was he a democrat. There is no doubt that he did much for British Columbia, and that the province owes him an eternal debt of gratitude, for a strong hand was needed to guide the destinies of the infant colonies. He ruled Vancouver Island and British Columbia and governed them well at a time when a weak man would have shipwrecked everything, but he always belonged to the old school. The best years of his life had been spent in the service of the Great Company, and he remained to the end in reality, if not in name, the chief factor over the Western Department.

Such was the man and such was the government which had to cope with the gold rush on the Fraser. Actually, in point of law, on account of the Royal Grant of 1849, the government of Vancouver Island had no authority over the mainland of British Columbia. But if, as the governor of Vancouver Island, James Douglas had not the actual sovereignty over the new gold fields, as the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, he had, if not authority over the miners, none the less control over the fur-trade, and still maintained practically supreme sway over the Indians. The miners were bound to come at once into contact, if not into conflict, with the Indians and the fur-traders. In addition, the bulk of them on their way to the Fraser were likely to land at Victoria, which was then the capital of Vancouver Island, and the natural port for the mainland.

That quiet and aristocratic city, or village as it was then, was profoundly stirred by the arrival of the American gold searchers. Waddington has left us a vivid description of conditions on his arrival there.[7]

> On landing in Victoria we found a quiet village of about 800 inhabitants. No noise, no bustle, no gamblers, no speculators or interested parties to preach up this or underrate that. A few quiet, gentlemanly-behaved inhabitants, chiefly Scotchmen, secluded as it were from the whole world, and reminding one forcibly of the line of Virgil,
>
> "Et pene toto divisos ex orbe Britannos."[8]
>
> Though not perhaps so shrewd as Californians, they evidently understood the advantages of the situation, were quietly awaiting the results, and more or less acquainted with the country seemed

[7] *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, p. 15.

[8] So Waddington; the correct version of the quotation is, "Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos" (Virgil, Eclogue 1, line 67).

rather surprised that a people so sharp as the Californians were supposed to be, should be running after such an impossible bubble as the Bellingham Bay trail.[9] As to business there was none; the streets were grown over with grass, and there was not even a cart. Goods there were none, nor in the midst of this "Comedy of Errors" had a single California merchant thought of sending a single bag of flour to Victoria! The consequence was that shortly after our arrival the bakers were twice short of bread, and we were obliged to replace it first by pilot bread and afterwards with soda crackers.

Nor was this the only trouble of the California miners. They soon found that the governor and chief factor James Douglas was by no means ready to throw open the new gold country to them; in fact Douglas had, as early as December, 1857, issued a proclamation closing the new gold fields except on certain conditions. This proclamation laid down the absolute rights of the Crown to "all mines of gold and all gold in its natural place of deposit within the districts of Fraser's and Thompson's Rivers" and added that "all persons who shall take from any lands within the said districts any gold, metal, or ore containing gold, without being duly authorized in that behalf by Her Majesty's Colonial Government, will be prosecuted both criminally and civilly as the law allows."[10] In issuing this proclamation Douglas exceeded his authority, for his commissions as governor of Vancouver Island and lieutenant-governor of the Queen Charlotte Islands did not extend to the mainland. This fact he recognized, for in his despatch to the Colonial Office reporting the above proclamation he included the following sentence: "Moreover, should Her Majesty's Government not deem it advisable to enforce the rights of the Crown, as set forth in the proclamation, it may be allowed to fall to the ground and become a dead letter."[11]

Needless to say, the governor did not publish this proviso in the colony, but waited till he received a reply from the Colonial Secretary, Labouchère. In the meantime, as might readily be expected, the publication of the proclamation was rather a staggerer to the seekers after the new El Dorado. Their feelings can be imagined when they learned that the license fee imposed had been fixed in December, 1857, at 10 shillings per month, to be paid in advance. That fee, incidentally, was soon raised to 21

[9] This was an alternative route for the gold fields, an overland trail through Washington Territory.

[10] *Gold Discovery Papers*, 1858, p. 9.

[11] *Ibid.*

shillings a month. It was only too evident that Douglas was determined to keep the gold rush and the gold fields under rigid control. A perusal of his correspondence with Labouchère clearly shows this. When the first gold strike within British territory was reported to Douglas in March, 1856, by Angus McDonald, clerk in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at Fort Colvile in the Upper Columbia District, Douglas had written to Labouchère[12] suggesting the possibility of a tax on all persons engaged in gold digging and pointing out the impossibility of levying such a tax without the aid of military force. To this Labouchère had replied on August 4, 1856, advising against the imposition of such a tax, but leaving to Douglas discretion "to determine the best means of preserving order in the event of any considerable increase of population flocking into this new gold district", and asking for full information from time to time on the subject. In July, 1857, Douglas reported to Labouchère[13] that the Indian tribes of Thompson's River had lately taken "the high-handed, though probably not unwise course, of expelling all the parties of gold diggers, composed chiefly of persons from the American territories who had forced an entrance into their country". The natives apparently wished to monopolize the gold deposits for their own benefit and feared lest the influx of gold miners would interfere with the annual salmon runs in the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. To the Hudson's Bay chief factor the Indian trade was of more importance than gold-digging.

In this connection it is interesting to note the attitude taken towards the Douglas régime by Amor De Cosmos in his editorial in the first number of the *British Colonist*, under the date of December 11, 1858. De Cosmos was, of course, the champion of political reform, and one of the greatest opponents of Douglas and his administration, which he denounced as the "Family-Company-Compact". He was, none the less, one of the ablest and most independent men in Vancouver Island, and he later became, after Confederation, a prime minister of the province of British Columbia. His opinion of Douglas's administration was as follows:

> We do believe that no man ever had a more favourable opportunity to distinguish himself as a statesman than Governor Douglas. Everything conspired in his favour. Gold was discovered in British

[12] Douglas to Labouchère, April 16, 1856, *Gold Discovery Papers*, p. 5; Labouchère to Douglas, *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

[13] Douglas to Labouchère, July 15, 1857, *Gold Discovery Papers*, p. 7.

> Columbia. Tens of thousands came eager to engage in the introduction of all the appliances of civilization, and thus lay in a few weeks the foundation of a nation in a land almost unknown. Nothing was required but mind to organize, and the disposition to use it. Governor Douglas was the most prominent person here at this auspicious season. He was the only one who could with colour of right interfere. Had he then taken due advantage of that happy combination of circumstances, history would have ranked him with Clive and with Hastings; he would have received the merited honour of adding a bright jewel to the British Crown. Had he then proved himself a statesman, he would have been clearly entitled to a special reward at the hands of his Sovereign. To-day he would have been the most popular man in these colonies. His life would have been honoured; his death lamented; and his name imperishable.
>
> Unfortunately for these colonies, Governor Douglas was not equal to the occasion. He wanted to serve his country with honour, and at the same time preserve the grasping interests of the Hudson's Bay Company inviolate. In trying to serve two masters he was unsuccessful as a statesman. His administration was never marked by those broad and comprehensive views of government, which were necessary to the times and to the foundation of a great colony. It appeared sordid; was exclusive and anti-British; and belonged to a past age. A wily diplomacy shrouded all. An Administration so marked—one with a doubtful claim to "exclusive trade and navigation"—could not well be other than unpopular, and unsuccessful.

De Cosmos was right when he said that "Douglas was not equal to the occasion". Douglas's dual position as chief factor and governor was wholly impossible, and he had not yet been forced by the imperial government to choose which office he would hold. In the meantime, he tried unsuccessfully to serve two masters, and to protect the "exclusive trade and navigation" of the Hudson's Bay Company. This meant that restrictions and regulations were to be placed upon the entrance into British Columbia of the California miners.

But, regulations to the contrary notwithstanding, nothing could possibly have kept back the tide of prospectors, and they poured in during the spring and summer of 1858 by overland trails and by steamship to Victoria and Port Townsend and Whatcom, Washington. Many of them endeavoured to cross from Victoria to the mouth of the Fraser in skiffs, whaleboats,

and canoes.[14] Numbers of these enthusiasts seem to have perished in the tide-rips in the straits and gulf of Georgia. At first the only steamship accommodation allowed was provided by the Hudson's Bay Company's steamers, but a little later Douglas, on the payment of a royalty for each trip, permitted American steamers to enter the Fraser. He even entered into negotiations with the United States Mail Steam Ship Company, which had been operating along the Californian coast, whereby the American company should place steamers on the navigable route between Victoria and the Falls of Fraser River, one hundred and thirty miles from the mouth of the Fraser. These steamers should carry the Hudson's Bay Company goods into the Fraser River, and no other; furthermore, they should carry no passengers except those who had "taken out and paid for a gold mining license and permit from the Government of Vancouver Island". In addition, the American company was to pay to the Hudson's Bay Company, as compensation, two dollars head money for every person carried into the Fraser River. In return for all this, the United States Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company was to enjoy all profits from river transport. Nothing could show more clearly than this arrangement Douglas's position towards the Company, the imperial government, and the unwelcome miners.

Nor was this all. Douglas on May 8, 1858, issued a proclamation stating that it was reported that "certain boats and other vessels have entered Fraser's River for trade" and "warning all persons that all such acts are contrary to law, and infringements upon the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, who are legally entitled by law to trade with Indians in the British possessions on the north-west coast of America, to the exclusion of all other persons, whether British or Foreign". The proclamation then went on to state that after fourteen days from that date "all ships, boats and vessels, together with the goods laden on board, found in Fraser's River or in any of the bays, rivers, or creeks of the said British possessions on the north-west coast of America, not having a license from the Hudson's Bay Company, and a suffrance from the proper officer of the Customs at Victoria, shall be liable to forfeiture and will be seized and condemned according to law".[15]

Fortunately for British Columbia, when Douglas's despatches

[14] Bancroft, *British Columbia*, p. 364.

[15] *B. C. Papers*, Pt. I, p. 12: Enclosure in No. 1, Douglas to Stanley, May 19, 1858.

reached London two months later, the new Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the distinguished novelist, was by no means ready to accept such cavalier action on the part of the chief factor and governor. On July 16, 1858, we find Lytton writing to Douglas in no unmeasured terms. He disallowed the Proclamation of May 8, and also disapproved of the terms proposed to the Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company. At the same time he laid down certain rules for Douglas to follow. These rules, since they show forth, very completely, the policy of the Colonial Office regarding the difficult situation created by the discovery of gold on the mainland, are quoted in full:[16]

> In strict law, your Commission extends to Vancouver's Island only; but you are authorized under the necessity of the case, to take such measures, not inconsistent with the general rights of British subjects and others within Her Majesty's Dominions.
>
> I approve, therefore, of your having detached an officer of the Customs from Vancouver's Island (if the intention announced in your Despatch was carried into execution) for the purpose of preventing the landing in Fraser's River of articles prohibited under the Customs Laws to which you refer.[17]
>
> Subject to this restriction Her Majesty's Government wish no obstacle to be interposed to the disembarkment of passengers and goods at the mouth of Fraser's River by foreign vessels.
>
> But it is necessary to maintain the principle, that the navigation of Fraser's River above the mouth is open in law to British vessels only. American or other foreign vessels, therefore, if admitted to navigate the River (to which it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government that no unnecessary obstacles should be interposed) should be required to take a license from yourself or such officer as you may delegate for the purpose.
>
> But I must distinctly warn you against using the powers hereby intrusted to you in maintenance of the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company in the territory.
>
> The Company is entitled, inder its existing licence, to the exclusive trade with the Indians, and possesses no other right or privilege whatever.

[16] *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 42, Lytton to Douglas, July 16, 1858.

[17] Douglas had in his despatch of May 19 stated that he had placed a customs officer at the mouth of the Fraser in order to prevent the entrance of such goods as spirits, arms, ammunition, "and other prohibited and noxious articles". These goods were prohibited by the customs laws as extended to the British possessions in America, and their entrance was an infringement of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company.

> It is, therefore, contrary to law, and equally contrary to the distinct instructions which I have to convey to you, to exclude any class of persons from the territory, or to prevent any importation of goods into it, on the ground of apprehended interference with this monopoly—still more to make any Governmental regulations subservient to the Revenues or interests of the Company.

This is fairly strong language for such an eminently prosaic and proper thing as a Colonial Office despatch, but it was apparent to the Home authorities that Douglas had in his dual capacity been unable to be perfectly just both to the imperial government and to the Hudson's Bay Company. It was hardly to be expected that Douglas, who had been connected with the fur-trading monopoly for fully thirty years before he took upon himself the office of colonial governor, would turn his back on the Great Company. None the less Douglas was a loyal British subject and was intent upon setting up a strong and legitimate form of government among the miners of the Fraser River. It is typical of Douglas not only that he accepted Lytton's instructions and acted on them forthwith, but that he also quoted in his defence the despatch of the Duke of Newcastle, dated October 22, 1853, in support of the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company. He then claimed that the proclamation of May 8, 1858, was based on Newcastle's opinion, voiced in that despatch, that it would be prudent for Douglas to issue a proclamation warning all persons against the consequences of infringement of the Hudson's Bay Company's rights and forbidding foreigners from fishing within three miles of the shore. The old chief factor was not willing to submit too tamely to the new interpretation of the Company's rights which Lytton had formulated from the Colonial Office.

For a matter of fact, there were three possible solutions for this new and vexed constitutional and administrative problem. The first was to extend the authority of the government of Vancouver Island over the mainland of British Columbia. This would have been, except for one insuperable obstacle, the easiest and least expensive solution. The Royal Grant of 1849, however, still remained in force, and Her Majesty's government was by no means ready to hand over the mainland as well as the island to the Hudson's Bay Company. The second solution was probably the most obvious, but as affairs then stood the least workable. This was to annul the Royal Grant of 1849 at once and to create a new crown colony including both the Island and the mainland. To this there were several objections, among them

being the different economic conditions in the two localities. Vancouver Island was, and would probably remain, chiefly agricultural. The gold fever was prevalent on the mainland which, except for the mining camps and Hudson's Bay Company's forts, was still a vast wilderness. It would be years before it could become an agricultural country. Thus the only thing to do was to erect the mainland of British Columbia into a separate crown colony. This was accordingly done by the Act of August 2, 1858.

That Act, which was the Magna Carta of the mainland, laid down what were to be the boundaries, administration, and legal system of the new colony. The boundaries of the new colony[18] were to stretch from the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Georgia on the west to the summit of the Rocky Mountains on the east, and from the American border on the south to the Simpson (now the Naas) and the Finlay Rivers on the north. The Queen Charlotte Islands were included, but Vancouver Island was to be excluded. The government was to consist of a governor and, "as soon as Her Majesty should deem it convenient," a legislature. The legislature was to consist of the governor and a council, or a council and an assembly. In the meantime the governor was to be empowered "to make provision for the administration of justice" and "generally to make, ordain, and establish all such laws, institutions, and ordinances as may be necessary for the peace, order, and good government of Her Majesty's subjects and others" within the colony. The proviso was added that all orders of Her Majesty's Privy Council concerning British Columbia, and also all laws and ordinances made by the colonial governor, should be laid before both houses of parliament.

Other important clauses of the Act provide for the appeals of civil suits from the courts of British Columbia to the British Privy Council, and also for the inclusion of Vancouver Island in the colony of British Columbia. The latter event, however, could only take place providing that a joint address from both houses of the legislature of Vancouver Island was presented to Her Majesty asking for the annexation of that island to British Columbia. The last clause of the Act made provision that it should remain in force until December 31, 1862, and that its expiration was not to interfere with the boundaries, right of appeals or certain other privileges laid down in the Act.

It will be seen that this Act gave very wide powers to Governor

[18] *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, no. 1, p. 1.

Douglas, who was, as might have been expected, appointed governor of the new crown colony. His position on the mainland was now legalized, and he was enabled to make provision for the setting up of local magistrates and the levying of taxes and customs duties. One condition, however, had been attached by the Home government to Douglas's acceptance of his new governorship. He was to be governor of both Vancouver Island and British Columbia, provided that he completely severed all connections with the Hudson's Bay Company. In a confidential letter dated July 16, 1858,[19] Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton lays down this condition, at the same time promising Douglas a six years term as governor of British Columbia and also a salary of £1,000 a year. He also promised that Douglas's interests in the matter of his salary as governor of Vancouver Island would not be overlooked. It is typical of Douglas that in his reply[20] he states that the £1,000 salary offered to him as governor of British Columbia "is manifestly insufficient for that purpose, in this very expensive country", and suggests the sum of £5,000 as an inclusive salary for both governments. He announced at the same time that he had severed all connections with the old company. To this Lytton replied, naming £1,800 as salary for the dual position, but allowing a further colonial grant. This grant was soon fixed at £3,000, so that Douglas obtained very nearly what he had requested.

One cannot, at this point, turn away from the legal enactments and resultant correspondence which set up the new Gold Colony, without pausing to comment on its name. As is well known, it was Queen Victoria who bestowed the title of British Columbia upon the Pacific Province, just as it was she who later named its capital New Westminster. Her Majesty's reasons, as set forth in her letter to Bulwer Lytton dated Osborne, July 24, 1858, are very interesting.[21] Having noted that objection had been taken to the name of New Caledonia, by which title the mainland was usually designated, although New Caledonia was more properly the northern interior of British Columbia, Queen Victoria objected to the various names bestowed by Captain Vancouver and his brother navigators, New Hanover, New Cornwall, and New Georgia. She avowed that the only name given on all the maps which she had consulted was "Columbia". In order to dis-

[19] *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 43.
[20] *B. C. Papers*, Pt. II, p. 1.
[21] *Queen Victoria's Letters*, vol. iii, p. 296.

tinguish this new Columbia from all other Columbias, Her Majesty therefore named the infant colony "British Columbia".

It will now be well to survey the actual extent of the new colony and to enumerate the principal gold fields. The Fraser was, and remained, the main artery of the colony, and along its banks, and in its bed, were situated many of the chief diggings. From the mouth of the river to Fort Langley, a distance of twenty-five miles, no diggings at all occurred. Between Fort Langley and Fort Hope, a distance of sixty-nine miles, they were fairly numerous, the lowest which produced gold in paying quantities being "Fargo's Bar, a mile above Sumas village."[22] From Fort Hope to Fort Yale, which were situated about thirteen miles apart, the bars were very frequent and also very productive. The best known of these sand-bars was Hill's Bar, "the earliest-worked, longest-worked, largest and best-paying bar on the Fraser."[23] From Fort Yale the diggings stretched north for fifty-five miles to the junction of the Fraser and the Thompson, a point then known as the Forks, but afterwards named Lytton in honour of the Colonial Secretary. North of Lytton prospectors had in the first few months gone almost as far as Fort George, but the most northerly diggings, when Waddington published his pamphlet in November 1858, were at the Fountain, six miles above the Big Falls of the Fraser and about sixty miles north of Lytton. In fact, the whole country drained by the Fraser and its tributaries, especially the Thompson, had been scoured by the prospectors. The great Cariboo gold-fields were not discovered until late in 1859 and early in 1860. But in the meantime the Fraser had been examined as far north as one hundred and fifty miles beyond Fort George, and Douglas, writing to the Duke of Newcastle in October 1859,[24] reported that men were making from 20 to 25 shillings a day from each bar in that vicinity. It had also been found that the Quesnel River was far richer than the main stream and that as much as £40 a day could be made in the "rich strikes". In fact, there were rumours of gold as remote as "Tête Jaune's Cache" (or the "Yellowhead" country) on the western slopes of the main chain of the Rocky Mountains. To the frenzied imagination of the moment, the bulk of the interior of British Columbia seemed one gigantic pay streak.

As might have been expected, the population was extremely

[22] Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, vol. ii, p. 39.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Douglas to Newcastle, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 3, p. 65.

unstable. Thousands had, as we have seen, rushed to the diggings in the spring and early summer of 1858, only to be disappointed. The gold was literally in the Fraser, and could not be got at until the autumn, when the river had fallen and the sand-bars were exposed. That meant several weary months of waiting, and many of the miners left the lower Fraser diggings in disgust, or pushed on further north to points where "dry diggings" were possible. The *Victoria Gazette* in its first number, dated June 25, 1858, thus recorded affairs at Fort Hope:

> Matters at Fort Hope remained in the same condition as at previous advices. The majority of the miners were waiting for the river to fall. Some were working the river banks. A party of one hundred and fifty miners started out on the trail to Thompson River, with a view to locating in that vicinity. . . .

Provisions were very scarce, and prices were outrageously high on the Fraser, and this had much to do with the rapid shifting of population. Flour was worth $60 a barrel at Fort Hope, sugar 50 cents a pound, and other articles were in proportion. Waddington, in his *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, quoted figures to show the preposterous prices charged:[25]

> Beans which are worth 1½ cents in Victoria, and would cost at most 5 cents at Port Douglas, sell for one dollar per pound at the end of the Trail. Bacon is worth two dollars a pound, or to be more exact there is none; flour seventy-five cents a pound, boots twenty to twenty-five dollars per pair, and blankets the same. Nobody can be astonished at miners leaving when they have to pay such prices, and are so uncertain of their existence into the bargain.

Of course, against these huge prices must be placed the large amounts of gold obtained. Douglas, in his despatch of June 10, 1858,[26] reported that at Hill's Bar four men had, with a rocker, produced in six hours a hundred dollars worth of gold, and that the average miner made anywhere from two and a half to twenty-five dollars a day. A little later in the season, after sluicing had been attempted, much larger sums were made. In his despatch of October 12, 1858, Douglas records that a "Mr. Cushing, who had five hired men employed on his sluice at wages ranging from five to eight dollars a day, received, in one week, a yield of 2,500 dollars".[27] It is interesting to note that inferior claims which

[25] Waddington, *Fraser Mines Vindicated*, p. 25.
[26] Douglas to Stanley, June 10, 1858, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 13.
[27] Douglas to Lytton, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. II, p. 5.

yielded only from two and a half to five dollars a day, were not considered worth working. As Douglas puts it: "That yield, however, is not considered wages by the Californian miner, nor any sum under six dollars a day". As usual, high prices and high wages went together.

In the same despatch Douglas mentions the necessity for the government building good roads to and from the diggings. This was essential if the country was to be colonized.

At first the only means of communication between the diggings and the outside world was along the Fraser. Steamers managed somehow to get as far as Fort Hope. The *Victoria Gazette* tells us that

> The steamer "Sea Bird" has managed to reach Fort Hope by dint of the most severe driving. Her progress up is reported to have been of the most curious character; sometimes the current would get the better of the battle and the steamer would drift astern in spite of herself. On her return she struck on a point ten miles below Fort Hope, and some of the passengers on the "Surprise" inform us that it is a matter of doubt whether she will be got off, as the river henceforth is more likely to fall than to rise.

From Hope onward the miner took his life in his hand if he attempted the Fraser Canyon in a canoe. Fortunately it was possible to provide a substitute for this almost impassable route. This was by means of the Harrison-Lillooet trail, *via* Douglas. This trail left the Fraser at Harrison River, crossed Harrison Lake, then ran by road over the Birkenhead Portages, "and thence *via* Lake Anderson-Seton to the crossing of the Fraser at the point where the village of Lillooet was afterwards founded".[28] This trail cut off the worst part of the Fraser rapids, and it is interesting to note that the road from the head of Harrison Lake was largely constructed by the miners themselves, five hundred of whom volunteered for this service. So valuable was this new trail that to it Anderson claims that "the whole after progress of the Colony may be attributed".[29] After the construction of the road along the Fraser, the Harrison-Lillooet trail was practically abandoned but not before it had done much for the opening up of the new colony.

During 1858 the centre of mining activities was between Hope and Yale. By 1859 it had shifted north to between Lytton and

[28]Anderson, *North-West Coast*, p. 45.
[29]Anderson, *North-West Coast*, p. 46.

Lillooet, and by 1860 and 1861 the chief claims were being staked in the new Cariboo gold-fields. The bulk of the mining population very naturally shifted north during these years. In September, 1858, there were, according to Douglas's estimates,[30] 3,000 miners between Hope and Yale, of which 2,000 were at or near Yale, and there were 10,000 in the whole colony.[31] In October, 1859, the mining population between Hope and Yale had, according to Douglas's report,[32] fallen to 600 persons. Over 800 were to be found in the region between Yale and the Fountain, while about 1,000 men were working the claims between Alexandria, Quesnel and Fort George, including the Quesnel River. Later on in 1860 and 1861 occurred the great rush to the Cariboo, which proved to be the real El Dorado of British Columbia.

Such was the extent of the new colony, a long ribbon of mining camps stretching from the lower bars of the Fraser to the creeks of Cariboo. It was essential that some form of stable government be established as soon as possible. Even before the British House of Commons in August, 1858, had passed the Act creating the crown colony of British Columbia, the miners in the vicinity of Yale, mindful of the procedure in the California camps, had, in July, set themselves to law-making. A "Miners' Meeting" was held, which proceeded to legislate against the sale of liquor without a license and the sale of fire-arms to the Indians.[33] This meeting, irregular as it was, may be claimed as the first instance of representative government in the mainland of British Columbia.

But Governor Douglas was already making plans for the government of the mainland. In June, 1858, he had appointed Richard Hicks as revenue officer at Yale, George Perrier as justice of the peace at Hill's Bar, and O. Trevillot as revenue officer at

[30] *B. C. Papers*, Pt. II, pp. 5-6, Douglas to Lytton.

[31] This was only one-third of the number present in July, 1858, the high-water mark of the gold rush. Macdonald (*British Columbia and Vancouver's Island*, p. 80), gives the following figures as estimates of the mining population in British Columbia:

White population	in	1858-	17,000
"	"	" 1859-	8,000
"	"	" 1860-	7,000
"	"	" 1861-	5,000

"Of these", he adds, "about a sixth are British subjects, either from the Mother-country or the provinces".

[32] *B. C. Papers*, Pt. III, p. 67, Lytton to Newcastle.

[33] *Cf.* Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, II, 33, quoting the *Victoria Gazette*, Aug. 4, 1858.

Lytton.[34] These appointments were duly confirmed by Lytton in his despatch of August 14, 1858,[35] as was also that of Mr. Young as gold commissioner. The Home government was, however, by no means ready to give Douglas too free a hand in the appointment of officers for the new colony. Lytton states in the same despatch that he proposes sending out a collector of customs, and also a judge, who was afterwards to hold the office of chief justice in the colony. To preserve order among the gold-camps it was proposed to send out[36] "an officer of the Royal Engineers (probably a Field Officer with two or three subalterns) and a company of Sappers and miners, made up to 150 men, non-commissioned officers and men". These engineers were to play a great part in the development of the new colony.

Before the Royal Engineers arrived, as they did in October and November, 1858,[37] James Douglas had received his commission as governor. It was not before the time, since he had already been forced by circumstances to assume that rôle. At the end of August, 1858, he left Victoria, and he arrived at Fort Hope on September 1. There he found considerable excitement on account of Indian troubles. The miners and the Indians had clashed, and blood had been shed. Douglas at once proceeded to enforce law and order. He issued a proclamation forbidding the sale of liquor to the Indians, and proceeded to appoint officers of the peace. At Yale he reduced the price of flour from $13.00 to $10.50 a barrel, and other goods in proportion, and guaranteed to the miners that the price would not be over $11.00 a barrel during the coming winter.[38]

At the same time he appointed three commissioners to try one William King on a charge of murder. There was as yet no judge in British Cloumbia, and so Douglas took upon himself authority to set up a court. The prisoner was convicted for manslaughter, but afterwards escaped. Law and order were vindicated, although the legality of the court can be questioned.

At length Douglas's commission arrived, and it seemed advisable to him to pay an official visit to the new colony and to

[34]These appointments, and especially that of Hicks, were vigorously attacked by Amor De Cosmos in the *British Colonist*. Hicks seems to have been none too honest in the discharge of his official duties.

[35]Lytton to Douglas, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 47.

[36]Lytton to Douglas, *B. C. Papers*, Pt. 1, p. 44.

[37]Howay, *The Royal Engineers in British Columbia*, p. 2.

[38]*B. C. Papers*, Pt. II, p. 5.

inaugurate formally the government of British Columbia. This was accordingly done. On November 16, 1858, the governor, accompanied by Rear-Admiral Baynes, David Cameron, chief justice of Vancouver Island, Matthew Bailey Begbie, the new judge of British Columbia, and Captain Parsons, with a detachment of the Royal Engineers, left Victoria. Three days later, on November 19, 1858, the inaugural ceremony took place at New Fort Langley in the rain. The governor's party landed from the historic Hudson's Bay steamship *Beaver*. A salute of eighteen guns was fired, and the Union Jack run up. The governor delivered his commission as judge to Begbie, and then read his own commission as Governor. Judge Begbie next administered the oaths of office and allegiance, and Douglas read a proclamation dated November 3,[39] "revoking the Hudson's Bay Company's license of exclusive trade with the Indians so far as the new colony was concerned". This was followed by three other proclamations. This first announced the Act for the government of British Columbia. The second indemnified the governor and all persons for all acts done prior to that date. The last declared that the civil and criminal laws of England, as they then existed, should be enforced in the colony.

Thus the colony of British Columbia was finally launched, and its government made legal. After some delay the site for the new capital was picked, and the name New Westminster bestowed upon it by Queen Victoria. In the foundation of the capital and in opening up the country generally, the Royal Engineers played an heroic part. The great Cariboo waggon-road was constructed and other roads were pushed into the interior. A legislative council was created, and did its part in advising the absentee governor, for Douglas still continued to reside in Victoria. Even a mint was established, although the gold struck was never put into circulation.

Douglas remained governor of British Columbia until 1864, when his term expired, and he was succeeded by Governor Seymour. It had been decided to appoint separate governors for the two colonies. Douglas's régime had extended from the foundation of the colony until a time when it was well on the way to prosperity. His firm hand had guided the helm of state through treacherous waters, and to him British Columbia owes much. Yet he was never very popular on the mainland during his ad-

[39]Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, II, 54.

ministration. One reason was his continued residence in Victoria. The mainland colony desired a resident governor. Another reason was his rather unbending character. Bancroft records that in Victoria he was usually followed by a guard in uniform. This touch was typical of him. It was suited to an old colonial governor, but was out of place in a rising young democracy such as the Gold Colony was rapidly becoming.

WALTER N. SAGE

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Eye-Witnesses' Accounts of the British Repulse at Ticonderoga

The two letters which follow are of interest in that they give an account of the British repulse at Ticonderoga in July, 1758, written immediately after the event by officers who had taken part in the battle. The letters do not throw on the engagement any new light, but they make the light a little brighter, and the views of Abercromby's ineptitude which have been adopted by most historians are confirmed. The disaster was directly due, first, to Abercromby's lack of reconnaissance, and secondly, to his failure to use his artillery, which could have enfiladed the French stockade from its position on Mount Defiance, and rendered it untenable. In fact, if Montcalm had intelligence of the possession of artillery by the British, his taking up the position he did was an error which would have cost him dear had he been opposed by a better general than Abercromby.

The letters are preserved in the MSS. Department of the British Museum (Add. MSS., 21,643), and form part of the Haldimand Bequest (1857). The first letter is addressed to "Francis Halket, Esq., Brigade Major at Carlisle", and is endorsed in another hand, "Letter to Major Halkett concerning the repulse at Ticonderoga". The second letter is addressed in the same way, with the addition of the word "Express".

The sender of the letters, Alexander Colden, was probably the son of Cadwallader Colden, lieutenant-governor of New York, 1761-1776, and brother of the David Colden who is found writing to General Haldimand on August 10, 1783, introducing and recommending his nephew, Stephen De Lancey, on the ground of his father's friendship with the general.

C. E. Lart

[*Transcripts*]

(1)

From New York
July 17, 1785.

To Major Halket, Brigade Major, Carlisle.

Dear Sir,

No doubt by the time this can reach you, you'll have heard of the repulse of our Army at the French entrenchments before Tieconderoga. I have not time to collect all the Particulars, but send you a Copy of two letters which are as particular as any I have seen: they were wrote to Dr Midleton who desires his compts to you, and has given me leave to copy them for your perusal.

"Lake George. 10 July, 1758.

"The 5th inst. the whole army embarked on board Battoes, and the 6th in the morning landed without oppn. at the French advanced guard. The same day in the afternoon as our army was advancing to Tieconderoga our advanced guard was attacked by 350 of the enemy, few of whom escaped to carry intelligence back. 140 of the party was killed on the spot, and 152 was taken prisoners: our loss in this attack did not exceed 30. Unfortunately the brave Lord Howe was killed in the beginning of this brush. Our army got dispersed in the woods in the pursuit, therefore it was thought proper to return to the place where we first landed. There we was all right. Next morning the 7th at Day Light the whole army marched, and in the afternoon took possession without opposition of the French 2nd advanced guard at Mills [sawmills on the river]. The morning of the fatal 8th, Broad Street with an engineer was sent to reconnoître the French Lines: they soon returned with the following account—That the enemy was encamped on rising ground about ½ mile from the Fort, but not fortified, only a few Logs laid one on another as a breast Work.

"Upon this Intelligence it was thought proper to attempt storming the enemy lines, without loss of time, and immediately the whole army marched and began the attack about 9 o'clock a.m. I have not time to give you the order of battle: let it suffice that our army was repulsed thrice and as often returned to the charge in the space of 4 hours. They were obliged to retreat at the last with the loss of 2000 of our best men and officers. This is only my own opinion, no return being made as yet. Our Intelligence was bad, for the French had a regular entrenchment faced with logs; their trench 20 ft. broad, and parapet in proportion. No Regiment has suffered so much as the Highlanders, part of which got upon the top of the French Lines every time an attack was made,

and drove the French from where they entered, but not being properly supported they were as often cut off as they entered. As a return is not made I am not able to give you a list of the officers killed and wounded, only that every officer of distinction, except the two generals Abercrombie and Gage are either killed or wounded.

"Those whom I know to be wounded are Coll. Grant, Major Campble, Capt. Murray, Cpt. Graham, every field officer in Lord Howe's Regt. killed: there are many more, but I have not time to enquire—in short every regular regt. in the field has suffered so much that I don't think anything more can be done this Way this campaign altho I am pretty certain Tieconderoga will be tried once more."

I can't copy the other letter but shall send it next Post; the express is ready to set out, and I am loth to loose the opty of sending this by him.

I am, Dr Sr, most obedy
and very obliged humble servt
ALEX. COLDEN

(2)

New York. July 17, 1758.

Dr Sir,

I just now finished copying one letter which [I] have sent by the Express, as the Tide will not admit of his crossing the Ferry. I shall endeavour to send you a copy of the other letter by this Express mentioned in my former.

"I just arrived at the army time enough to have a share in the misfortune of the 9th. Oh! what a glorious prospect on the morning of that Day, after we had beat all their out Posts, and taken so many prisoners. We had nothing in view but Glory and Victory with[in] sight of the French Fort, and yet by experience I to my grief find how little dependence one must make: all worldly expectations in short is all a chimera: by attacking a French intrenchment without Cannon, we lost all our fine views: however I hope we will soon have at them again. Never was there in the World troops behaved with greater coolness and resolution than ours in spite of all their disadvantages, nor never was there in the World such a piece of ground to fight on. It was so very bad that after we were within gun shot the enemy might easily fire 10 Rounds before we got up the length of their Intrenchments and that in the face of such a fire of small arms, Wall pieces, and musquets as I never saw before (and I think I have seen the smartest that happened

all last war) but alas after we came to the trenches we found them above 6 ft. high without a possy of getting in, and so had the same fire to stand in coming back—

This work might have lasted about 4 hours during which time the six Regular Regiments lost 1526 men besides 97 of our best officers killed and wounded. I am far from being surprised that we lost so few [many?] for such a damnable fire no man in this army ever saw before: the provincials lost very few. Except the York Regiment who lost some; true indeed the Provincials never were engaged. They came up to sustain us, but they began to fire at such a distance they killed several of our men, and yet upon the whole they behaved extremely well. Our Principal Officers lost are Ld Howe, Coll. Beaver; Coll. Donaldson; Major Rutherford; Major Proby. Well, we are beat, but I hope will soon have at them again. Lord Howes death was a bad affair, but he exposed himself too much. We'll wait here at the Lake till there are some officers made, the Distruction of them is so great that we have not officers to do Duty in the Line. And then have at the Dogs again. The Engineer Clark is in a dying condition. The first Brigade is most terribly shattered as you may see from Lord John Murray's Highlanders, who were the first Regiment of that Brigade.

"The Indians we had with us who viewed the affair at a distance, allowed us much more bravery than the French, but say we are not half so cunning. We breath nothing but revenge. A flag of Truce going tomorrow to Tieconderoga.

"Lake George. 12th July."

I am, dear Sir,
Yours, etc.
ALEX. COLDEN.

THE PETITION OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC TO QUEEN VICTORIA IN 1857

THE curious document now printed here may be unique as well as hitherto unpublished. The existence of the present copy was not known to any of the principal authorities concerned—Mr. H. J. J. B. Chouinard, the city clerk of Quebec; Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, the new provincial archivist; and Dr. A. G. Doughty, the

Dominion archivist. Of course, the copy sent to Queen Victoria may be among the imperial archives. But, if so, its position seems to be unknown. The present copy was, apparently, the only one kept in Quebec, where it was found among the effects of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Frost Wood Gray, whose step-father, Dr. Joseph Morrin, was mayor at the time it was drawn up. It bears Morrin's own signature as well as that of François-Xavier Garneau, who was then city clerk. Whether Garneau was or was not responsible for the wording is more than we can say. Perhaps this was composed by Morrin, who founded Morrin College, where the library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec has so long been housed.

It is written in a beautiful "Italian" hand, on light blue, unruled, folio paper, 13 inches by 8. It occupies 12 pages or 3 sheets; and is tied with half-inch, dark blue, silk ribbon. The paper bears, of course, the city's seal. It is in fairly good order; and has now been filed among the provincial archives in the parliament buildings at Quebec.

Certain extracts recently appeared in a press article on the new Provincial Archives. But, so far as can be discovered, the whole wording has never been printed *verbatim* till to-day.

It speaks for itself, and most emphatically too, the trumpet giving no uncertain sound. From Jacques Cartier to Wellington all the best witnesses are called to give their evidence in favour of Quebec as a strategic centre of Canadian and imperial power. The incontestable advantage of having a seaport for the new Canadian capital is duly pointed out. But the rival port of Montreal is given several sharp backhanders to put it in its proper place. The idea of an American army walking into Montreal by way of the (then future) Victoria bridge is a quaint exaggeration. But the strategic danger of southern Ontario is not inaptly described; though, happily enough, the flanks are threatened now by friends, not foes. The "illimitable" West is effectively brought in with a quite prophetic touch. But Quebec's old rival, Montreal, has tapped the "products" here so hopefully foretold.

On the whole, in spite of its shortcomings, and of its perhaps excessive zeal, this "Memorial" is not unworthy of being classed among those documents which throw a most illuminating sidelight on a vexed question of prime importance to the state.

WILLIAM WOOD

[*Transcript*]

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

YOUR MAJESTY having graciously been pleased to accede to the request of Your Majesty's loyal people of Canada, praying that Your Majesty would select from among the Cities of this Province the place for the future seat of Government and Capital of this flourishing and important part of Your Majesty's dominions, the Mayor, Councillors and Citizens of the City of Quebec, beg leave to approach Your Majesty with the fullest reliance upon Your Majesty's wisdom and regard for the interest of this Province and to lay before Your Majesty a statement of the grounds on which they found the hope that the ancient City of Quebec may be honoured by Your Majesty's selection, as the future Capital of Canada.

THE CHOICE of the Capital of a Country is a subject of the very highest importance, involving in almost all cases the destiny and greatness of a people. Accident has in some instances determined the selection, but generally a City has owed this distinction to the advantages of its situation for the purposes of Commerce and navigation and, above all, for the defence of the Country and the facility of communication and supervision over all parts of the Subject territory.

THE NATURAL features of a country generally point out of themselves the place possessing these advantages of position. So true is this, that almost all the first towns founded by Europeans in both North and South America, have ultimately become the Capitals of their respective provinces.

THE FIRST Europeans who ever visited Canada, located themselves at Quebec. Although at a distance of 360 miles from the gulf of St. Lawrence and of more than 800 from the Atlantic, no other point, between Quebec and the sea, offered to the first Colonists of Canada, such a striking position as to induce them to form a permanent establishment. The wisdom of their choice has never since been questioned. A Governor of Canada, the Count de Frontenac, wrote to the Minister at the Court of France in 1672, "Nothing struck me as so beautiful and grand as the location of the town of Quebec, which could not be better situated even were it to become, in some future time, the Capital of a great Empire."

IT IS a frequent practice at the present, for some persons to speak of Quebec, as though it was situated at one extremity of the Province and on the margin of the sea, but this, as we have just seen, is an altogether

erroneous impression. The situation of Quebec is far in the interior of the Country and if renowned as a sea port, it is that the town is situated on one of the greatest rivers in the world, a river whose waters bring to her door the largest vessels of the Ocean.

IT WAS this interior and commanding situation and this vast and capacious port, which drew from the Count de Frontenac an expression of his opinion that Quebec was formed by nature to be the Capital of a vast Empire.

INDEED, there is a striking resemblance in point of situation between the Cities of Quebec and London, the respective geographical limits of Canada and Great Britain being considered. The situation of London as a Capital, has never been condemned. On the contrary it is believed that the commercial and maritime greatness of England, arising out of her insular position, is due in a great measure to the situation of the Capital on a sea port, and where the Government and the Legislature had offered to their constant observation the importance of commerce and navigation, as the source of wealth and power.

PETER THE GREAT, when in England in 1698, impressed by these considerations, decided upon the abandonment of Moscow as the Capital of his Empire, and the founding of St. Petersbourg on the shores of the Baltic where the seat of Empire has ever since remained. Yet St. Petersbourg is 13 degrees further North than Quebec.

WHILE IN point of maritime situation the City of Quebec is incontestably the first City of Canada, it is placed in the centre of a vast and fertile district, whose mineral and agricultural wealth and facilities for the establishment of manufactures, yet in their infancy, promise at no distant period, to place the City in the very first rank as to population and resources, an increase which would be much accelerated by the impulse which would be given by the possession of the seat of Government.

IN DETERMINING the question of the policy of government as respects the future development of British America must also be kept in view. The ever increasing power of the United States necessarily points to the federal union of the British Provinces under the protection of England, as a measure which will ultimately become necessary. England herself is interested even in view of her European policy, that a power should exist on this continent, to counterbalance that of the Great American Republic, in imitation of the European system. With this prospect in view, the choice of a capital for Canada could not possibly be uninfluenced by so important a consideration, and in the event of such a union, Quebec would be not only the most accessible from the sea, but the most central city of British America.

THE DUKE of Wellington himself observed that the whole of the British North American Colonial System depended upon the possession of Quebec, and indeed, Quebec is the strong hold of Canada, and history has proved, over and over again, under the French as under the English rule, that the possession of Quebec is always followed by that of the territory composing the British Provinces. Chosen in 1535 by Cartier, in 1608 by Champlain, the Promotory of Cape Diamond has ever been regarded as the key of the country, and on all occasions the fate of the Province has been decided under the walls of Quebec.

OF ALL the towns of Canada also, Quebec is the least exposed to attack from the Americans and the easiest of access to succour from England. It is remote from the frontier of the United States and protected by the river St. Lawrence on whose left bank it is built. It is well known that Canada is bounded throughout its entire length on the South, by the United States, who have the superiority on Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, and Superior, and that the most flourishing part of Upper Canada lies in an angle between those Lakes exposed to attack from all of them. The numerical Superiority of the United States over Canada would permit any skilful commander to cut off the communication with the interior at any point between Montreal in the East and Lake Superior in the West. In the last war the Americans burnt Toronto and marched as far East as the Cedars, within thirty miles of Montreal. Toronto and Kingston are immediately contiguous to the United States, exposed to the cannon of their ships, while they are also liable from that contiguity and close intercommunication with the Republic to imbibe political opinions adverse to the integrity of the Empire.

BUT IT IS not merely as a fortified city that Quebec has exercised such an important influence on the fortunes of Canada, its adaptation to the peaceful purposes of commerce also render it a place of the first rank and importance. At Quebec, the navigation of the largest class of vessels terminates, and at Quebec the inland navigation commences. The port is accessible to ships from sea, long before any other place, as was strikingly exemplified this year by the arival of the "City of Toronto" from Glasgow at Quebec, on the 20th of April, when the St. Lawrence above Quebec, was frozen over as far as Montreal, and inaccessible to navigation. Whatever may be the present course of trade, the time is fast approaching, when the products of the Great West, illimitable in amount, will come to Quebec by river, Canal and railroad as to a common centre of export to Europe.

AMONG THE Cities of Canada, Montreal might have some claim to enter the list with Quebec, but since railroads have shortened the distance between these two Cities to a few hours, the advantages which its more

western situation might impart to Montreal are more than counterbalanced by its want of defences in case of war, and its exposure to an American army, which could penetrate without obstruction into its streets, and all the more easily when the Victoria Bridge is finished.

THE TOWNS OF Montreal and Kingston have successively been selected as the seat of Government, but have successively been abandoned, after the experience of a few years, while in the Session of the Parliament of Canada, held at Toronto in 1856, the Governor General, the Ministers of the Crown, and a majority of the Representatives of of the people, by a solemn vote, decided in favour of the City of Quebec, and appropriated the monies necessary for the erection of a house of Parliament, and it was only the defeat of this measure by the Legislative Council, by a questionable exercise of power, which rendered it necessary to adopt other means for the solution of this important question.

YOUR MAJESTY, in your choice, governed by a regard for the general interests of Canada and of the British Empire will feel the importance of these influences which tend permanently to connect Canada with England as an integral portion of the Empire, and in this view, the City of Quebec may point to the tried fidelity of Her Citizens, who when the English rule was menaced in America in 1775, in 1812, in 1837, rallied in defence of the Government, their peaceful and hospitable character, the harmony in which the two races destined to occupy the banks of the St. Lawrence, here live together, and the familiar use of both languages prevalent in Canada. Besides these considerations, Quebec may boast of the salubrity of its climate, the beauty and grandeur of its site, the extent and safety of its harbour, its fortifications, its impregnable Citadel, its historical associations, all of them incidents which impart dignity to power. For 230 years Quebec was the Capital of Canada, during this long period fifty three Governors here successively took up their residence; none of these ever expressed a wish to transfer the seat of Government from its original position.

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY'S
LOYAL AND DUTIFUL SUBJECTS,

JOS. MORRIN,
Mayor of Quebec.

F. X. GARNEAU,
City Clerk.

Quebec, 25th May 1857.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Norse Discoverers of America: The Wineland Sagas translated and discussed. By G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. 304.

OF the making of books about the Norse voyages to America there would appear to be no end. Even within the last ten years a whole literature has appeared about the subject, beginning with Nansen's *In Northern Mists* (1911), and including such important studies as Babcock's *Early Norse Discoveries in America* (1913), Hovgaard's *The Voyages of the Norsemen to America* (1915), and Steensby's *The Norsemen's Route from Greenland to Wineland* (1918), not to mention lesser studies by Finnur Jonsson, Neckel, Kolischer, Bruun and Fullum. By these writers the most diverse views have been advanced. Dr. Nansen contended that the mythical element in the sagas was so great that they could be relied on only as proof of the bare fact of the Norse visits to America; whereas most of the subsequent writers have placed so great a reliance on the details of the sagas that they have endeavoured by means of them, to determine the exact course of the Norse voyages, and the exact location of the places at which the Norsemen landed, and in nearly every case the conclusion arrived at has been different. There has been profound disagreement even as to the comparative value of the source-material of the sagas: some writers have considered the Saga of Eric the Red as having the greater authority, others have championed the claims of the Flatey Book. Far from solving the problem of the Norse voyages to America, it might almost be said that each fresh commentator has provided new material for controversy. And now comes Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's *The Norse Discoverers of America*, in which views are presented which are different, in part, from any that have been advanced hitherto, and which deals with the whole subject *de novo*.

The subject is not one for the layman. It demands a combination of qualities, a variety of expert knowledge, which few people possess—a familiarity, for instance, with Icelandic language and literature, with the history of mediaeval navigation, with North American geography and ethnology, even with North American botany. At one point

astronomical calculations of a very complicated nature become necessary. For dealing with all these branches of the subject, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy appears to be equipped at least with a sufficient knowledge. He apologizes, it is true, for his interpretation of a runic inscription on the ground that "it is perhaps rash for an amateur to criticize the interpretation of an expert" (p. 285, *n.*); but it is clear that his apology is hardly necessary. His study of the subject had already extended over a number of years when the war interrupted it, and since that time he has been able to familiarize himself with the considerable literature of the subject which appeared during the course of the war, though it must be confessed that this literature has not greatly altered his conclusions. Among English-speaking writers there would appear to have been few who have approached this difficult and tantalizing question better equipped than Mr. Gathorne-Hardy.

His method of handling the subject has the merit of originality. In the first part of the book he has presented, in translation, a consecutive narrative—frequently of a composite character—drawn from the three versions of the story contained in the Flatey Book, the Saga of Eric the Red, and the Hauk's Book. Then he has discussed the nature of the evidence and the historicity of the story in its main features. Finally, he has attacked in detail the problems to which the narrative of the sagas gives rise.

The conclusion to which he comes is that the sagas are, apart from some interpolations and corruptions, on the whole trustworthy historical narratives, and that it is possible to reconstruct the Norse voyages to America in their general features. He believes—and his argument has often a most plausible ring—that Helluland was Newfoundland, that Markland was Nova Scotia, and that Vinland was situated about Long Island Sound. He identifies Keelness as Cape Cod, and Straumsfjord as Long Island Sound. The arguments by means of which he reaches this result cannot be outlined here; but some of them have decided merit. In particular, his suggestion that the Flatey Book, of the authority of which he thinks highly, represents the Greenland tradition, while the Saga of Eric the Red represents the Iceland tradition, has much to commend it; and his interpretation of the meaning of the expressions, "Daegr sigling" (day's sailing) and "Eyktarstad" (latitude), employed in the saga, seems to the present reviewer extremely probable. Once, indeed, the vexed question of the meaning of these terms is settled—provided always that the details of the sagas can be relied upon—the rest of Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's conclusions follow naturally from the premises laid down.

Apart from some passages in the Icelandic Annals, an Icelandic

geography preserved in manuscripts of the fourteenth century, and two Norse maps of the years 1570 and 1605, in which Mr. Gathorne-Hardy finds evidence of a pre-Columbian source, his argument is based mainly on the sagas. He makes no reference to any archaeological evidences found in America. Yet these exist, though not along the Atlantic seaboard. There seems to be no doubt that the Runic inscription found on the island of Kingitorsook in Baffin's Bay is genuine; and there are those who believe that the rune-stone found at Kensington, Minnesota, is no forgery. Archaeological evidence of this sort merely goes to show that the Norse discoverers of America went much farther afield than most people have imagined, and serves to reinforce the theory that they might well have reached Cape Cod.

While it cannot be said that the solution of the problem has reached as yet anything like finality, the opinion may perhaps be hazarded that Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's book represents at least a step in advance.

W. S. WALLACE

The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783. By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON and THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1921. Pp. xvi, 609.

THIS book, which "represents an attempt to bring into one account the story of European expansion in North America down to 1783", is intended as a text-book for the use of university undergraduates. It has black-headed subject-headings at the beginning of each paragraph, and at the end of each chapter there is a list of "readings". The book, however, will be found of distinct interest to other than university undergraduates. The authors, who are professors of history in universities on the Pacific coast, have realized that the colonization of the New World has been treated far too often as if it were "the history, almost solely, of the thirteen English colonies which formed the nucleus of the United States"; and they have tried to correct this tendency by giving proper emphasis to the foundation "of the colonies of other nations than England and of the English colonies other than the thirteen which revolted". The student of Canadian history, therefore, will find here the story of the colonization of Canada set in its proper background, and will be surprised to discover into what new relief that background throws the story.

It is perhaps natural that in the chapters dealing with Canada, a country the history of which is not apparently the special field of the authors, there should be some inaccuracies. The Marquis de la Roche brought out in 1598 to Sable Island not "two shiploads of colonists" (p. 85), but only one shipload. To say that in 1603 Champlain had

already gained fame with his writings (p. 85) is to betray a familiarity with those writings which is lacking at any rate on the bibliographical side. Dollard des Ormeaux was not "a nobleman" (p. 91), and it was not Talon who established feudalism in New France (p. 92). Several names are mis-spelled: "Rezilly" for Razilly (p. 86); "Bréboeuf" for Brébeuf (p. 88); "Carigan" for Carignan (p. 92). It will be observed that these errors are selected from half-a-dozen pages; they are merely illustrative of errors that might be cited in other pages. One is surprised to note, also, the absence in the "readings" of any mention of M. Émile Salone's important treatise on *La colonisation de la Nouvelle France*, which is much more important than most of the other titles mentioned.

But the value of the book for Canadian readers lies not so much in the chapters on Canada itself as in those dealing with the phases of the colonization of North America on which the colonization of Canada touched. Here the book will be found both useful and suggestive.

Trailmakers of the Northwest. By PAUL LELAND HAWORTH. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1921. Pp. viii, 277. ($2.50.)

MR. HAWORTH has made several expeditions to little-known parts of northwestern Canada, an account of one of which was given in his *On the Headwaters of Peace River*. The present book purports to be an account of the history of exploration in the whole vast region of the Northwest. It does not pretend to be exhaustive, and criticism is more or less disarmed by the author's statement that it is "a book for boys—young and old". As a matter of fact, apart from Mr. Haworth's account of his own expedition in 1916 to the hitherto unexplored area lying between the headwaters of the Peace and Laird Rivers, there is practically nothing in this book that was not already conveniently accessible in printed form. On his own expedition, which is described in the chapter on "Later Explorers", the author reached and photographed Mount Lloyd George, mapped Warneford River and much of the East Fork of the Quadacha, discovered two new lakes and definitely located a third known only by Indian report, and found one of the finest waterfalls in the world. The story of the expedition is well told, and constitutes a contribution of some importance to the exploration of northern British Columbia.

For the rest, Mr. Haworth devotes his opening chapter to the beaver and its importance in the western fur-trade and exploration. Succeeding chapters deal with the achievements of Henry Hudson, Samuel Hearne, Radisson, La Vérendrye, Mackenzie, Alexander Henry, Sir John Franklin, David Thompson, Simon Fraser, Roald Amundsen, and other path-

finders of the great west and the far north. Separate chapters are devoted to the methods of travel in the fur land, sidelights on Indian life, methods of hunting the buffalo, the coming of the settlers, and the life of the trappers and prospectors of to-day. No new light is thrown upon the lives of any of the western explorers, Mr. Haworth having apparently confined his reading to secondary sources, except in so far as the original narratives were available in print. Occasionally he shows a certain lack of familiarity with the results of historical research, but it is only fair to say that on the whole his book is both readable and accurate. On such points as the methods of travel in the wilderness, the problem of food supply, the trials and compensations of an explorer's life, the habits of the beaver, and many others, the author draws instructively on his own experience.

A short "list of books for further reading" is added, made up for the most part of books of travel and exploration. To criticize a bibliography on the score of incompleteness, and particularly a list of this kind, is always more or less a work of supererogation. Even a short list, however, might be expected to include Back's *Arctic Land Expedition*, Richardson's *Arctic Searching Expedition* and Dease and Simpson's *Narrative*, for the far north; Coues's *Henry-Thompson Journals*, Tyrrell's *David Thompson*, Harmon's *Journal*, Bain's *Alexander Henry*, and Masson's *Bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, for the fur-trade explorers; Outram's *Heart of the Canadian Rockies* and Palmer's *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Selkirks*, for the mountains; and at least something on the beaver, such as Martin's *Castorologia*, Morgan's *American Beaver*, or Seton's *Life Histories of Northern Animals*.

Despite these criticisms, one would like to repeat that Mr. Haworth's book, for the purpose it is intended to serve, is on the whole an excellent piece of work. L. J. BURPEE

John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, 1767-1775. By LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1921. Pp. 208. ($5.00.)

JOHN WENTWORTH, the last royal governor of New Hampshire, retired to Boston in the autumn of 1775, and early in 1776 to Halifax. From 1783 to 1792 he was surveyor-general of the King's woods in North America, and from 1792 to 1808 lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia under the nominal control of the governor-general at Quebec. He died, in Halifax, in 1820. Mr. Mayo's book deals adequately with his later activities, though stressing rather the more stirring and troublous period prior to the American Revolution. It is delightfully printed and bound, and delightfully written.

John Wentworth's character is easy to read. He was an honourable and upright gentleman, fond of horses and outdoor life, an energetic and efficient governor, more attentive to practical improvements than to theory. Alike in New Hampshire and in Nova Scotia he improved the roads, assisted the settlers, and advanced education. He was loyal to his Church and to his King, in his family life a pattern, generous to his dependents, open-handed and courteous to his friends. In New Hampshire he was one of the founders of Dartmouth College, and in Nova Scotia of King's College, at Windsor. His loyalty to his Church led him to foist on King's College a narrower charter than was the wish of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his loyalty to his King led him to fill his Councils with his own relatives, of whose allegiance he could feel sure. In short, he was one of the most upright and high-minded founders of the Family Compact in Nova Scotia. As such he stands out both in his portraits and in Mr. Mayo's pages.

The sketch of him given by Mr. E. I. Carlyle in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that in New Hampshire he "abolished the paper currency, a relic of the French war"; and that in Nova Scotia "toward the end of his government he was involved in several differences with the Assembly". The former action of the governor I have not verified; but the latter statement is certainly correct, and is found in every history of Nova Scotia. It is a pity that neither fact is mentioned in Mr. Mayo's charming book.

W. L. GRANT

The Parish Register of Kingston, Upper Canada, 1785-1811. Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by A. H. YOUNG. For the Kingston Historical Society. Kingston, Ontario: The British Whig Publishing Co. 1921. Pp. 207.

The Revd. John Stuart, D.D., U.E.L., of Kingston, U.C., and his Family: A Genealogical Study. By A. H. YOUNG. Kingston: Whig Press. [1921.] Pp. 64.

THE first of these volumes, the parish register of Kingston, contains in the usual form, a record of baptisms, marriages, and funerals at St. George's Church during the incumbency of the Rev. John Stuart, D.D., as rector. While not entirely complete, the official and historical value of the record is considerable, and in Professor Young's capable and tireless hands the formal lists of names yield material of varied and, often, of unexpected interest.

By repute descended from a branch of the Scottish royal family, Dr. Stuart's father, a staunch Cameronian Presbyterian, left Tyrone—Tir-Eoghain—in Ireland, with other Ulster Scots, in search of religious

freedom, and settled in Pennsylvania, where in 1740 John Stuart was born. He graduated at the College of Philadelphia, and in 1770 was ordained a priest of the Church of England by the Bishop of London; on the recommendation of the clergy of the province of Pennsylvania, and becoming a missionary to the Mohawks won the friendship of Sir William Johnson and of his son, Sir John, whose patronage proved beneficial later on. After serious harassment from the revolutionists, Stuart crossed to Canada in 1781, and after labouring for a time at St. John's and Montreal, settled in 1785 at Kingston. His pastoral duties extended from the eastern boundary of the province to Niagara Falls, and beyond, and names of persons resident on that long stretch of water front are recorded in the register, some of them those of men prominent in the affairs of the province. This fact gives exceptional interest to the book. For instance, the beginnings of the "Family Compact"—the true character of which, by the way, has scarcely been done justice to by historians—are traceable in the relationships recorded, as are those of the Jones, Gamble, Geddes, Smith, and Allan families. It is also shown that, contrary to general opinion, the loyalists were not predominantly Episcopalian, that among them were many members of the other churches, and that the members of the Church of England favoured the establishment within the province of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. The exhaustive and invaluable notes throw light on the unstinted provision made by the British government to the American loyalists who settled in Upper Canada. Many of them had lost property, the fortunes of war having gone against them, but the compensation for their losses was on a scale of unprecedented generosity. The American loyalists suffered hardships, as loyalists mostly always and everywhere do, in a lost cause, but generally speaking the conscientious or convenient duty of the hour has not been thus often perpetuated by perennial eulogy. There were mixed motives on both sides, and it served both parties in the issue very well to have an open sanctuary beyond the boundary line, yet an apt question might be: what would have been the American loyalists' fate had Canada fallen to the United States?

It is made clear that the operations of the Church of England in Canada were hampered by the terms of the imperial statute of 1786 restricting the introduction of clergymen from the United States, and by the unfriendly attitude of Bishop Mountain with respect to the appointment of travelling missionaries. Lieutenant-governor Simcoe's friendship for, and basic faith in, the Church of England are apparent, and by the Upper Canada statute of 1793, sponsored by him, this church,

through the election of wardens, was closely linked with the municipal system of the province.

Not the least valuable section of the book is that devoted to the biographies of more than fifty benefactors to the church building fund, including such outstanding pioneers as Cartwright, McLean, Macaulay, Richardson, Grass, Forsyth, Markland, Simons, Beasley, and Robinson. The 1815 plan of Kingston by Thomas Ridout is reproduced to show how these and others took up town lots in the "Limestone City" in the early days.

It was no easy task to collect the money required for building the church, and what seemed even then as now, in the case of voluntary shortage, the proper thing to do was to apply to the government for help. The form suggested was a grant of the King's mills in lieu of cash. The request was not granted, but by and by the imperial government assisted by a subsidy for church building in the province, and by 1811 all debts on the Kingston church were paid off, and a small organ was ordered from England. The poor were constantly remembered, but curiously the records do not seem to note the progress of religious life in the young and growing country.

Professor Young states that the editing of the *Register* was undertaken, as a by-product, so to speak, of an extended biography of Bishop Strachan on which he is engaged. Similarly, if the Brehon aphorism, "To the cow belongs her calf," may be applied to the *Stuart Genealogy*, as was done by King Diarmid in the case of Columbia *v.* Finnan, then the *Genealogy* may be set down as the true offspring of the *Kingston Register*. Needless to say, the work is well done. The family ramifications are followed with marvellous persistence and success. The Stuart connection with the royal Stuarts is traced by tradition to the Duke of Monmouth with a Buccleuch affiliation. From Dr. John Stuart were descended among others of prominence, the Venerable Dr. Okill Stuart, Sir James Stuart, Bart., the Hon. Andrew Stuart, Sir Andrew Stuart, Sir Arthur Campbell Stuart (Managing Director of the *Times*), and among the descendants collateral are such well-known names as those of the Jones family of Brockville, Sir Allan MacNab, Bart., General Sir William Francis Butler, Viscount Bury (Earl of Albemarle), the Hon. Sir Derek William George Keppel, C.M.G., Sir Walter Beaupré Townley, Sir Dominick Daly, Senator Beaubien, Aubert de Gaspé, Louis Arthur Audette, etc. The connection between Dr. Strachan and Dr. Stuart is interesting. Both set out as Presbyterians and became Anglicans of note; while a large proportion of their numerous descendants are members of the Roman Catholic church, mainly from the commingling of the Scots with the French-Canadians of Quebec. The

Genealogical Study emphasizes the fact that the basis of the Canadian population is largely a continuation of the best stock of the Mother Land.

To Professor Young this work has been a labour of love, and the debt we owe to him is indeed great.

ALEXANDER FRASER

Oregon—Its Meaning, Origin, and Application. By JOHN E. REES (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 317-331).

The Early Explorations and the Origin of the Name of the Oregon Country. By WILLIAM H. GALVANI (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 332-340).

The Strange Case of Jonathan Carver and the Name Oregon. By T. C. ELLIOTT (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 341-368).

The Origin of the Name Oregon. By T. C. ELLIOTT (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxii, pp. 91-115).

IN the history of the Pacific Northwest no subject has been, at once, so alluring and so baffling as the origin and meaning of the name Oregon. It is agreed that Jonathan Carver was the first to record the word in its present form; but here all agreement ceases. As British Columbia was included within the boundaries of Oregon Territory the discussion of the matter has been of interest to Canadians. In Bancroft's *History of Oregon*, volume I, pp. 17-25, Mrs. Francis Fuller Victor entered at some length into the consideration of the source and signification of the word. It was the first attempt to collect and collate the references to the question; and so divergent were the views that in despair she wrote: "How Carver obtained it—whether with him it was pure fiction, vagary, caprice, or the embodiment of a fancied sound—we shall never know." The matter could not be disposed of in that way; it cropped up again and again demanding solution; the pages of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* contain numerous contributions, whose only merit was to increase the existing confusion. In truth the pedigree of a name is as interesting and as much a field for romance as the pedigree of a person. Many of the suggested solutions had more of ingenuity than of sound scholarship to recommend them.

Mr. Rees traces the word Oregon to two Shoshone words, "Ogwa", meaning water, or river, and "pe-on", west, or river of the west. Such an answer to the question can not fail to "make the judicious grieve"; it is too palpably interpreting an eighteenth-century name in the light of nineteenth-century geography. Mr. Galvani is just as sure that it is an adaptation of the word "Aragon", which the Indians *must* have

heard from the Spanish colonists who *must* have used it and who *must* have been located on or near the sources of the Columbia. With false historic premises any conclusion may be reached.

Mr. Elliott, in his first article, after indicating the unsatisfactory nature of the suggested origins, contents himself with a discussion of Carver's movements in the west and his association with Major Rogers. He holds that Carver either invented the word or obtained it from Rogers; the former being beyond his "literary or mental ability", the conclusion is reached that he pilfered it and changed it from "Ouragon" to its present form. It is maintained that the word "Ouragon", as used by Major Rogers, was merely the French word "Ouragan", a windstorm, a hurricane, or a tornado.

In his subsequent article Mr. Elliott points out that Major Rogers, in August, 1765, made a proposal to the King's Privy Council in reference to western exploration, which contained the following statement: "The Route Major Rogers proposes to take is from the Great Lakes towards the Head of the Mississippi, and from thence to the River called by the Indians Ouragon, which flows into a Bay that projects North-Eastwardly into the [Country?] from the Pacific Ocean . . ." The second petition, dated February, 1772, dealt somewhat more in detail with the intended western route. The major now proposed to travel up the Mississippi River to the Minnesota River, ascend that river to its source, portage across to a branch of the Missouri, which he would follow to its headwaters, and then "To cross thence a Portage of about thirty Miles, into the great River Ourigan; to follow this great River, through a vast, and most populous Tract of Indian Country to the Straits of Anian. . . ." Mr. Elliott marshals the facts which his researches have brought to light and certainly makes a strong case for his position that "Oregon" is Carver's adaptation of Rogers' "Ouragon" or "Ourigan". Although the subject has been discussed for thirty years this is the first real research that has been undertaken. Mr. Elliott's theory is based on facts, and has probability to support it; two foundations altogether lacking in every other suggested origin.

F. W. HOWAY

Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823. By S. E. MORISON (Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1920; reproduced in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xxi, pp. 166-201).

THE connection between Boston and the northwest coast of America began with the voyages of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, 1787-90. Though other seaports in New England strove to obtain a foothold

Boston always retained its position as the real centre of the trade—a trade which, untrammelled by the monopolies that hampered British effort, soon grew to large proportions. It spread from sea-otter skins to seal skins and furs of all descriptions, thence to pearls, sandal wood, and bêche-de-mer, and in its last phases even included whaling. With these extensions the Sandwich Islands, as the Hawaiian Islands were then called, rose in importance from a mere place of refreshment to a source of supply of sandal wood and other articles eagerly sought by the Chinese.

The romantic story of this trade—its rise, growth, and decay—is closely connected with Pacific Coast history. That story has yet to be written. It is to be pieced together from old journals and diaries, from business and familiar letters, from scattered references in the printed accounts of contemporary voyages, and from the fyles of the newspapers and magazines. It has been toyed with from the Boston side, from the Hawaiian side, and from the Northwest Coast side. These sectional views yet remain to be implemented, co-ordinated, and articulated.

Mr. Morison's article traces in outline its gradual development and the corresponding rise in the importance of the Hawaiian Islands, and introduces the names of persons and vessels familiar to all readers of the history of the Pacific Coast. The inherent weakness of this trade, which was a mere accumulation of individual undertakings without any unification or amalgamation of interests, but on the contrary permeated with a spirit of trade jealousy, is indicated in the article and in the accompanying letters, but the point, which is one of the great things to be kept in mind in studying the maritime trade, is not laboured.

The letters reproduced by Mr. Morison are very interesting. Though they do not in fact touch the British Columbia coast, they are nevertheless invaluable to him who would understand its story, not only for the atmosphere of the time, but also for the light they throw upon the methods by which, and the energy with which, the trade was pursued—the same energy and methods that made such havoc in the early sea-otter days and that required all the resources and determination of the Hudson's Bay Company to overcome.

F. W. HOWAY

Pacific Northwest Americana: A Checklist of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest. Compiled by CHARLES W. SMITH. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1921. Pp. 329.

THE publication of a reliable bibliography is at all times a matter of interest to students at large and of congratulation to scholars versed

in the subject with which it deals. A good bibliography is both chart and compass: it shows how far any branch of the subject has been traced, and it indicates the direction to be followed by him who would seek the highroad, or by that other who would travel into the unknown. The impetus towards the study of local history which has arisen in the recent past has called for sectional bibliographies, in which place is found for material of a local and almost parochial nature, as well as for that which flows in the full stream of history.

The first effort to compile any sort of a list of authorities relating to the Northwest Coast was made by Hubert Howe Bancroft in connection with his series of Pacific Coast histories. The authorities, of every sort and description, cited in his histories of the Northwest Coast, British Columbia, Alaska, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana, with their repeated duplications, amount to about 2,500. For nearly thirty years these lists were the point from which all students and collectors of Northwest Americana took their departure. It may indeed be said, with much more than an atom of truth, that the real value of Bancroft's histories lay in these lists, in the footnotes, and in the collection of original manuscripts, many of which were prepared at his instigation and for his works.

In 1908 Mr. Charles W. Smith initiated a movement which resulted in the appearance in 1909 of a checklist of the items of Northwest Americana then in the thirteen principal libraries in the region formerly known as the Old Oregon Territory. The present work is an enlargement and revision, also under Mr. Smith's editorship. It contains more than twice the number of items listed in the edition of 1909. With certain duly stated exclusions it lists the printed historical material of the country lying north of California and west of the Rocky Mountains. It does not include manuscripts, documents (these being listed in Bowker and the *Monthly List of State Publications*), federal documents, periodicals published in the territory covered (unless mainly or wholly devoted to history), or maps. But even with these large exclusions it gives 4,501 items, although it should be added that each edition of any work listed takes its place as a separate item. The work was co-operatively prepared by the staffs of the principal libraries of the Pacific Northwest. It is, therefore, in no sense a commercial undertaking; it is a voluntary and valuable professional service made available by Mr. Smith's efforts for all students of the history of the Pacific Coast.

The new volume represents, or is supposed to represent, the combined resources of sixteen libraries, as against thirteen in the earlier edition. The Library of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia and the Library of the University of British Columbia are both, we are

glad to say, represented. While the work does not purport to be a bibliography in the true sense of the word, full and accurate bibliographical details are given of every item listed, and symbols indicate the libraries in which they are to be found. The book is well printed (though in somewhat small type) and well bound, and the matter, generally speaking, is well arranged. When the vast number of entries is considered and the enormous amount of clerical work necessary to reduce the contributed material to order and regularity is taken into account one can only express surprise at the general accuracy and completeness of the arrangement. Once or twice some slight confusion occurs, as in the case of the Cook items mentioned later, and in a number of places cross-references have been omitted.

One half of each page is left blank for the insertion of new items, for notes, corrections, cross-references, and other additions, according to the taste and industry of the student. This was indeed a wise precaution. It will enable those interested in the history of the region to correct the errors inevitable in such an undertaking, to keep the bibliography of the Pacific Northwest absolutely up to date, and thus to make future editions as nearly faultless and complete as such an enterprise can be.

While such a co-operative work shows where the Pacific Coast libraries are rich, it also shows in what respects they are poor. It may be that Carver, whose only connection with the Pacific Coast is his use of the word "Oregon", is given sufficient attention, though of the thirty-five editions of his *Travels* only nine are reported. But nothing can justify the slight attention paid to Captain Cook. There are twenty or more English editions of his *Third Voyage*, and about a dozen each in German and French. He gives the first account of the Pacific Coast and the manners and customs of its Indians, and yet only seven English editions, one German, and no French are reported. Of the *Anonymous* (Rickman's) *Journal*, the first complete story of Captain Cook's third voyage, not one of the sixteen libraries reports the first edition (1781); one reports the English edition of 1785, and another reports one of the French editions of 1783; and yet there are at least seven editions. The Cook items have been, unfortunately, rather jumbled together in the checklist; under the one heading are included the *Anonymous* (Rickman's) *Journal*, Ellis's *Authentic Narrative of Captain Cook's Third Voyage*, and the official account of the voyage by Captain King, with its various editions, summaries, and condensations. Only one copy of Ledyard's *Journal* of the voyage is to be found in the sixteen libraries; it is in the possession of the Library of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia. Not one of the contributing libraries reports the Crespi

and Peña diaries, being the records of the Spanish voyage of 1774, which were issued in 1892 by the Historical Society of Southern California. Of Dixon again, though the two-volume French edition of 1789, by Maradan, is reported, no library reports the rare, wide-margined, one-volume edition published by Maradan in the same year. Of Meares, also, no library has reported the two-volume Italian edition of 1796. The usual editions of Vancouver, the English quarto and octavo and the French quarto and octavo, are reported, but no mention is made by any one of the sixteen libraries of the neat little duodecimo issued in 1833 by Lecointe, nor of the two-volume German editions of 1799 and 1800. So, too, with Mackenzie, neither the one-volume edition (New York, 1803) nor the two-volume edition (New York, 1814) is reported. It is with pleasure that we note the extremely rare Jewitt *Journal* and eight editions of Jewitt's *Narrative* in the Library of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia; the Newberry Library in Chicago, which specializes in Indian captivities, reports nine editions, but two of these at least bear a different title. No copy of Fanning's *Voyages* is reported, though the second book (1838) contains the whole story of Astor's ill-fated ship, the *Tonquin*, from her launching to her destruction; the account of the latter purports to be given by the sole survivor, the native interpreter. Of Paul Kane's *Wanderings* it is observed that the Danish edition, 1863, is not in any of the sixteen libraries. These remarks indicate one of the real benefits such a compilation confers. It is a kind of stock-taking. Is it too high an objective to say that within these sixteen libraries should be found, and be available for students, not only a copy of every work, but a copy of every standard edition of every work relating to our coast?

With special reference to the province of British Columbia it is observed that some quite well-known books are omitted; there is a paucity of pamphlets, provincial directories, guide books, and purely local publications, and an omission of items relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway, a small library in itself.

F. W. HOWAY

Joint Report upon the Survey and Demarcation of the Boundary between the United States and Canada from the Western Terminus of the Land Boundary along the Forty-Ninth Parallel, on the West Side of Point Roberts through Georgia, Haro, and Juan de Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean. By the International Boundary Commission. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1921. Pp. 104.

THIS official report of the determination of the above-indicated portion

of the international boundary line is prepared in accordance with the provisions of Article VIII of the Treaty of Washington, April 11, 1908. The volume is well printed, well illustrated, and well bound. It contains the complete treaty, the appointments of the commissioners representing both countries, the formal agreement between them as to the manner of carrying out the work, an account of the field operations on both sides of the straits, and a detailed demarcation, with courses, distances, and bearings, of the tortuous water boundary through those straits. A fine chart, which is contained in a pocket at the back of the book, shows the entire boundary covered by the report and enables the ordinary reader to i entify readily the points and islands mentioned therein. The technical work of the commission has, beyond doubt, been absolutely accurate, but they have seen fit to include as an appendix an alleged account of the explorations of the Pacific Coast region of North America, between latitudes 42°N. and 56°N., prior to 1818, of which as much can not be said. In truth this appendix can scarcely be condemned too roundly or too soundly. The merest tyro in Pacific Coast history should blush to emit such a farrago of mis-statements. Juan de Fuca, who has been decently interred for at least a generation, is galvanized into life as a real discoverer; Captain Cook is again made to anchor in Friendly Cove; the East India Company's and the South Sea Company's monopolies are again confused and confounded; Meares' crew still sail thirty leagues up Juan de Fuca Strait, and still find it fifteen leagues wide; Kendrick still circumnavigates Vancouver Island; and so on. All these statements have been corrected over and over again in the past twenty years, yet here we find them in full vigour in a government publication.

It would resemble the preparation of a catalogue to enumerate the other and smaller blunders, such as Fort Chipewyn, Fort James, Bull Finch, Cabo Fondosa, Tauchotee-Teese, William Clarke, etc., etc., etc.

But what else was to be expected from a compiler who calmly states that he prepared in 1921 this sketch from Greenhow's *Oregon and California* (published in 1844, and as all the world knows a brief for the United States on the Oregon question and not an impartial history) and Bancroft's *History of the North West Coast of America* (published in 1884)? Had more use been made of Coats and Gosnell's *Sir James Douglas*, the only other authority referred to by the compiler, some, at any rate, of the errors would have been avoided. This appendix should either be expunged or rewritten.

F. W. HOWAY

Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald: Selections from the Correspondence of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald. Made by his literary executor, Sir JOSEPH POPE. Toronto: Oxford University Press, Canadian Branch. [1921.] Pp. xxvi, 502. ($5.00.)

THE career of Sir John Macdonald is like no other in Canadian annals. He was the most influential figure in public life between 1847 and 1891. All the events of importance from the settlement of the Clergy Reserves to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway were affected by his political influence. He created a party out of elements the most discordant. To force of character he added great fertility of resource. If this were not enough, he possessed the art of winning men over to his side, and by reason of the gifts of sociability and a genial disposition he enjoyed a boundless popularity. During the last twenty-five years of his life he was the centre of political activity. The correspondence of such a man could hardly be anything but a rich mine of information. The collection of letters which his literary executor, Sir Joseph Pope, has now given to the world is, therefore, unique and interesting. To part of the familiar maxim, "Never write a letter if you can avoid it, and never destroy one," Sir John Macdonald seems to have adhered literally. He kept everything. There are five hundred letters in this volume. Yet they form less than one per cent. of the whole correspondence. The bulk of the correspondence, we are told, must await another day. The present collection, which contains the more important documents, is of the utmost value to the student of Canadian political history, and will grip the attention of the general reader like a vivid narrative. The letters are linked together by short explanatory paragraphs, and there are innumerable notes, chiefly biographical. The editor has performed his duty with skill and his labours must have been onerous.

The letters, apart from their intrinsic interest, perform a double service; they explain and illustrate the inner history of the period, and they reveal with unerring accuracy the character of the chief actor himself. At the outset there are fresh contributions to the question of Confederation. The uneasy alliance of Brown and Macdonald is manifest. Brown felt evidences of minor slights: "Of course it is painful to both of us to find ourselves in a Government with gentlemen who have not perfect sympathy with each other, but had you or Galt or Cartier been in my present case, I think I would have insisted on your names being referred to in the handsomest possible manner" (p. 16). On many points they were at one, and the alliance was effectual, if uncomfortable. Neither thought an appeal to the people necessary. Macdonald wrote to a supporter in February, 1865: "The Confederation

scheme has now been before the country for some time and it seems to meet with general, if not universal favour. I hear of no meetings against it, and as yet there have been no petitions transmitted adverse to the policy. Under these circumstances the Government have a right to assume, as well as the Legislature, that the scheme, in principle, meets with the approbation of the country, and as it would be obviously absurd to submit the complicated details of such a measure to the people it is not proposed to seek their sanction before asking the Imperial Government to introduce a bill in the British Parliament" (p. 21). Lord Monck, the governor-general, wrote to Macdonald from London in October, 1865:

> I am much surprised to find how extensively but noiselessly the opinion that the colonies should be allowed to shape their own destinies, without interference on the part of the mother country, is working its way in the public mind. It is in our colonial policy the counterpart of "non-interference" in our foreign administration and derives its vitality from precisely the same set of feelings and motives (p. 29).

There are no revelations respecting the London Conference where the measure was framed. The Union came, and Macdonald's arts in producing political unity were taxed to the utmost. In a letter to Sir John Rose in 1872, he says:

> I am, as you may fancy, exceedingly desirous of carrying the elections again; not from any personal object, because I am weary of the whole thing, but Confederation is only yet in the gristle, and it will require five years more before it hardens into bone. It is only by the exercise of constant prudence and moderation that we have been able to prevent the discordant elements from ending in a blow-up. If good constitutional men are returned, I think that at the end of five years, the Dominion may be considered safe from being prejudiced by any internal dissension (p. 165).

There had now arrived the period of Sir John Macdonald's greatest difficulties and sole disaster. The downfall of Sandfield Macdonald's coalition ministry in Ontario was the first blow. The discovery of the acceptance of money for election purposes from Sir Hugh Allan, head of the company that was to construct the Canadian Pacific Railway, was the second blow, and this overbalanced the Dominion government. The letters respecting Sandfield Macdonald are new and indicate clearly that his impracticable temper was the principal cause of his defeat. The conduct of Edward Blake, R. W. Scott, E. B. Wood, and others who have been aspersed in this connection, seems to have been perfectly correct. "Sandfield", honest, crotchetty, and tactless, brought his ministry to the ground. The Treaty of Washington (1871) also became a bone of contention. Macdonald's speech in parliament brought him praise, to which he was indifferent, but no votes, which he would have valued more. Sir Stafford Northcote wrote of the speech: "Mr.

Disraeli, who is not lavish in such matters, says, 'very good and statesmanlike' and that is the general verdict" (p. 170). Nothing was heard of the Pacific Scandal until after the elections, which were close with a great revival of the Liberal party in Ontario under Blake, Brown, and Mackenzie. The storm broke in 1873, and the letters on the subject are more remarkable for their revelation of Lord Dufferin's temperament and conduct than for additional light upon the event itself. Macdonald's defence has long been before the public who forgave him ultimately, with what consequences to the tone of political morality will probably ever be a matter of dispute.

Lord Dufferin possessed brilliant parts. His speeches are famous. As a constitutional governor, however, he was not to shine so conspicuously, and the correspondence shows that he at first lacked prudence, gravity, and reserve. His advisers, it is true, were in a sad plight, and the attacks of the Opposition tried him sorely. What Macdonald felt, pressed on all sides, with frightened colleagues and supporters about him, and a clamorous press, must be imagined. In the main his letters are cool and collected. Once, in writing to his friend, Sir John Rose, under date of February 15, 1873, he breaks out: "Entre nous [Sir Hugh] Allan seems to have lost his head altogether. He has made a series of stupendous blunders with respect to the whole matter and the Company is not yet out of the troubles caused by his imprudence. He is the worst negotiator I ever saw in my life. He is, however, accompanied by John Abbott, who will endeavour to keep him right." Lord Dufferin was eager to hear the debates in some concealed cage in the House. "You half promised," he writes, "to arrange for some little closet for me in the House of Commons from whence I could hear what was going on. I hope you will be able to see your way to gratifying my wishes in this respect. Considering how untrustworthy are the newspaper reports it is a matter of some importance that I should be able to hear with my own ears what passes" (p. 226). This irresistibly recalls the "royal lug" of King James I, which caused his dignified son Charles so much shame and discomfiture. Amid his other troubles, Sir John had to find time to meet his importunate governor, with whom he had every reason at the moment to stand well, by a well-reasoned refusal:

> I doubt the prudence of your being *known* to be present at any of the exciting debates that we may expect at the beginning of the session. If, as I believe, we defeat the Opposition on the address, they will be sulky and savage and ready to wreak their vengeance on everybody and everything. The burthen of their speeches on the Commission will be that the Crown cannot know, or ought not to know, what passed in the Commons; that such knowledge is a breach of their privileges. Now if this is said in the presence of the representative of the Crown—actually at the moment taking cognizance of the proceedings, the temp-

> tation to allude to such presence as a continuation of the breach, will be irresistible. One cannot foresee what form the allusion may take. It may be a mere notice that there are strangers in the gallery; it may be a direct objection to your presence as unconstitutional, or it may take the form of an insulting remark. The first supposition will clear the galleries and exclude the reporters. If the public are deprived of the debates thereby, the blame will be laid upon you. A direct attack on your presence would be very unfortunate, especially if accompanied by an insult. The Crown would be brought into contempt. This would be discussed in the newspapers here and in England, and I fear that it might be said that you had brought it on yourself. The Grand Remonstrance against the Crown's taking cognizance of the proceedings of the House, would be quoted *ad nauseum* and Mr. Holton would wax constitutionally indignant.

Lord Dufferin, therefore, was compelled to read the newspapers.

Macdonald resigned without waiting for the verdict of parliament. It has always been said that he did so to discount an adverse vote. A personal letter from the governor-general, however, conveys a significant intimation not to be mistaken. It is kindly, but its warning is plain:

> It is with greater pain than ever I did anything in my life that I now sit down to write to you, but I feel it is but justice you should know the conclusions to which, I fear, I am being forced by a most anxious study of the evidence adduced before the Commission. Of course until an authentic copy of that evidence is placed in my hands, I am not required to arrive at a decision; it is not, therefore, as the Governor-General of Canada that I address you, but as a warm and sincere friend, desirous of putting you on your guard against eventualities which it is well you should provide against in time. I am the more anxious to do this as the friendly spirit I have evinced toward you during the course of this unfortunate business may have led you to count upon my support beyond the point to which I might find myself able to extend it. But, however deeply I may sympathize with you in your difficulties,—difficulties into which you have been drawn in a great measure by circumstances beyond your control,—I shall be bound to sacrifice my personal inclinations to what may become my duty to my sovereign and this country.

There was no other course for Macdonald than to resign. Henceforth, the secrets of campaign funds were more carefully guarded. In the same letter Lord Dufferin puts plainly the nature of the offence:

> In acting as you have, I am well convinced that you have only followed a traditional practice, and that probably your political opponents have resorted with equal freedom to the same expedients, but as Minister of Justice, and the official guardian and protector of the laws, your responsibilities are exceptional, and your immediate and personal connection with what has occurred cannot but fatally affect your position as a minister (p. 229).

How the fallen prime minister relished this rebuke we are not told. Unlike his Highland forebears, he cherished no resentments. Four years went by, and in 1878 Macdonald, leader of the Conservative Opposition in Canada, wrote to Sir Stafford Northcote, leader of the British House of Commons and Disraeli's colleague, urging that the British government ask Lord Dufferin to remain in Canada for two years longer.

Sir John Macdonald's relationships with other public men of either party were remarkable. Edward Blake, while leader of the Liberal Opposition at Toronto, wrote to consult him respecting legislation which Sandfield Macdonald was putting through. There is friendly correspondence between Mowat and him over the latter's resignation from the Bench to enter politics. Sir John disapproves, but he does not quarrel. The two men seem always to have been on amicable terms. Even in 1887 when Mowat, as chairman of the inter-provincial conference at Quebec, asked Macdonald for a conference respecting the action of the five Liberal governments, the reply was civil: "My colleagues and I think that perhaps it would be better that you and I should first have an unofficial conversation as to the utility of the proposed conference." An official reception never took place. The political sagacity of Macdonald saw objections. Later governments took an opposite course, and several inter-provincial conferences have extorted better financial terms from the Dominion, and no one supposes we have seen the last of them. When Cartwright objected to Hincks as finance minister, he intimated his goodwill "towards yourself and the rest of your colleagues" (p. 100). Cartwright fell into deeper depths of hostility by the influence of A. T. Galt. "He [Galt] has seduced Cartwright away, and I have found out how it was managed. Cartwright and he formed at the Club last session a sort of mutual admiration society and they agreed that they were the only two men fit to govern Canada" (p. 128). The Pacific Scandal and the resultant Conservative *débâcle* undoubtedly disturbed some friendships, notably those with Galt, Donald Smith, and others. In course of time these breaches were all healed. Macdonald showed, in all cases, a readiness to be placated. His fearlessness is often in evidence. Sir George Stephen (Lord Mountstephen) threatened in 1889 a change in the attitude of the Canadian Pacific toward the government. Sir John replied:

> My dear Stephen,—I was rather "irate" on first perusal of your note of the 11th. The charge of unjust treatment of the C.P.R. at my hands, and from *you*, seemed to me inexplicable—but an angry discussion won't help matters. I shall do my duty to the country according to the best of my judgment and suffer even the threatened hostility of the Company if need be. . . . I wish you would read Charles Reade's novel of "Put Yourself in His Place." I am sure if you were one of the Ministry you would act as we are doing, but you, I fear, look only on matters from one point of view (p. 456).

The railway president promised to get the book so as to learn how to regard things from more than one standpoint. The letter to the Duke of Connaught on the appointment of an imperial officer as commander of the militia, with its insistence on the Canadian point of view, is another illustration of firm but polite rejoinder (p. 475).

The allusions in the correspondence to Canada's imperial relationships are frequent, and some of them significant. Macdonald was an imperialist with the strongest bias toward Canadian self-government. He dealt with each issue as it arose, and was not prone to vague, general conclusions. Every step taken must keep in view the preservation of the tie. In 1871 he wrote to Lord Lisgar: "I hope to live to see the day when the British Empire will be considered as a unit and the interchange of commodities will be as free from duties between the United Kingdom and its colonies as has been the case since 1800 between England and Ireland" (p. 156). This was, however, before Protection. In 1885 he outlined to Sir Charles Tupper, the High Commissioner, the views of the government on the question of sending Canadian troops to the Soudan; the time had not yet come for volunteering military aid to the Mother Country; the occasion was not opportune, and Australia's offer was no precedent for Canada; "the reciprocal aid to be given by the colonies and England should be a matter of treaty, deliberately entered into and settled upon a permanent basis" (p. 338). As to the status of the High Commissioner: "We do not desire to give him a free hand on any subject in discussion with the Imperial Government. He must take his instructions from the Government here, as much as Sir Julian Pauncefote from Lord Salisbury, and cannot travel out of the four corners of any minute in which his name is mentioned" (p. 472). As to Imperial Federation (1888), "this is so vague a term that until some scheme is worked out for consideration no decided opinions for or against it can be framed. . . . Anything like a common legislature with powers in all similar to that of the British Parliament is altogether impracticable" (p. 422). Upon the method of selecting the governor-general he sent the following cable to Tupper: "Canadian Government consider the present system of appointing the governor-general perfectly satisfactory and would greatly regret any change; reference to government here for nomination or approval would introduce a disturbing element and might eventually lead to election of governor, a change to be deplored" (p. 433). There is a letter possessing a timely significance from Sir Charles Tupper, dated December, 1888:

> If I were H.M. Government I would offer you a peerage and the position of Minister at Washington as my answer to Sherman's insulting proposal to buy Canada. I realize fully the great advantage of having an able English statesman with influence here occupying that position, but as the duties devolving upon the British Minister at Washington are almost altogether in connection with Canada, and the United States complain so bitterly of the circumlocution and time lost in sending to England—back to Canada—back to England, and then back to Washington, and so on *ad infinitum*, I would meet their objection by sending a Canadian Statesman to Washington. It would not only give to the world the

> best evidence of the determination of England to make a common cause with Canada, but also shew us in the most striking manner the fixed determination to make our interests the paramount consideration (p. 431).

The bestowal of imperial honours, closely allied to the general question, forms the theme of many references. Macdonald's belief was that the recipients of such honours should be selected with the greatest care. At first he held that they should be given for imperial services only, but as time went on he saw the need of such distinctions in the service of Canada, though his recommendations were based on grounds acceptable to Canadian feeling. An amusing incident transpires in the correspondence. Sir Daniel Wilson declined the rank of Knight Bachelor on the ground of his preference for a K.C.M.G., but his refusal was greeted as a rebuke to such distinctions generally. His letter (p. 411) makes his position quite clear, and his ultimate acceptance was in no wise inconsistent.

Even the most exhaustive review of this work could not hope to present an outline of its varied contents. It adds greatly to our knowledge of events, and imparts some colour to what is often a drab narrative of national development. It enables Sir John Macdonald to speak for himself in intimate fashion. It shows how great a place he filled and why. The effect of the book will be to stimulate the study of Canadian history during the period that followed the federation of the provinces.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

Reminiscences of a Raconteur: Between the '40s and the '20s. By GEORGE H. HAM. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. [1921.] Pp. xvi, 330.

PROBABLY no other man in Canada knows so many people, and certainly no other man has so many friends as the author of these *Reminiscences*. George Ham gave the wine of life to the press gallery of the House of Commons thirty-five years ago. He has redeemed a thousand public dinners from weariness and dulness. He has escorted unnumbered delegations of people representing all professions and interests across the continent, and they were all the wiser and the happier for his companionship. He has written as he talks, freely, humorously, and humanly. No book could be freer of the flavour of malice or depreciation. He writes as a man without enmities or prejudices.

There is much in the book for which future generations will be grateful. Nowhere else have we a better description of pioneer days in the Red River country, of the birth-pangs of Winnipeg, of the booms that collapsed, and the things that endured. We have intimate and illuminating stories of the North West Mounted Police and of the North West rebellion, in which Mr. Ham figured as a correspondent.

He says a kind word for General Middleton, who was neither understood nor well treated in Canada, and again and again he writes a sentence full of charity for people who have no panegyrists to glorify their ashes. There are stories of Lord Lorne and the Princess Louise and of every other governor-general down to the Duke of Devonshire. One thinks that he discovers evidences of special affection for Earl Grey and the Duke of Connaught.

Mr. Ham gossips also about almost every outstanding figure in public life since Confederation. In few cases does he reveal any symptom of partisan feeling, although no one could ever doubt to which party he belonged. His pride in the Canadian Pacific Railway and the great men who have made its policy, created its spirit, and developed its remarkable efficiency, is not concealed, and one feels that no man could have had a happier service than he has had in his long association with the company.

It must be said that there is no method in the book. There is no sequence of dates or of incidents. The author is here at one moment, and on the next page he is far away. But his story is told in the way that George Ham must tell it, and it is wholesome and pleasant throughout. Future writers will profit by what he has done, and all Canadian journalists will rejoice that one of the best-beloved of all their tribe has shown us so frankly just what manner of man he was, and saved for us so many of the things they have heard from his lips and would be sorry to forget. J. S. WILLISON

Nos Historiens. Par HENRI D'ARLES. Cours de critique littéraire professé à Montréal sous les auspices de l'Action française. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1921. Pp. 245.

THIS volume consists of six lectures delivered in the Library of Saint-Sulpice, Montreal, during the session of 1920-1921. Henri d'Arles is the pseudonym of a French-Canadian ecclesiastic, the abbé Henri Beaudet, and his book appears in the series of the Bibliothèque de l'Action française. Three other volumes belong to the same series: *La naissance d'une race*, *Lendemains de conquête* and *Vers l'émancipation*, all written by the abbé Lionel Groulx, and already reviewed here (vol. I, pp. 307-8, 396-402; vol. II, 278-280). These publications, one must know, represent the output of the French-Canadian Nationalist school of thought, which owns M. Henri Bourassa as leader and adviser.

Henri d'Arles's essays are devoted to the life and work of French Canada's most notable writers on history. The author deals successively with Jacques Labrie, Joseph-François Perrault and Michel Bibaud ("Les maîtres primitifs"), F.-X. Garneau, Louis-Philippe Turcotte,

the abbé J.-B. Ferland, M. Thomas Chapais, and the abbé Lionel Groulx. The book, on the whole, is disappointing. Nothing either novel or impressive in point of information, criticism, observation, or style occurs throughout its two hundred and fifty pages. These essays, moreover, especially the preliminary one on French-Canadian literature, are overburdened with quotations, sometimes irrelevant, and often far-fetched. Even at that, one beautiful line of Victor Hugo is sadly misquoted (p. 10). The author lacks discrimination and equipoise, and is too often carried away by enthusiasm. Thus, Bibaud, mediocre historian as he was, is termed "une manière de génie" (p. 82). L.-P. Turcotte's *Le Canada sous l'Union*, which is nothing more than a laborious compilation, is described as "une oeuvre de haute valeur . . . fortement construite", in fact "a masterpiece" (pp. 152, 140, 153).

Yet the most objectionable feature of these historical essays is their bias, their narrowness of view, and their provincialism. The abbé Beaudet treats our historians as the abbé Groulx treats our history. Quoting from the abbé Ferland these words, "I have studied and treated the history of Canada as a French-Canadian and a Catholic" (p. 178). M. d'Arles enlarges upon them by adding, "Inutile d'insister sur la qualité de ce point de vue: *il est le seul qui soit acceptable* si l'on veut comprendre quelque chose à notre histoire" (*ibid.*). This is the way "a son of the light" (p. 74) respects the dogmas of "history, mistress of truth" (p. 53). And so having pronounced the Reformation "a monstrosity" (p. 105), he extols the orthodoxy of Labrie, of Bibaud, of abbé Ferland, of L.-P. Turcotte, and the ultramontanism of M. Chapais. On the other hand, he condemns "the dangerous principles" of Garneau (p. 97). That is, he upbraids the liberal-minded historian for denouncing the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the exclusion of the Huguenots from New France, and Bishop Laval's undue interference in the civil and political domain (pp. 111-115). Strange to say, however, the abbé Beaudet, boasting as he does of complying with the rules of "scientific criticism" (p. 46), uses and quotes exclusively from the expurgated third (1859) and fourth (1882) editions of Garneau's *History of Canada*. Except for purposes of disparagement, he ignores the latest and definitive fifth edition (Paris, 1913-1920). Here, again, he follows closely in the footsteps of the abbé Groulx. It may be added that both seem to be imperfectly aware of the existence of British, American, and Anglo-Canadian historiography. With so many shortcomings and limitations the book will make no appeal to scholars and students of history. At best the general reader may find it interesting.

HECTOR GARNEAU

War Government of the Dominions. By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History: Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series.) Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. xvi, 354.

THE scope of this new treatise by Professor Berriedale Keith is well indicated in the author's preface:

> This work is an attempt to describe the influence of the war on the activities of the governments of the Dominions and on their relations to the government of the United Kingdom. The question has been treated in the main in its political aspect; it would have been impossible within the limits of space available to deal in any adequate detail with the economic problems which faced the Dominion governments, or the modes in which they were handled, and these topics will form the subject of special monographs. Even in the case of political issues it has been necessary to select only those items which are of chief practical importance, and to pass over problems whose interest is predominantly legal. Attention has in the main been concentrated on the events in the period prior to the ratification of the peace with Germany; it would be premature yet to estimate the effect on Imperial relations of the proceedings at the Geneva meeting of the League Assembly.

Within the limits here laid down the book is a contribution of primary importance to the constitutional history both of the British Empire and of the individual Dominions. It is a commonplace of politics that the war profoundly affected even the structure of governments. As Professor Fairlie showed in his *British War Administration*, published by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in its "Preliminary Economic Studies of the War", the constitution of Great Britain was so altered during the war that it might almost be said that the standard books on the subject have been rendered out of date. The same is true with regard to the constitution of the Empire and the constitution of Canada, as of the other Dominions. In the present volume Professor Keith has brought up to date, however, the authoritative treatment given to this subject in his *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (1912) and in his *Imperial Unity and the Dominions* (1916); and the three works, taken together, afford the most complete conspectus available of the constitutional history of the British Empire during the past century.

From the standpoint of imperial relations the most important chapters are the first three, which deal, successively, with "The Framework of Empire Government before the War", "The Dominions and the United Kingdom, 1914-1916", and "The Imperial War Cabinet and the Conferences", together with perhaps the chapter on "The Peace Conference and the Status of the Dominions". In these chapters there is nothing particularly new, with the possible exception of an elaboration

of Professor Keith's argument as to the essential identity of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial Conferences, under peace conditions, but as a survey of the question of imperial relations during the period of the war they are unsurpassed. Then follow a number of chapters in which the individual Dominions are dealt with. Some of these, notably those entitled "The Economic Activities of the Dominions" and "The Expeditionary Forces of the Dominions", are rather sketchy in character, and the student of Canadian history, for instance, will find in them comparatively little that is new or valuable. But for the chapters on "Constitutional Developments in the Dominions" and "The Federal Constitutions under War Conditions", constitutional historians in each and all of the Dominions must profess themselves profoundly grateful. Certainly there has been published in Canada nothing so penetrating and authoritative as Professor Keith's discussion of the changes in the constitutional position of the governor-general, or of the obsolescence of the imperial power of disallowance, or of the shifting of the respective spheres of Dominion and Imperial legislation; and the section on "The Dominion and the Provinces" is a contribution of distinct value to the history of the struggle for provincial rights in Canada. Even in the chapter on "The Dominions and Native Races", there is a valuable note on the enfranchisement of the Canadian Indians. At the end of the volume there is a full, though necessarily incomplete, bibliography.

There are so many points in Professor Keith's pages which invite comment that one is at a loss to know where to begin. Some very pregnant paragraphs are devoted to a consideration of the "restrictions on the legislative authority of the Imperial Parliament" (pp. 266-269). In these paragraphs Professor Keith virtually assents to the argument of General Smuts and Sir Robert Borden that the British parliament no longer possesses, as a matter of constitutional right, sovereign legislative power over the Dominions: "Imperial legislation can apply to a Dominion only with the full assent of that Dominion, which normally will be expressed by a resolution of its Parliament" (p. 267). In this connection, however, Professor Keith points out the peculiar and inconvenient position of Canada, where changes in the constitution are possible only when they are non-contentious. In case serious opposition should arise to a proposed amendment to the British North America Act, it is probable that the imperial parliament would refuse to legislate, and this fact introduces into the Canadian constitution a rigidity so great that Professor Keith seems to think it desirable that some means should be found for introducing amendments without having to invoke the aid of the imperial parliament.

Another interesting passage is that dealing with the diplomatic repre-

sentation of the Dominions, in which the proposal to have a Canadian minister accredited to Washington is discussed. Professor Keith's attitude toward this proposal is somewhat critical, without being hostile. "There was obviously every reason," he says, "for deprecating the formal division of the Empire which would arise from the presence of two representatives at Washington of equal status, and the adoption of the general principle of separate representation" (p. 173). In regard to the compromise actually arrived at, he lays stress on the objections made by the leaders of the Liberal Opposition in the Canadian parliament, and he emphasizes the admission elicited during the debate from the Canadian Minister of Justice that the appointment of the Canadian envoy "would be made by the King on the advice of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the usual form, and not merely on the advice of the Dominion Government"—a fact which, he points out, "interposes a possibility of objection on the part of the Imperial Government".

Perhaps, however, the most striking passage in the book is that in which Professor Keith takes his place alongside those who favour the abolition of the right to appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. "The fact", he says, "that the Commonwealth High Court not unsuccessfully interprets the Commonwealth constitution indicates that there are few questions with which the local courts cannot effectively deal, and that there is no sufficient ground to justify the retention of the present system of appeals" (p. 288). With this view many Canadians who are convinced nationalists will find themselves in disagreement. The situation in Canada differs radically from that which exists in Australia. The fact that Canada contains within its borders two peoples so diverse in language, religion, and civil law as the French and the English makes it desirable, from this point of view at any rate, that there should be in important cases the right of appeal to a judicial tribunal removed from the sphere of racial strife and passion. No matter how high the character of the Supreme Court of Canada there is always the danger in difficult cases of a difference of opinion between the French and English members of the court, and of a breakdown of justice similar to that which took place in the case of the Supreme Court of the United States before the American civil war. Nor is there implied in the right of appeal any derogation from the status of Canada as a self-governing Dominion; the appeal is nothing more than the submission of a legal dispute to an outside impartial tribunal for arbitration —a procedure which, it will be remembered, has scriptural warrant.

The fact, however, that Professor Keith should espouse a view maintained by the advanced school of Canadian nationalists serves to show how sensitive he is to the currents of opinion in the Dominions.

This is, indeed, one of the outstanding merits of his book. Despite his profound legal knowledge and his training in the Colonial Office, he writes with a feeling for the trend of public opinion in the Dominions which lends to his work a real air of authority.

W. S. WALLACE

An Empire View of the Empire Tangle. By EDWARD O. MOUSLEY. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. W. F. MASSEY. London: P. S. King & Co. 1921. Pp. 87. (3 *sh.*)

THE great value of this unpretentious little book is that it is symptomatic Written by a New Zealander who has been educated in England, it is evidence that the problem of Empire is gaining ever widening consideration. Unfortunately, Mr. Mousley's training has been too much along legal lines, and he thus approaches the issues with a rigidity of mind which in reality cannot do much to solve the political dilemmas and constitutional antinomies which he states in all their bald truth. Perhaps obvious contradictions are the essentials in the legal anomalies which are faithfully set out. It may appear, when everything is at last regularized, that international and constitutional law are, after all, only forms, and that a problem unknown before in political thought has yielded to a solution also unknown. Mr. Mousley is overcome by the fact that he cannot square the Empire with the rules that he finds in the books. On the other hand, he has enough insight to see that institutions are alone valuable in so far as they reflect political education, and he closes with a note of warning against premature experiments.

The book lacks form. Indeed, it is offered to the public as a collection of press-cuttings. The first chapter consists of a series of cuttings from Dominion newspapers in which the "consciousness of nationhood" seems to be the main theme, and this is considered against the fact of empire. The desire for some "machinery" to "function nationally and internationally" appears to be gaining ground if the press is any index to the mind of the empire. Mr. Mousley has omitted any cuttings from the Quebec papers. Had he read them during the last year, for example, he might see how solid a group there is in Canada against any constitutional changes. As it is, his cuttings leave an entirely false impression of Canadian public opinion.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

The First Assembly: A Study of the Proceedings of the First Assembly of the League of Nations. By a Committee of the League of Nations Union, including Lord ROBERT CECIL and Lord PHILLIMORE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1921. Pp. viii, 277.

THE author of the first two chapters of this book suggests that for

purposes of familiarizing the public with the proceedings of the League, or at all events of enabling it to visualize its exterior aspects, the use of the cinema might be of great value. The descriptions of the first appearance of the leading characters in the Assembly themselves bear considerable resemblance to the "close-ups" thrown on the screen in a cinema theatre, presenting the actors in typical and suggestive attitudes. No doubt the element of the dramatic was felt in the first meeting of the Assembly, although that of confusion probably predominated. This confusion appears in this book in evidences of varying points of view. The editor was perhaps wise in not trying to reconcile them. He would, perhaps, have been well advised to insist that a few verbatim quotations from speeches are more effective than attempts to summarize every point of view advanced. However, the book, as a whole, is valuable, and it ends with a chapter of reflections by Lord Robert Cecil which is really admirable.

Canadians will find special interest in the prominence of Mr. Rowell "with his clear vision and intellectual rectitude". It is not unamusing to note that his very obvious statement of fact about Dominion control of domestic affairs, on which such ridiculous emphasis was placed in some quarters at the time of the meeting, was received by the British delegates with "calm and even somnolent approval" (p. 118).

Three matters of importance are considered in this compendium. There is first an excellent chapter on the question of publicity, in which is suggested a sound and useful distinction between publicity and propaganda. Clearly a wide publicity for the proceedings of the Assembly is of the utmost importance. There is a sense, and a very important sense, in which words are deeds. The creation of an international public opinion, and its continuous expression by people whose business it is to be occupied in settling international differences, is a vital part of the League idea, and the wider the publicity given to the facts and the discussions that arise, the more rapid will be the growth of a world-wide comprehension of international problems that is the essential prerequisite of world peace. Undue emphasis is perhaps laid upon what the members of the Assembly describe as their executive functions. There is nothing to be gained either by over-estimating what the Assembly has been able to accomplish by executive action or by minimizing the importance of establishing an enlightened opinion. The Assembly can perform immense service by being the vocal organ as well as the critic of the Council.

In respect of propaganda it is very wisely suggested that the League of Nations Societies at various centres should make it their business to see that the proceedings of the Assembly are available in a convenient

form and with illuminating comment and explanation to the largest number of people possible in every part of the world and in every language. It is, unfortunately, particularly true of Canada that many public documents of the utmost importance are scarcely obtainable by any but a small number of students, and are never explained in a way that could convey their meaning to the average man and woman.

The second important business of the first Assembly consisted in the beginnings of a discussion as to the relative functions of the Council and the Assembly. There are many points in which their duties at least partially overlap. In general, it might seem that to the Council would ultimately belong the duty of intimate discussion and executive action, and to the Assembly that of criticism and expression of the growing body of international tradition.

Thirdly, the formation of the six committees into which the Assembly divided itself occupies a considerable space, and is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject.

Finally, Lord Robert Cecil provides some admirable reflections on what was accomplished in the first meeting of the Assembly, on the remarkable and rapid development of cohesion in its structure, and on what he feels it can accomplish. It clearly has one duty, and there can be none higher, and that is that of creating a new patriotism. The number of people who are able to think in terms of any wider area of the world's surface than that of their own nation is exceedingly small. National patriotism with its limited boundaries of sympathy is in itself the product of education, and it is education that is needed for the creation of a new power of thinking in terms of the whole world, not in the sense of imagining all the elements that go to make the world as being similar, and being able to love humanity because it is all alike, but rather to find satisfaction and admiration from its differences. This involves the raising of opinion to a higher spiritual level, the creation of a new human consciousness, and it is upon the success of this process that the growing effectiveness of the League of Nations must depend and not upon the more easily constructed foundations of international law.

A. J. GLAZEBROOK

Economic Aspects of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Ship Channel. By ROY S. MACELWEE and ALFRED H. RITTER. New York: The Ronald Press Co. 1921. Pp. 291.

THE qualifications of the writers of this work to discuss their subject with scientific precision is unquestioned. In it we are given a treatment of a highly controversial matter in a spirit of judicial fairness which is

admirable. Before making their investigations, the authors "had formed an immature judgment that ocean vessels on this route could not compete with existing routes serving the Northwest". Their former erroneous impressions, "derived largely from reports submitted many years ago, when the conditions and costs of transportation . . . were very different from what they are at the present time," have been dispelled by a fuller study of the factors affecting the costs and advantages of the various available routes and methods of transportation; and in this volume they "have endeavoured to present conservatively the more important local and national advantages to be gained from opening the Great Lakes to ocean traffic."

They have chosen an appropriate occasion for the presentation of the results of their investigations. The reports of the United States and Canadian engineers concerning the physical problems of such a great waterway are in the course of completion; the project has been the subject of consideration by the Canadian parliament, and it has been widely discussed throughout the country. The sessions of the International Joint Waterways Commission at the important centres in the United States and Canada during 1920 and 1921 have elicited strong support of, and some violent opposition to, the project. During the past summer (1921) a large body of representative United States citizens and legislators have taken a trip through the lower lakes and their connections and down the St. Lawrence waterway, in order to study at first hand the problems connected with the proposed ship channel, and they have become firmly convinced that such a development would be of immense advantage to both the countries concerned, not only in furnishing a great waterway between the ocean and the interior of the continent, but also in providing a large amount of electrical energy for transmission over a wide territory north and south of the international boundary. There is reasonable certainty that this proposal will occupy the attention of the United States Congress during the approaching winter. From all these considerations, the appearance of this impartial study of the whole scheme is most timely.

The need for this additional means of transportation is clearly shown by the present inadequate railway facilities of the United States. The shortage of cars and the inability of the railways to handle the available traffic expeditiously have resulted in great losses and in the hampering and discouragement of production, both in agriculture and industry. For this reason fleets of motor trucks are paralleling the railroads, and in so doing they are causing great destruction of the highways. The increased utilization of waterways is imperative, and among these waterways the one under consideration is of paramount importance:

> Irrespective of the actual saving in cost to the shipper, which will be very large, the substitution of short rail hauls to the Great Lakes in place of long rail hauls to the Atlantic seaboard will result in a vast improvement in the general transportation conditions of the country. At the Atlantic seaboard terminals of the United States the inadequate facilities for transferring cargo from railway to vessel add a very heavy cost to the expense of haulage, and because of these handicaps the pursuit of foreign trade is much impeded. On the Great Lakes, terminals can be constructed which will avoid the costly errors made at Atlantic ports and will afford the facility of movement which is necessary both to the shipper and to the economical operation of the vessel. Moreover, the Great Lakes route will eliminate transfers on a vast amount of business and will reduce the number and cost of transfers on an equal or greater amount.

By such arguments, the authors dispose effectively of the view that shallow waterways, like the New York State Barge Canal, can be of material assistance in the solution of the transportation problem.

Full details are given as to the routes which traffic will take from the interior of the continent to the European points of demand and the length of each of the routes. Great advantage will accrue in this respect when cargo can be loaded at Chicago, Duluth, and other lake ports, and conveyed, without breaking bulk, to the foreign market. The avoidance of transfers at the Atlantic ports and at some interior points, like Buffalo, will reduce greatly the expense of carriage. It is on general cargo, however, that the greatest saving will result, because of the higher rail rate and the higher costs of handling such cargo. "These savings . . . are so substantial as to indicate that a deep waterway penetrating the Great Lakes will be not only desirable, but indispensable to the future prosperity of the Northwest." A detailed consideration of the territory and the enterprises on this continent which would be immediately benefited by this waterway is presented by maps, charts, graphs, and statistics which show the vast range of interests which would receive new stimulus.

A brief history of the improvements for navigation on and between the Great Lakes is followed by a discussion of the benefits which have accrued from these improvements in the way of reduced freight rates, etc. In logical succession there follow a comparison of the navigation facilities at the Great Lakes ports with those at the ocean ports; a discussion of the dimensional character of the navigation which ought to be provided on the St. Lawrence for economic efficiency; a comparison of the St. Lawrence with other ocean routes; and sections on the depths required for the accommodation of vessels engaged in ocean trade, the commerce outbound and inbound along this waterway, the shipbuilding industry on the Great Lakes, and the tremendous importance of the water-power developments along the St. Lawrence.

The mention of these subjects is sufficient to show how vitally significant is this book; and the marshalling of facts, not for propaganda, but in the interest of scientific truth, contributes in the most precise and illuminating way to our knowledge of a subject of great international importance. W. T. JACKMAN

The Conservation of the Wild Life of Canada. By C. GORDON HEWITT. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. xx, 344; illustrations.

THE author of this valuable and interesting book, which was apparently finished shortly before his untimely death in February, 1920, was Dominion entomologist from 1909, and from 1916 consulting zoologist as well. The latter appointment he probably owed to his interest in the general fauna of the Dominion and his efforts, before the Commission of Conservation and elsewhere, to obtain adequate protection for the various forms of wild life threatened with extinction in Canada from unrestricted hunting. The work before us for review constitutes his latest and most complete statement of the case for the protection and preservation of the many species of wild animals and birds for which Canada is the chief and in some instances the only remaining habitation on the American continent. Everybody is familiar with the story of the rapid disappearance of the buffalo, which, within the recollection of living men, once roamed the whole of the western prairies literally in millions. Some have heard also of the total extinction of the passenger pigeon, which, again within the memory of living men, ranged in flocks of many millions over the whole of the United States and parts of Canada, and of which not one living specimen now exists. The cause of the disappearance was, in both cases, the greed and mania for slaughter of professional hunters, and the absence of any salutary and effective legislation to protect the general interest of the community which manifestly lies in the preservation and utilization of such natural resources. But for governmental regulation, many other valuable species of animals and birds would now be in process of extinction. Some, indeed, are still in danger in spite of game laws. The object of Dr. Hewitt's book is to open the eyes of the public to their true interests in this matter, and to arouse public sentiment so decidedly in favour of wild life protection that neither legislation nor its due enforcement can safely be omitted by any government, whether in Canada or in the United States.

Life all true lovers of nature, Dr. Hewitt is keenly alive to the aesthetic or sentimental reasons for the presence in the landscape of the beautiful and appropriate creatures which are found in great variety wherever man has not succeeded in chasing them away. But he bases his main

argument on grounds of utility. Man requires animal food, and he also affects the skins of animals for his clothing in the colder regions of the earth. A large portion of Canadian territory, consisting of the sub-arctic forest and the barren grounds, is useless for agriculture or for civilized habitation, but it is an unrivalled feeding and breeding place for caribou, musk-oxen, bears, and all the minor fur-bearing animals. Here is a source of national wealth which will endure as long as the country itself, if drawn upon with due moderation. The caribou is almost as numerous as were the buffalo and affords a potential meat supply. The fur-trade, he boldly says, should be taken over from the existing companies and private hands and administered by the Dominion government, thus eliminating altogether the individual trapper and trader, whose interest is by no means in preservation, but in as rapid a destruction as he can accomplish during his own life-time.

Dr. Hewitt makes a strong case for the absolute necessity of protecting bird life. Birds not only supply flesh for food and feathers for warm coverings, they are also indispensable allies in man's ceaseless struggle against insects. It has been stated that, if all bird life suddenly came to an end, in five years' time there would not remain upon the earth one blade of grass or a single living leaf. All our agricultural ingenuity and enterprise would be wasted labour were it not for the insect-eating birds. Not only, therefore, for their beauty and attractiveness, nor even for the use to which we can put their carcases, but for their incalculably great activity in destroying the destroyers of our farms and gardens, must birds be protected and encouraged more and more to live amongst us. The passenger pigeon is gone, the great auk also and the Labrador duck, the Eskimo curlew is practically extinct, the eider duck nearly so. These should be our warnings and it should not be possible for a future generation to add to the list of extinct species the mallard, the wood duck, the whooping crane, the sandpiper, the woodcock, the golden plover, the bob-white or quail, all of which are now alarmingly decreased in numbers, and without proper protection may be hunted to the last remnant. There are, it is true, game laws in the several provinces which limit the killing of various species of birds and animals to certain seasons or years. It is not so much legislation for which Dr. Hewitt pleads, as that enlightened public sentiment which alone makes the enforcement of such legislation possible.

In the matter of legislation, perhaps the most beneficial form has been the setting aside of great tracts of uncultivated territory as national parks or game reservations, in which all hunting is forbidden or only permitted exceptionally. The Rocky Mountain Park, the oldest in Canada, established in 1887, now includes large and increasing flocks

of mountain sheep and goats, which elsewhere in the mountains are by no means so plentiful. The animals find that they are unmolested in these sanctuaries and become quite indifferent to the presence of human beings. Birds are especially susceptible of being tamed if entirely undisturbed. One of Dr. Hewitt's most suggestive chapters is that in which he outlines methods of protection and encouragement to birds that may be successfully adopted even in so small a space as a city garden.

H. H. LANGTON

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended notice later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

BRETT, OLIVER (ed.). *The First Assembly: A Study of the Proceedings of the First Assembly of the League of Nations.* By a Committee of the League of Nations Union, including Lord ROBERT CECIL and Lord PHILLIMORE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1921. Pp. viii, 277. ($1.10.)

Reviewed on page 396.

CARMAN, FRANCIS A. *Our Common National Policy* (Canadian Magazine, October, 1921, pp. 441-444).

A note on the "essential agreement among our political leaders in regard to our place within the Empire."

GREAT BRITAIN, DOMINIONS ROYAL COMMISSION. *Final Report.* London: Printed under the authority of His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1918. Pp. xv, 498.

To be reviewed later.

JONES, H. L. and SHERRATT, C. *A History of the British Colonies.* London: University Tutorial Press. 1921. Pp. xii, 187. (3*sh.* 6*d.*)

An elementary text-book.

KEITH, ARTHUR BERRIEDALE. *War Government of the British Dominions.* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History: Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. xvi, 354.

Reviewed on page 393.

LAW, ERNEST. *Commonwealth or Empire: Which Should it Be?* London: Selwyn and Blount. 1921. Pp. 122. (5*sh.*)

To be reviewed later.

SHERRILL, Hon. CHARLES H. *The British Empire After the War* (North American Review, November, 1921, pp. 594-602).

An entertaining account of recent developments in the sphere of imperial relations.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

D'ARLES, HENRI. *Nos historiens: Cours de critique littéraire professé à Montréal sous les auspices de l'Action française.* Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française. 1921. Pp. 243. (90c.)

Reviewed on page 391.

GATHORNE-HARDY, G. M. *America's Norse Discoverers: the Wineland Sagas translated and discussed.* Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. 304.

Reviewed on page 369.

JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY. *Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library, in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.* Vol. I, Parts I and II. Providence: Published by the Library. 1919. Pp. vii, 511.

The first instalment of a catalogue of "the only important library in the United States devoted to collecting Americana printed before the nineteenth century." In this first volume are included all titles up to the year 1600.

(2) The History of New France

C., F. X. *Jean Baptiste-Louis Franquelin* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 178-182).

A biographical sketch of the map-maker who was in the last quarter of the seventeenth century royal hydrographer of New France, together with a list of his maps.

CHARLAND, Fr. P. V. *Deux plans (partiels) de Québec, datés de 1758* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 201-207).

An account of the information contained on two old plans of the town of Quebec in 1758, which, taken together, afford a partial census of householders in Quebec at that time.

CLARKE, JOHN M. *Un monument à Jacques Cartier* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 195-197).

Publication of the translation of a letter written to the Minister of Marine at Ottawa by the director of the State Museum of New York, advocating the erection of a monument to Jacques Cartier on the Gaspé coast.

Les Officiers des troupes du Canada en 1701 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 271-279).

A document from the Public Archives of Canada giving the names, ages, birthplaces, and duration of service of the military officers in Canada in 1701.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *L'Anéantissement d'une industrie canadienne sous le régime francais* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 193-200).

An interesting and fully documented chapter in the economic history of New France, dealing with the prohibition of the manufacture of hats in the colony.

———— *Les premiers messagers de la Nouvelle France* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 211-213).

Some notes on the beginnings of a mail-service in New France.

ROY, P.-G. *Le gouverneur Perrot et le supplice de la cale-sèche* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 280-282).

A note on the punishment of "dry ducking" which the English inflicted on François-Marie Perrot, governor first of Montreal, and then of Acadia, after his capture in 1691.

———— *Les conseillers au conseil supérieur et la noblesse* (Bulletin des recherche historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 257-260).

A discussion of the question whether membership in the Superior Council of New France carried with it the rank of nobility.

ROY, RÉGIS. *M. de Chaste* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 214-215).

A biographical sketch of Aimar de Chaste, the French nobleman who succeeded Chauvin in the monopoly of the Canadian fur-trade in 1601.

(3) The History of British North America to 1867

BLUE, CHARLES S. *Canada's First Novelist* (Canadian Magazine, November, 1921, pp. 3-12).

A biographical sketch, based on original research, of Frances Brooke, the wife of the garrison chaplain at Quebec from 1763 to 1768, and the author of *The History of Emily Montague*, which has some claim to be regarded as the first Canadian novel.

BURNETT, EDMUND C. (ed.) *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress.* Volume I: August 29, 1774, to July 4, 1776. Washington: Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1921. Pp. lxvi, 572.

To be reviewed later.

CHAPAIS, THOMAS. *La politique canadienne en 1835* (Le Canada Français, vol. vii, no. 1, pp. 38-53; no. 2, pp. 107-130).

A detailed study of the political situation in Lower Canada prior to the rebellion of 1837.

FROIDEVAUX, HENRI. *Désintéressement de la France à l'égard du Canada entre 1775 et 1782* (Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises, VIe ann., pp. 485-491).

Deals with the policy of France in regard to Canada during the period of the American Revolution.

GAUVIN, D. (comp.) *Almanach du centenaire, 1816-1916, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon.* Paris: Renaudie. [n.d.] Pp. 359.

An almanac commemorating the centenary of the final restoration of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to France in 1816.

GROULX, Abbé LIONEL. *Louis-Joseph Papineau* (L'Action française, October, 1921, pp. 589-608).

A discussion of Papineau's place in Canadian history fifty years after his death.

LANCTOT, GUSTAVE. *When Newfoundland Saved Canada* (Canadian Magazine, September, 1921, pp. 415-421).

The story of a small contingent of Newfoundlanders who were recruited at St. Johns, Newfoundland, in 1775, and were brought to Quebec, where they helped to repell the American invasion.

PAINE, SILAS H. *Soldiers of the Champlain Valley* (Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association, vol. xvii, pp. 300-428).

An alphabetical list of inhabitants of the Champlain Valley who fought in any of the early wars, including the War of the Revolution. "No attempt has been made to edit the manuscript, and the Historical Association does not guarantee its accuracy."

(4) The Dominion of Canada

ALDEN, PERCY. *Canada Revisited* (Contemporary Review, October, 1921, pp. 462-469).

Reflections of an English visitor to Canada.

BAZIN, RENÉ. *L'auteur de "Maria Chapdelaine": Louis Hémon* (Revue des deux mondes, Ier octobre, 1921, pp. 528-554).

An account by a French academician of the life in Canada of the author of *Maria Chapdelaine*, Louis Hémon. A number of Hémon's letters from Canada accompany the text.

FITZPATRICK, F. J. E. *Sergeant 331: Personal Recollections of a member of the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police from 1879-1885.* New York: Published by the Author. 1921. Pp. v, 126.

To be reviewed later.

HAM, GEORGE H. *Reminiscences of a Raconteur, between the '40s and the '20s.* Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1921.] Pp. xvi, 330. ($3.00).
Reviewed on page 390.

MCCONNELL, HOWARD. *Canada's Ambassador to Washington* (Canadian Magazine, September, 1921, pp. 353-361).
A discussion of the wisdom of the decision of the Canadian government to have a Canadian diplomatic representative at Washington.

POPE, Sir JOSEPH. *Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald: Selections from the Correspondence of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald, G.C.B., First Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, Canadian Branch. [1921.] Pp. xxvi, 502. ($5.00).
Reviewed on page 384.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

MAYO, LAWRENCE SHAW. *John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, 1767-1775.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1921. Pp. viii, 208.
Reviewed on page 373.

RAICHE, J. *Les Acadiens du diocèse d'Antigonish* (Le Canada Français, octobre, 1921, pp. 131-141).
An inquiry into local history, the value of which is diminished by a lack of reference to authorities.

(2) The Province of Quebec

AUDET, F. J. (ed.). *Habitants de la ville de Québec, 1770-1771* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 7, pp. 218-224; no. 8, pp. 247-252).
A street-directory of Quebec, prepared in 1771.

BÉCHARD, AUGUSTE. *La Gaspésie en 1888: Deuxième série des pages canadiennes.* Québec: L'Imprimerie nationale. [n.d.] Pp. 130.
Local history of recent date.

BOYD, JOHN. *The Prime Minister of Quebec* (Canadian Magazine, October, 1921, pp. 493-497).
A biographical sketch of the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, the successor of Sir Lomer Gouin as prime minister of Quebec.

GUIMONT, Chanoine C.-R. *Le droit paroissial.* Montréal: L'Action Française. 1921. Pp. 360. ($1.25).
A dissertation on the parochial law of the province of Quebec.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Allocutions judiciaires, à Montréal, au XVIIe siècle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 8, pp. 229-233).
Some documents bearing on the early history of seigniorial justice in Montreal.

——— *Les actes de mariage du fort Saint-Fréderic* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 261-270).
The marriage register kept at the French post at the head of Lake Champlain (later Crown Point) between 1732 and 1759.

MAGNAN, HORMISDAS. *La paroisse de Saint-Nicolas. La famille Pâquet et les familles alliées.* Québec. [n.d.] Pp. viii, 334.
A parish history, with a genealogy of the Pâquet family.

MONDOU, SIMÉON. *Les cimetières catholiques de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 9, pp. 283-288).
Historical notes on the cemeteries of Montreal.

ROUILLARD, EUGÈNE. *Les noms géographiques de la province de Québec* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 102-107; no. 3, pp. 166-170).

Notes on the geographical names of the province of Quebec, covering those beginning with A and B.

———— *Souvenirs d'une croisière sur la côte nord du Golfe St.-Laurent* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 79-89; no. 3, pp. 153-165).

Geographical notes on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

(3) The Province of Ontario

BALBAUD, PAUL. *Toronto: Impressions de Séjour* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 171-174).

Notes on Toronto revisited.

PIERCE, LORNE. *James Laughlin Hughes, LL.D.* (Canadian Magazine, November, 1921, pp. 57-62).

A biographical sketch of a prominent Ontario educationist.

(4) The Western Provinces

DE TRÉMAUDAN, A. H. *Le sang français.* Introduction par le R. P. A.-G. MORICE. Winnipeg: Imprimerie de La Libre parole. [n.d.] Pp. xxvii, 240.

A collection of miscellaneous addresses delivered between 1916 and 1918, some of them dealing with phases of the history of western Canada.

ELLIOTT, T. C. *The Strange Case of Jonathan Carver and the Name Oregon* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 341-368).

Reviewed on page 377.

GALVANI, WILLIAM H. *The Early Explorations and the Origin of the Name of the Oregon Country* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 332-340).

Reviewed on page 377.

INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION. *Joint Report upon the Survey and Demarcation of the Boundary between the United States and Canada from the Western Terminus of the Land Boundary along the Forty-Ninth Parallel, on the West Side of Point Roberts, through Georgia, Haro, and Juan de Fuca Straits to the Pacific Ocean.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 1921. Pp. 104.

Reviewed on page 382.

MORISON, S. E. *Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823* (Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1920; reproduced in Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. xxi, pp. 166-201).

Reviewed on page 378.

———— *Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xv, 401; illustrations. ($5.00.)

To be reviewed later.

REES, JOHN E. *Oregon—Its Meaning, Origin, and Application* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxi, pp. 317-331).

Reviewed on page 377.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

ASHTON, Major E. J., and others. *Suggestions for Land Settlement: A Consideration of the Immigration Question, together with other views.* Toronto: Canadian Reconstruction Association. 1921. Pp. 16.

A symposium of views regarding immigration, land settlement, and the railway problem in Canada.

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Variations des noms géographiques du Canada* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol. 15, no. 5, pp. 290-301).

An alphabetical list of alternative geographical names in Canada.

[CANADIAN RECONSTRUCTION ASSOCIATION.] *Canada and Reciprocity with the United States.* Toronto: Canadian Reconstruction Association. 1921. Pp. 16.

"An analysis of tariff relations between the two countries."

CLARK, A. B. *An Outline of Provincial and Municipal Taxation in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan.* Winnipeg, University of Manitoba. 1921. Pp. 97.

To be reviewed later.

COLEMAN, A. P. *Northeastern Part of Labrador and New Quebec.* (Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey: Memoir 124.) Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1921. Pp. 68.

A study of the geology and physiography of the northeastern peninsula of Labrador, based on field-work undertaken during the summers of 1915 and 1916.

HAWORTH, PAUL LELAND. *Trailmakers of the Northwest.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1921. Pp. viii, 277. ($2.50.)

Reviewed on page 372.

HAYWARD, VICTORIA. *Mine Host—the Mennonite* (Canadian Magazine, November, 1921, pp. 63-70).

An account of a visit to a Mennonite settlement in Manitoba.

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The Canadian Historical Review

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VOLUME III

1922

Published Quarterly
At the University of Toronto Press

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The Canadian Historical Review

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE new provincial archivist of Quebec, Mr. Pierre-Georges Roy, has just issued his first report on the work of the Quebec Archives. The contents of the report, which will be dealt with in more detail later, make it abundantly clear that the wealth of material in the Quebec Archives is very great indeed, and that Mr. Roy is performing already a notable work in making it available. We have on previous occasions noted the excellent work being done by the provincial archivists of Ontario and British Columbia; and every historical scholar is familiar with the splendid results of the work of the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa. It is apparent that the task of collecting and properly housing the original materials of Canadian history is proceeding apace. Whether a proper co-ordination has been established between the various agencies at work is, however, perhaps questionable; and it is most desirable that such a co-ordination should be established. Might it not be possible to arrange a conference between archivists and historical scholars so as to prevent overlapping and rivalry?

While on the subject of archives collections attention ought perhaps to be called to the fact that the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London appear to be still a sealed book for the investigator. "Valuable papers," writes the latest applicant for permission to consult these archives, Dr. G. C. Davidson, the author of the recent *History of the North West Company*, "on

this subject may be contained in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, but the present writer was unable to obtain permission to enter those preserves." It cannot be said too strongly that the early records of the Hudson's Bay Company are part and parcel of Canadian history, and should become the property of the Canadian people. Obstructionist tactics on the part of the officials of the company with regard to its archives have been tolerated by Canada far too long; and it is to be hoped that pressure may soon be brought to bear on the company to compel it to give historical students access to its records, or at least to permit the copying or reproduction of the more important records for use in Canada.

Among the contributors to the present number of the REVIEW, Sir Clifford Sifton, the author of the paper on *Some Canadian Constitutional Problems*, needs no introduction. As minister of the interior in the Laurier administration from 1896 to 1905, and as chairman of the Commission on Conservation from 1909 until recently, he is admirably qualified to discuss, from a first-hand acquaintance with it, the working of Canadian government. Professor J. L. Morison, who contributes a paper on Lord Salisbury, is professor of history in Queen's University, Kingston, and was the author of a paper on Disraeli published in a previous number of the REVIEW. The paper on *Immigration and Settlement in Canada, 1812-1820*, is by Mr. A. R. M. Lower, of the Board of Historical Publications at Ottawa. The author of the paper on *The Trent Affair* is Mr. F. Landon, the public librarian of London, Ontario, who is an authority on the Civil War period of American history. The editor of the document entitled *Examination of a French Deserter in 1708* is Professor R. Flenley, formerly of the history staff of the University of Manitoba, and now of the history staff of the University of Toronto; and the note on *The Original "Salary Grab" in Upper Canada* is by the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell, one of the high court judges of Ontario, whose contributions to the early history of Upper Canada are well known.

SOME CANADIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

THE Canadian constitution was framed and passed by the British parliament in 1867. It was the consummation of the constitutional development of the various component parts of Canada, and represented the mature conclusions of the most prominent and trusted statesmen of the period. It was adopted not without friction and disagreement; but, although the most prudent method of ascertaining the people's wishes was not followed, the various provinces very soon settled down and accepted the new constitution as an accomplished fact.

Looking back over a period of fifty years, one must admit that the constitution thus conferred has worked extremely well. It very wisely contained provisions for the acquisition by Canada of parts of British North America, not included within the limits of the original union. These provisions have been utilized from time to time until the whole of British North America except Newfoundland has been included in the confederation. Some friction, resulting in armed clashes, occurred in the Northwest, first upon the occasion of the Red River Settlement being taken in, and later in the farther Northwest territories. Whatever the causes of these difficulties, they are now buried and forgotten, and the country is, constitutionally, commercially, and socially, united in a fairly harmonious whole.

It is a well-understood truth amongst constitutional students that no written constitution, however detailed and exact in its provisions, can remain precisely as it was in the beginning in its application and interpretation.

The constitution of the United States, though assuming to lay down with exactness the division of legal functions, has exhibited a definite progress along certain well-defined lines. Acts which in the first year of the Republic would have been flouted as flagrantly unconstitutional are now upheld almost without question by the courts. In Canada, there has not been so definite and clear an example of constitutional growth by the science of legal interpretation, but nevertheless the Canadian constitution, as it

actually operates, is very substantially different from what it was in the year after Confederation.

There is one difference between the constitutional development of Canada and that of the United States. Changes by interpretation in the United States have largely related to matters of jurisdiction as between the federal government and the state governments, though there has been some growth also in regard to the relations of the United States to outside powers. In the case of Canada, there has been no growth in the relations of the federal to the provincial governments, or with regard to federal and provincial jurisdiction. Growth has been almost entirely with reference to the relations of Canada to the British government and foreign powers. As to the latter class of subjects there has been substantial development. Whether it has gone so far as is alleged by some statesmen, may perhaps be questioned.

Canada certainly enjoys an equal status with South Africa, and General Smuts, the prime minister of South Africa, states in unmistakable terms that South Africa is a nation—that as prime minister thereof he is equal in status with the prime minister of Great Britain. How far this is true, I shall consider a little later.

Leaving this subject for the present, I return to the question of the relations between the federal government and the provinces and of the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions. These relations have given rise with tolerable continuity to disputes and litigation. Some litigation there must necessarily be where there is a written constitution, in order to determine the general principles of interpretation, but when this is admitted it still remains that there has been a large and undesirable amount of contention on these subjects. The result has been that Canadians have to some extent been hampered in their political thought and development by constitutional uncertainty. There have been from time to time what laymen, and many lawyers, regard as conflicting decisions. Uncertainty of jurisdiction has in some cases prevented important subjects from being dealt with in the manner desired by the people. To give an instance that is familiar, it is well known that it takes legislation from both Dominion and province to deal with the liquor traffic, and even when that is forthcoming litigation seems to be almost endless.

In a late case in Manitoba the Grain Act, a very important statute, in force for twenty years and originally drawn with the utmost care, has been challenged on the ground of unconstitutionality. The question arising under this litigation is as to the powers

of the Dominion parliament with respect to "the regulation of trade and commerce". In this case, as in others, it has become very clear that the meaning of these words is not sufficiently definite, and that an amendment to the constitution making a proper definition is urgently required.

In another case before the Privy Council, known as the Alberta Great Waterways case, a decision was given which is interpreted by a high authority as meaning that with regard to a debt, unless both the debtor and the creditor are within the province, the legislature cannot legislate on the subject of the debt. This decision, it may be said with all deference, is of doubtful legal soundness, and if given its full and logical scope would produce serious uncertainties and difficulties. Here again exact definition is required.

There are many other cases.

To sum up under this head, it may be said that, while under a written constitution there will be some litigation to determine principles of interpretation, we are afflicted with altogether too much uncertainty. In the light of fifty years' experience, it should be possible for a committee of constitutional lawyers to make a revision of the constitution which would have a most beneficial and clarifying effect.

To turn to another phase of the subject. It is becoming increasingly evident that in this democratic community there are many lines of thought being pursued, the possibility of which was not present to the minds of the framers of the constitution in an age that was simpler in its conceptions of government and less disposed to question the traditions of the past. There are considerable classes in Canada who advocate definite and somewhat radical changes in constitutional methods and, while there is little probability of any very radical change securing the assent of a decisive majority of the whole people, it is quite within the realm of possibility that particular provinces might wish to make changes which the constitution does not sanction. Suppose, for instance, that the people of a province desired to adopt in the transaction of their provincial business the principle of the initiative and the referendum, and to provide that their executive should hold office for a fixed period of years instead of being dependent upon a day-to-day majority of the legislature. It is not a question whether the rest of the people of Canada agree with this view or not. In the provincial sphere the business is the business of the people of the province, and if they think that they can control

their government better and secure a more satisfactory disposition of public business by the adoption of these principles, it is entirely their affair.

Furthermore, there is plenty of room for argument as to the wisdom of such a course. Many thoughtful people doubt the desirability of cabinet government in the provinces. In the United States a state executive is not dependent on a majority in the state legislature. In other countries provincial government, on lines different from that which is possible under a responsible cabinet system, has worked fairly well. Anyone who gives the subject serious consideration will admit that the practice of regarding either a provincial or a Dominion government as being defeated by a catch vote on a non-essential matter of which no notice has been given is a rather absurd relic of the past.[1]

Now, if the people of a province desired to make such a change as is indicated above they would at once find themselves barred by the constitution. The British North America Act does, it is true, give the province power to amend its constitution, but with a most important exception, namely, that it can make no change in the office of the lieutenant-governor. The theory of the whole system is that the executive government is in the hands of the Crown—that is, so far as the province is concerned, in the hands of the lieutenant-governor. In theory, he is the administrator of all public business, acting of course on the advice of his ministers and through them, but in the result it will be seen that the provinces cannot effectively legislate to make any substantial change in the method of controlling and carrying on the executive government without touching upon the position of the Crown.[2]

With respect to this point, differences of opinion have been expressed; but I hardly think that anyone who has had experience in legislation and in the actual transaction of government business will deny that it is to all intents and purposes impracticable to make any substantial amendment without raising a question as to the validity of the measure. That is a practical bar to anything being done. It is, therefore, extremely desirable that there should be such an amendment to the constitution as would enable

[1] A Farmer Convention in Manitoba has recently declared itself in opposition to this custom.

[2] The Privy Council held the Manitoba statute of 1916, which introduced the initiative and the referendum, to be *ultra vires*, on the ground that it interfered with the prerogative of the Crown as administered by the lieutenant-governor.

the people of a province to simplify and more directly to control the transaction of provincial business.

A little consideration will make it evident that if changes of this kind cannot be made it tends to sterilize political thought, and either to discourage active-minded citizens from taking an interest in the conduct of affairs or to drive their mental activities into undesirable channels.

With respect to Dominion matters, the well-known illustration upon the subject is that of the Senate. The constitution of the Senate is a subject of constant discussion. Political parties have repeatedly declared for its amendment, and I believe in the late general election the Progressive party declared for its abolition. There is a very general feeling that the constitution of the Senate should be amended and brought more into line with the democratic principle. I am told that Canada has the only Senate in the British Empire which is purely the result of appointment by a political executive.

I doubt if, on mature consideration, the people of Canada would care to abolish the Senate, and try the experiment of single-chamber government. Certainly, students of the science of government in the past have declared against such a system with great unanimity. It is not probable that we should care to flout all the wisdom and experience of the past. Upon the question of a substantial reform in the constitution of the Senate there would probably be little difference of opinion, yet as matters stand at the present time any material change is impossible.

Without disclosing state secrets, I may go so far as to say that more than once the subject has been approached without any success. In actual practice the difficulty of convincing the British government of the wisdom of any particular change in the constitution of the Senate is insuperable.

There are three definite divisions into which constitutional changes, if any, would naturally fall:

(1) Those which concern the relative jurisdiction of the Dominion parliament and the provincial legislatures. I have given some illustrations above under this heading.

(2) Those which relate to proposed changes in the internal constitution of the Dominion or of any of the provinces. Under this head would fall any amendment to the constitution of the Senate or any amendment changing the nature or functions of the provincial executive.

(3) Those which relate to the position of Canada with regard to Great Britain and foreign countries.

It may be broadly stated that there is at present no satisfactory method of effecting any important change in the constitution; and such matters as I have referred to are therefore incapable of being effectively dealt with.

By law a change can only be made by Act of the Imperial parliament. The method adopted is that the Dominion government approaches the British government, and states its views with regard to a proposed change. The views of the Dominion government go before the Colonial Secretary of the British government, and presumably are considered by him in consultation with his colleagues. If the Colonial Secretary finally approves of the proposed amendment he introduces a bill into the Imperial parliament for the purpose of effecting the amendment, and causes it to be passed into an Act. This procedure is quite impossible in practice. The Colonial Secretary is, in effect, with his colleagues made the judge as to whether the proposed amendment is or is not desirable. He knows nothing of the merits of the case. He has probably never been in Canada. It is measurably certain that he would not be able to name the provinces of Canada without consulting a book, if he were asked to do so. It is also measurably certain that he has never read the British North America Act, and it is entirely certain that he has never read the leading cases upon its interpretation. He is unfamiliar with the state of facts in Canada which calls for the amendment. He has no means of acquiring a knowledge of the facts. He cannot tell whether or not the people of Canada are in favour of the change. He may find that the Dominion government desires the change, and that one or more of the provincial governments are opposed to it, or he may be advised that public opinion as indicated by the Canadian press is not unanimously in favour of the change. In any and every case, he is perfectly helpless because he has no definite and conclusive method of satisfying himself. The result is that he will not act in regard to any important change unless the change seems to be unanimously desired. Now, it is quite obvious that if the proposed amendment is of serious importance there will be differences of opinion in Canada about it, and these differences will speedily be made evident. So soon as this takes place, the Colonial Secretary will decline to proceed any further. In the result, therefore, no change whatever can be made, unless

it is on some purely technical matter, or is of such trifling importance as to excite no comment.

No one will deny, least of all the British authorities, that the people of Canada themselves should decide on any change which they desire to have made in their constitution. If that is the case, it is obvious that proper machinery should be devised to meet the requirements of the case.

In Australia, under the constitutional Act, there are ample provisions for amendment in respect to all internal affairs. In minor matters, the parliament of the Commonwealth can alter its constitution by a simple Act. In matters of more importance, section 128 of the Commonwealth Act provides a specific method for making changes. All changes under section 128 require to be submitted to the vote of the people. It is not regarded as a formidable matter in Australia to deal with a constitutional change, and referenda on such changes have already been taken some five or six times.[1]

In South Africa, under section 52 of the Union Act, it is provided that parliament can by law repeal or alter any of the provisions of the Act. There are some trifling, temporary, and transitory limitations, but in substance the South African parliament can change its constitution with respect to internal affairs at any time by a simple Act.

In the United States, article 5 of the constitution states that amendments can be made to the constitution on the initiative of Congress by a two-thirds majority or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the states. Such amendments become valid when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states.

I need not labour the argument by referring to other countries. It will be seen at once that Canada stands practically alone in modern, self-governing, democratic countries in her inability to change her constitution in accordance with what may be the development of political thought.

There is one fact in the case of Canada which does not exist to the same extent in other familiar cases.

The British North America Act was the result of a compact between the four original provinces. Before this compact was entered into, it was recognized that there were certain things which required special treatment. There were safeguards which

[1]Australia is now considering a general and very radical revision of the whole constitution.

certain elements and classes of the community insisted upon having before they would consent to the Confederation compact. These concerned the position of Lower Canada and its French-Canadian inhabitants with respect to their language and educational affairs. There was also the position of the Protestant minority in Lower Canada and the position of the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada. Safeguarding provisions with respect to the French language and the educational rights of the minorities of both Upper and Lower Canada were insisted upon, and were duly provided, to the entire satisfaction of those who were interested.

It must be said at once that all such provisions, and any provisions of a similar character that have come into effect subsequently, are fundamental and of the very essence of Confederation. No change can ever be made which will in any respect diminish or impair these guarantees. To suggest any such change would be to court the disruption of the Dominion. In considering the question of constitutional changes, therefore, it must be premised as a first and essential condition that all these guarantees should be protected.

This point being fully and satisfactorily provided for, there seems no reason why Canada should not be put in the same position as other democratic, self-governing communities and enabled to deal effectively with its governmental affairs in accordance with the wishes of the people. As to the particular method of bringing into effect constitutional changes, that is of course a matter for careful consideration. The nature of the provisions for effecting constitutional changes must depend upon whether it is desired to make these changes quickly and easily, or whether they are to be regarded as of such importance that very great safeguards should be thrown about them. I am a very strong adherent of the latter view.

The American provision for amendments to the constitution is an excellent one for Canada to follow, except that in the case of Canada I would require the province to ratify by popular vote instead of vote of the legislature. In fact, I am clearly of the opinion that any constitutional change, other than in matters of detail such as have been customarily dealt with by our parliaments and legislatures, should be submitted to a vote of the people before coming into effect.

I now arrive at what appears to be much the most important part of the subject. I have pointed out the divisions in to which constitutional amendments, if any, would naturally fall:

(1) The relative jurisdiction of Dominion and province.

(2) Possible internal changes of constitution of Dominion and province.

(3) The relationship to Great Britain and foreign powers.

The illustrations given above, in my judgment, prove the necessity for changes under the first two divisions. It is not too radical to suggest that after fifty years' experience we should clear up the doubts, anomalies, and inconsistencies which have developed as between province and Dominion, nor will it be disputed that matters of internal economy, as, for instance, the constitution of the Senate, should be capable of amendment.

With respect to these matters, some are more urgent than others. Some might be dealt with on a first revision, and others might be left to be dealt with in the future under autonomous powers of amendment. The vital need, however, for constitutional action arises in connection with external affairs, by which I mean Canada's relations with everything and everybody outside of Canada, including the parent Empire. In respect to these relations there is imperative need of immediate action.

Our external relations are enveloped in what might be called a highly luminous but cloudy halo. The plain man who makes no pretence at the investigation of legal or constitutional subtleties must be in despair when he attempts to understand them. Not only is the subject in its very nature somewhat obscure and difficult to comprehend, but it suffers from the fact that almost everyone who debates it seems by an unhappy fatality to be seized with a desire to use high-sounding, sonorous, and sometimes self-contradictory language.

Here is a quotation from Sir Robert Borden:

> Equality of nationhood must be recognized, preserving unimpaired to each Dominion the full autonomous power which it now holds and safeguarding to each by necessary consultation and by adequate voice and influence its highest interests in the issues of peace and war.

Here are three quotations from Mr. N. W. Rowell:

> Does the *Globe* stand with Union Government . . . in maintaining in the councils of the Empire and at the Conference Table of the nations the unity of the British Commonwealth and the equality of the nations which compose it and that our constitutional development be along lines of consultation and co-operation be-

tween the different self-governing nations of the Empire rather than the centralization of power in the hands of one?

Canada, not only in theory but in fact, has reached the status of a nation.

On this vital matter affecting the policy of peace and war we have a right to be heard and the means is provided whereby our voice may be heard in determining those questions so vital to our future.

Here are two quotations from Lord Milner:

The United Kingdom and the Dominions are partner nations not yet indeed of equal power but for good and all of equal status.

The only possibility of the continuance of the British Empire is on a basis of an absolute out-and-out equal partnership of the United Kingdom and the Dominions. I say that without any kind of reservation whatsoever.

The resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1917, with regard to imperial relations, may be quoted:

The Imperial War Conference are of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the War, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.

They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine.

Here are some quotations from General Smuts. Speaking of his opponents in the South African parliament, in September, 1920, General Smuts said:

They are dominated by pre-war conceptions and fail to take account of the fundamental changes which the war and the peace have effected in the constitution of the British Empire.

Subsequently, he has used such language as follows:

> The British Empire as it existed before the war has in fact ceased to exist as a result of the war.
>
> The Dominions have, in principle, authority and power not only in respect of their domestic questions but also of their international or foreign relations and the questions of peace or war which may affect them.
>
> If a war is to affect them they will have to declare it. If a peace is to be made in respect of them they will have to sign it.
>
> Their independence has been achieved.
>
> The last vestige of anything in the nature of subordinate status in the relationship will have to disappear. These are not my boastful words. I quote the considered language of the present Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.
>
> The South African party is out for a sovereign status for South Africa. So far as surrendering any rights to the League of Nations or to any Council of the Empire. . . . . We are for the fullest development and assertion of these rights.
>
> As regards our Imperial relationship the South African party favours the development of the periodical Conference system between the various Governments of our Commonwealth with a view to removing possible causes of friction and misunderstanding and furthering the interests of the Commonwealth and component States and discussing workable ideas of their policies.
>
> *We are opposed to closer union.*

General Smuts's declaration is deliberate, studied, and catagorical. He says in effect:

(1) Independence of the Dominions has been achieved.

(2) The Dominions are equal with the mother country.

(3) The Dominion is not necessarily at war when England is at war. The Dominion is not at war until it declares war.

(4) Conferences will be between governments regarding civil matters of common interest.

(5) There is no question of "a voice" or "consultation" or "adequate representation" with respect to foreign policy. According to Smuts, the Dominion is supreme and independent in regard to all foreign policy, and no closer union than the above will be tolerated.

It is evident that there is a wide difference between the Canadian view of the external relations of Canada and the utterances

of General Smuts regarding South Africa. Yet the actual status of Canada and South Africa must be the same.

There has lately been another and most important declaration upon this subject. Speaking in the British House of Commons lately, upon the Irish settlement, Mr. Lloyd George, prime minister of Great Britain, went into the subject of Dominion relations very fully. I quote his words, omitting what does not bear on the point at issue:

> Now I come to the question of external affairs. The position of the Dominions in regard to external affairs has been completely revolutionized in the course of the last four years. I tried to call attention to that a few weeks ago when I made a statement. The Dominions since the war have been given equal rights with Great Britain in the control of foreign policy of the Empire.....
>
> The machinery is the machinery of the British Government, the Foreign Office, the Ambassadors. The machine must remain here. It is impossible that it could be otherwise unless you had a Council of Empire where you had representatives elected for the purpose. Apart from that you must act through one instrument. The instrument of foreign policy of the Empire is the British Foreign Office. *That has been accepted by all the Dominions as inevitable*, but they claim a voice in determining the lines of our policy and at the last Imperial Conference they were here discussing our policy in Germany, our policy in Egypt, our policy in America, our policy all over the world, and we are now acting upon the mature and general decisions arrived at with the common consent of the whole Empire.....
>
> *The advantage to us is that joint control means joint responsibility* and when the burden of Empire has become so great it is well that we should have the shoulders of these young giants under the burden to help us along.

This is a remarkable and momentous declaration. It states definitely and categorically that all the Dominions have agreed that the foreign policy of the whole Empire (including the Dominions) should be handled through the British Foreign Office. It further states that the Dominions have become and are jointly responsible for this policy throughout the whole world, including, for example, Egypt and, if Egypt, then India.

Three remarks may be made respecting this declaration.

In the first place, joint responsibility means moral, naval, military, and financial responsibility for any and every war any-

where in the world in which the British Foreign Office or any other department of the British government may involve Britain. These henceforth will not be merely British wars, but Empire wars, to which Canada shall be bound to contribute.

In the second place, it may be definitely stated that no one ever assumed to commit Canada to such a policy, unless it was Mr. Meighen at the late Conference in London. If he did so, he has not reported the fact to the Canadian parliament or to the Canadian people. If he did so, he did it without a vestige of authority from the Canadian parliament or the Canadian people, who were up to the date of Mr. Lloyd George's speech in entire ignorance that any such proposals were being made or considered.

In the third place, there is a very clear contradiction between Mr. Lloyd George's statement upon the position of the Dominions in foreign affairs and the speech of General Smuts as above quoted. General Smuts in plain language tells the people of South Africa that the independence of South Africa has been achieved, that she is supreme in both internal and foreign affairs, that she is not at war until she declares war herself. Mr. Lloyd George says the Dominions have agreed to come in and direct foreign affairs for the whole Empire all over the world, in partnership with Great Britain, transacting the entire business through the British Foreign Office and assuming joint responsibility therefor.

I am aware that by a process of ingenious casuistry an apparent agreement between these statements can be made out. Such a process of reasoning is, however, repugnant to common sense. When General Smuts told the people of South Africa that South Africa was practically independent and would transact her own business in peace or war, domestic and foreign, and could not be involved in war except by her own declaration they certainly did not understand that South Africa had agreed to join what is practically a council for the direction of all foreign affairs of the entire Empire and that by joining such a council South Africa had accepted responsibility for every war, great and small, in any part of the world in which the Empire might in future be engaged. It is at least very possible that if the people had so understood him he would not now be prime minister of South Africa. It will be interesting to learn whether General Smuts will now agree that Mr. Lloyd George's statement is correct.

A very striking circumstance has occurred since the making of the declaration by Mr. Lloyd George quoted above. The representatives of the British government have been in con-

ference at Cannes with French representatives in regard to a proposed treaty. The treaty was reduced to writing, approved by the British representatives, and handed to the French premier. The text of the treaty is now published in Paris so that we know exactly what it was that Great Britain proposed. The draft treaty provides that, in case of direct and unprovoked aggression by Germany, Great Britain—not the Empire—will come to the assistance of France with military, naval, and aerial forces. It further provides that no British Dominion shall be bound by the treaty until such Dominion has approved it.

Consider this for a moment. This treaty was negotiated by British representatives. No Dominion representative was present. The Dominions were not consulted nor were they a party to the negotiations. This is conclusively proven by the clause which provides that they are not bound until they separately adhere. The whole proceeding is in flat contradiction to Mr. Lloyd George's statement that hereafter foreign policy was to be under the joint control of Britain and the Dominions. Mr. Lloyd George would probably say that it was not practicable to consult the Dominions and give them a voice in the negotiations. Possibly that is true. If so, it merely proves that the policy of joint control which he so eloquently announced above is impracticable and has broken down on the first trial. What we require is a policy that is not impracticable, and that will not break down.

What then is the position of Canada? Shall she approve or not? If not, how will she stand in the event of war under the treaty? Will the fact that she has not adhered to the treaty make her a neutral and save her commerce from enemy depredations?

It would take a separate article to discuss that question.

Enough has now been said to indicate the necessity of Canada's constitutional relations being defined by law instead of by stump speeches and to prove the truth of my remark that it was difficult to glean a correct idea of the true position from an examination of the utterances of our responsible statesmen.

It is desirable to make a statement on the position of Canada which shall be at once clear and definite and in accordance with law and fact.

I would state the position as follows:

Canada started in life as a subordinate self-governing Dominion. She had certain powers given her definitely. Nearly all powers relating to internal affairs were accorded, but not quite

all. She had no external powers whatever, and no relations with foreign countries. In the interpretation of her relations with the mother country the subordinate status was marked and unmistakable.

Almost immediately after 1867 the process of broadening the interpretation of the constitution began, and continuously from that time forward the interpretation has become more and more liberal. The government of the Dominion has been permitted from time to time to extend its functions, until it may now be regarded as being indisputably supreme in all matters arising within Canada, except possibly one or two in respect of which it is claimed that Imperial interests arise modifying the right to independent action on the part of Canada.

As time passed, the Canadian government was permitted to acquire certain powers with respect to foreign countries. It is now customary for Canadian ministers to negotiate commercial treaties with foreign countries under the ægis of the Foreign Office of Great Britain. No such treaty is valid without the concurrence of the British minister, and ratification would not be made by a foreign country without ratification by the British government. There is additional ratification by the Canadian parliament. A further advance has been made by the reception of Dominion statesmen in Imperial Conferences on a footing of equality for purposes of consultation and by the admission of Canadian representatives on the British Empire panel at the Paris Peace Conference. If now we regard the growth which has taken place and the statements which have been made on behalf of the Dominion governments, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and if we add to these the statements that have been made and the practices that have been sanctioned officially on behalf of the British government, we come to a conclusion.

The conclusion is this:

The strictly legal position of the Dominion of Canada has changed little, if any, since 1867, but what may be called the constitutional growth by the passing of events has brought about a condition of affairs in which it is proposed with practical unanimity by the British government and by the governments of the Dominions that there should be a definite change in the status of the Dominions. An Imperial Constitutional Conference is mooted for the purpose of giving effect to the change and clearing away restrictions and limitations that are now obsolete; and

everyone agrees that the proposed changes must give the Dominions absolute control of their internal affairs.

Furthermore, it seems to be the opinion of General Smuts that the change must be a complete recognition of the equality of the Dominions with the United Kingdom, of the right of the Dominions to be absolutely free to participate or not to participate in any war of the Empire, and of the right of the Dominions to declare war or make peace and generally exercise plenary authority in foreign relations.

In apparent opposition to this opinion of General Smuts, it is the view of Mr. Lloyd George that in all other respects the above views should prevail but that, as respects foreign policy, war, and peace, the Dominions have surrendered their right to act individually and have agreed to come into a combination with Great Britain under which the representatives of Great Britain and all the Dominions shall determine all foreign policy whatever, acting through the British Foreign Office and accepting joint responsibility in the fullest sense.

To review the whole subject, then, the position of Canada becomes very clear. We are confronted with certain outstanding facts:

(1) The necessity of a revision of the constitution of Canada with respect to internal affairs.

(2) That changes in the relations of Canada with Great Britain and all the world are almost immediately in prospect and are due to be dealt with by a conference in London which has already been called and which is only now deferred for a time as a matter of convenience.

(3) That international affairs, like the recent Disarmament Conference at Washington, are constantly arising in which Canada's unsettled and undefined relationship with the mother country and with foreign countries gives rise to dangerous misconceptions and irritation. In the case of the Disarmament Conference fault has been found that the United States did not invite Canada directly to send a representative.

It is, therefore, essential that some proper method should be adopted whereby changes may be made in the constitution as it applies both to internal and external affairs. Every writer and speaker, Dominion or British, who has spoken or written upon the subject, agrees upon the propriety of this. Apart from this, however, it is no part of the scope of this article to argue for or against any particular change or amendment. Each proposal

must be discussed on its merits when proposed. My purpose is not at the moment to advocate any particular change, but to point out that changes are necessarily coming in the almost immediate future and that these changes should be dealt with deliberately and methodically, and not in a haphazard and accidental fashion.

At the impending Constitutional Conference in London, the subjects to be dealt with will be of far-reaching effect. The national destiny of Canada will be profoundly affected by the decisions arrived at. These decisions must be made by representatives of Canada on the one hand and representatives of the British government on the other.

Who shall these representatives of Canada be? How shall they be appointed? What will their instructions be? How will such instructions be prepared? What method will be adopted for ascertaining the wishes of the people of Canada upon the questions which are to be decided?

Hitherto it has apparently been taken for granted that in all these matters the prime minister of Canada should automatically be accepted as the representatives of Canada with such of his colleagues as he was pleased to designate or as were included in the invitation. Latterly, as somewhat of a concession to democratic ideas, it has been suggested that the leader of the opposition should be included in such a delegation, but this innovation has not yet been confirmed or put in practice.

It is to be noted that there has always been a pronounced attitude of reserve, reticence, and secretiveness on the part of the prime ministers and governments towards parliament and the people with regard to these matters. Sir Wilfrid Laurier never could be induced to discuss constitutional subjects with the House of Commons freely. Sir Robert Borden never took counsel with the House of Commons before the event, and Mr. Meighen was markedly non-committal and secretive both before and after his participation in the late Imperial Conference. I think it may be said without offence that in these matters even the colleagues of the prime minister have had difficulty in finding out what was to be done or, after the event, what had in fact been done. The disposition has been to do as little as possible, to do it behind closed doors, and to say as little as possible about it. The wise statesmen evidently were of the opinion that the less said or done, the smaller the probability of getting into trouble. All this may not have been of serious importance before the war because the

matters dealt with were not of the first importance, and the general tendency of affairs was quite satisfactory to the great majority of the people. During the war the government of Canada, like other governments, was more or less vested with autocratic powers. Since the war, however, the same practice has prevailed. Mr. Meighen went to the last Conference. His attitude upon the subject of the Japanese alliance was undoubtedly in accordance with the popular view in Canada, but his further action while in England is entirely obscure. We do not know what it was. The statements of Mr. Lloyd George quoted above contain all the information we have. Mr. Meighen has told us nothing. We do not know whether or not he agrees with the interpretation put by Mr. Lloyd George upon the proceedings of the Conference. It is a most serious matter of complaint that the prime minister of Canada should take part in important inter-imperial conferences, and make no report by which we may know to what extent he has sought to commit Canada.

If the practice of the past be adhered to, some time in the course of a year or so there will be a Constitutional Conference at London, and an invitation will be received by the Canadian government to attend it.

At that Conference the whole question of the powers and status, internal and external, of the British Dominions and their participation in the affairs of the world will be settled.

Categorically, the questions to be decided will be somewhat as follows:

(1) Shall Canada have complete autonomy in internal affairs and plenary power to amend her own constitution at will?

(2) Shall such power be accompanied by a status of complete equality with the United Kingdom?

(3) Shall Canada join with General Smuts and say, "We have achieved our independence, and we desire steps to be taken to give that independence legal and international effect?"

(4) Shall Canada assume power to deal with foreign nations as a sovereign power and settle questions of peace and war for herself, thereby gaining immunity from all wars of the Empire, and also thereby gaining plenary power to settle her own civil and trade relations with the world at large? Or,

(5) Shall Canada accept Mr. Lloyd George's definition of her status and unite with Britain and the other Dominions in directing all matters of foreign policy of Britain and the Dominions throughout the world through the British Foreign Office, thereby

incurring actual participation in and joint responsibility for every war of the Empire.

There are no questions which can ever arise with respect to any nation that are more important than these.

As I have said, an invitation will in due course come to the Canadian government to participate in the Conference at London which will settle these questions. Following the usual course Mr. King would designate one or more of his colleagues to accompany him. He might also invite Mr. Crerar and Mr. Meighen. Mr. Crerar and Mr. Meighen would probably require to be delegated by the House of Commons before consenting to go, or they might decline the responsibility altogether. But on the assumption that Mr. King, Mr. Crerar, Mr. Meighen and one or more of Mr. King's colleagues go as delegates, what is the position then?

No one in Canada knows what Mr. King, Mr. Crerar, or Mr. Meighen thinks about any of the subjects that are to be dealt with. No one of them has ever spoken or written anything, so far as we know, which in any respect whatever can be said to define his views except that Mr. Crerar has spoken against a centralizing tendency. The people of Canada, therefore, would be represented by three men whose opinions are unknown, and who have almost certainly never made any special study of the subjects that are to be dealt with. That would be rather undesirable, but it might be remedied because they can study the subjects now, and they can express their views so that people can know what they are.

There is, however, another difficulty which cannot be removed. Neither Mr. King, Mr. Crerar, nor Mr. Meighen have the faintest idea what the majority of the people of Canada think about these questions, and they have no way of finding out, even if they were willing to abjure their own views, and give effect to those of the people. If it be said that they can consult parliament, we are in no better case. The members of the new parliament know nothing whatever about the opinions of the people on these questions. If it be said that in any event it is the business of parliament to transact the nation's business, and that the opinions of the majority of parliament should govern, the answer to that proposition is conclusive. The members of the Canadian parliament are elected to carry on the affairs of the country under and in accordance with the constitution. Except in trifling details they have no authority whatever to change it.

What then are the views of the people on these questions? Nobody knows. It is quite certain that the opinions of the people are only half formed or not formed at all. Ninety-nine out of every hundred electors have never considered the questions. Before they can form their opinions there must be full discussion in the press and on the platform.

The proposition that any four or five members of parliament, however eminent, with unknown views and absolutely uninformed as to the views of the people, should blithely proceed to settle the destinies of the country, may be dismissed as unworthy of discussion. He would surely be a brave man who would accept the position of delegate under such circumstances. He might find his public career summarily terminated when he returned. Such, indeed, would be a very probable result. Public opinion in such cases crystallizes slowly, and sometimes along entirely unexpected lines. One thing, however, is absolutely certain. The people of Canada will in the long run insist on their national destiny being settled in conformity with their own views, and if anyone prematurely attempts to settle it without ascertaining their views the consequences are apt to be disastrous to the person or persons involved. This whole question is emphatically one for submission to the people. No good can come from any attempt to withdraw it from their deliberate judgment or to settle it behind tiled doors. Let us have a frank, full, and exhaustive discussion. Let everybody be heard. Let us get the best possible expression of the considered judgment of the people and accept it as final.

What method should be adopted for ascertaining the popular view upon the questions which have to be determined?

Two plans have been suggested, both of which are worthy of serious consideration.

The first suggestion is that a constitutional convention should be held composed of delegates elected directly by the people. Parliament could pass an Act dividing the country into districts, specifying the number of delegates to be elected and providing the machinery of election. If this were done and the delegates were chosen on a large scheme of proportional representation, it is probable that it would result in a fairly complete representation of the views of all sections of the community. The convention thus elected would proceed to revise the constitution.

It might be provided that the constitution so revised should forthwith be deemed to represent the wishes of the Canadian people or it might be provided that the revised constitution

should be submitted to popular vote. Both these methods have been practised at different times in the United States.

Another plan suggested is that the House of Commons should form a select committee, representing all parties, whose duty it would be to draft a revised constitution. Such a committee would no doubt secure the assistance of the best constitutional lawyers. The result of the committee work would be reported to parliament, and by parliament submitted to the people.

In the case of either of the above plans it would be quite feasible when the submission is made to the people to place the matter before them in the shape of alternative propositions so that the voters would not be bound simply to the acceptance or rejection of a single formula.

These details need present no serious difficulty. The essential thing is to have a full discussion and an informed and authoritative expression of the people's wishes.

CLIFFORD SIFTON

THE LAST OF THE OLD TORIES:

A Review of the Earlier Career of Robert, Third Marquis of Salisbury[1]

IN the world of British political history there are signs that the old literary ascendancy of the Whigs and Liberals is no longer to go unchallenged. The tradition, which Macaulay confirmed, had been gloriously continued by a series of literary politicians, Trevelyan, Morley, Rosebery, and yet another Trevelyan—to mention only a few obvious names. But the Tory camp is at last astir. Mr. Fortescue's Ford lectures dealt some shrewd blows at the myth of Charles Fox. The biography of Disraeli, covering as it does more than half a century of great events, offers the impartial reader a history of nineteenth century England less radical in its sympathies than the narratives of McCarthy and Paul. And now, in the fulness of time, comes the biography of one who must always remain the test and standard of genuine Tory principle. It was important that one who played so great a part in his generation as the third Marquis of Salisbury, but who remained so much aloof from his fellows, and whose views were not those likely to be favoured by the coming age, should find a sympathetic biographer. The recent life, written by his daughter, will satisfy the most exacting lover of things conservative and Victorian. Lady Gwendolen Cecil has brought to her task a perfectly honest perception of her father's principles and idiosyncrasies, and, what is even better, an entire appreciation of them. Here is the life of a very great gentleman, written with a dignity worthy of the subject, and completing the intimate story of Victorian politics in a spirit appropriate to that age.

Robert Cecil[2] will always remain an important figure in the nineteenth century, because, apart from the interest attaching

[1] The primary authority used has been *The Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, by his daughter, Lady Gwendolen Cecil (Vols. I and II: London, 1921). The following have also been consulted: *The Quarterly Review*, more especially for the years 1860-1867; *Essays by Robert, Marquess of Salisbury*, London, 1905; Buckle, *Life of Disraeli*, Vols. IV-VI, London, 1916-20; Lord Morley, *Life of W. E. Gladstone*, London, 1903; Lord Morley, *Reminiscences*, London, 1917; Lord Newton, *Life of Lord Lyons*, London, 1913; Churchill, *Life of Lord Randolph Churchill*, London, 1906; and other works.

[2] Lord Robert Cecil became Lord Cranborne in 1865 and Marquis of Salisbury in 1868.

to him as an individual, he was the representative man of a class and party now almost vanished from the public life of England—a Tory, born in the ancient principles, holding to them with clear comprehension of their scope, and not ashamed to proclaim them unmodified, and to act on them without apology. He was representative, however, not in the sense of standing for the average, but as the natural and complete expression of a tradition and a class. Within that tradition he was *sui generis*, but he could have come from no other origin.

From the first, weak health and extreme sensitiveness held him apart from his own crowd, and reinforced tastes naturally exclusive and remote. There is a touch of pathetic humour in his constant endeavours to evade his fellows; in preparatory school finding life "an existence among devils"; condemning Eton as "insupportable"; at Oxford set apart from the healthy mob by the disabilities attaching to the Oxford climate. Curiously enough the political leaders in the nineteenth century who followed most normally the regular English means of education into public life were Peelite, Whig, and Liberal. The Tory chiefs, Castlereagh, Wellington, Disraeli, and Salisbury, pursued more irregular and individual courses. In Lord Salisbury's case the habit of social aloofness followed him into his official career, and his assistants sometimes found it difficult to trace a secretary of state who spent no little ingenuity in evading their company. Three things contributed chiefly to his training as a statesman, the traditions of his class, the necessity of earning a living by his pen, and the religion which, as with his great opponent Gladstone, was always the deepest thing in him.

From beginning to end, he thought, spoke, and acted as a representative of the British landed aristocracy. Their interests, not necessarily selfish, shaped his programme, their arrogant freedom from the arts of flattery and canvassing, gave him his brusque honesty and directness of utterance; in predecessors like Castlereagh and Wellington he found his models of statesmanship; accepting society as a balance of classes, he always thought disloyalty to his own class treason to the state. He once said, with reference to religion, that it was incomprehensible to him how any man could pass the age of forty, without having finally determined upon his religious views. He could have said the same, setting a much earlier age-limit, of political views. Unlike Peel and Gladstone, he never altered, for he represented something unsusceptible to change—the natural policy of an ancient caste.

It was his good fortune that, without an easy competence, he dared to marry, and to keep house on £700 a year. That audacious act forced him into letters and made him in early manhood publicist as well as politician. His own maxim was that excellence in speaking could only be achieved by practice in writing. But writing did more for him than that. The chief danger in the way of old Tory politicians has always been that passion and prejudice have dominated their utterances, and that they neither could, nor cared to, analyse the arguments for their own side. But Lord Robert Cecil did for himself and his party a service similar to that performed by Burke for the Whigs in his pamphlets; and whatever literary reputation he possesses depends on the long series of very able political analyses and criticisms in the *Quarterly Review*, which bear the imprint, not of his name, but of his style. The *Saturday Review*, then at the height of its short-lived fame, was another standby: and we owe to Lord Morley an illuminating glimpse of the aloof and silent young Saturday Reviewer, waiting each Tuesday morning in the editorial ante-room for his commission. "He, too," says Lord Morley, "had a talent for silence, and we exchanged no word, either now or on any future occasion." It was a fortunate necessity for his party which drove Lord Robert Cecil into journalism. The Peelite schism had deprived the Tory party of its natural leaders. Lord George Bentinck had been impossible from the beginning, except as hero of what one must call the most interesting of Disraeli's political novels; Derby's indolence of mind and conscience threatened dissolution to the party; so the Tories found themselves reluctant pawns in Disraeli's great game against the Whigs for personal power. Possibly the old Tory party must end, but it was well that it should fight to the last under its old flag, not merely faithful to, but conscious of, the principles it defended. Of such stern and unbending Toryism Lord Robert Cecil was the natural spokesman.

The predominant feature in his articles is a certain fierce simplicity. There is no subtle or elegant argumentation, no spinning of ingenious fancies, or tricks of the literary gentleman, such as Bolingbroke and Disraeli loved. It is a Tory aristocrat saying forcibly exactly what he means about things fundamental to him. Lord Robert Cecil's interests were always concrete interests, and nothing infuriated him more than those fantastic abstractions and generalizations, with which Disraeli confused the public and betrayed his party. "A new error," he once said,

with an obvious glance at the man of mystery, "could never be said to have secured its footing, or to be furnished with the proper apparatus for conquering the popular mind, until its most important fallacies have been disguised in the form of catchwords or party cries." Speaking or writing from a definite, and, to him, incontrovertible position, he was naturally, not merely uncompromising, but perfectly contemptuous of his opponent. He argued for the mastery, and seldom that he might convince the unbeliever. In his daughter's admirable phrase, "It is improbable that those who differed from him in any fundamental sense were ever influenced to a change of view by his writings or speeches. He certainly did not deserve that they should be, for he never made an effort to convert them." He was neither missionary nor propagandist. It was his business to reawaken his own class and to force them to see the extent and consequences of their class programme. For the rest, it was battle *à outrance*, gladly accepted, and hotly joined.

For such work his gift of brutal honesty and piercing satire were peculiarly appropriate weapons. Indeed he lives to-day for the man in the street by virtue of his penetrating and unrestrained indiscretions. These indiscretions were the natural expression of a satiric humour, which spared sham in neither friend nor foe. They made enemies, but at least they banished cant. Other men's epigrams were blank cartridges for peaceful field-days; his were bullets aimed to kill. No collection of Victorian wit can be complete without a selection from these piercing missiles. In answer to Gladstone's abolition of purchase of commissions, he said, "Seniority tempered by selection means stagnation tempered by jobbery." He aggravated the Irish problem with his suggestion of "twenty years of resolute government"; and having injured the Irish party by his Parnell Commission report, he proceeded to add insult to injury in his contemptuous answer that the famous forgeries, in which he had much too readily believed, were of no consequence save "as proof that one nationalist could forge the signature of another." Disraeli was perhaps the only man who could have accepted with a smile the fusillade which burst on him in 1867. With unfailing urbanity he told his former colleague that the *Quarterly* article on the Conservative Surrender was "written by a very clever man who has made a very great mistake." "Everybody who does not agree with somebody else is looked upon as a fool or as being mainly influenced by a total want of principles in the conduct of

public affairs." The satiric habit did not cease when the writer had become prime minister. "I hear you've passed a Local Option Bill in your house," he genially remarked to his lieutenant in the House of Commons, W. H. Smith. "I suppose they count on a good drunken majority in the House of Lords to throw it out." It is futile to ask whether the wit was worth what it undoubtedly cost. Clever men always prefer their indiscretions to their comfort, and the world will always remain diverted, and possibly assisted, by the satiric sincerity which overthrew so many solemn plausibilities.

The most permanent force operating on Lord Salisbury's earlier life was unquestionably his religion. Yet here the accepted judgments on him as High Churchman misinterpret the man. His Christianity was fundamentally different from that of the ordinary ritualistic Scribes and Pharisees. Churchman he was, but his "high" views had some curious gaps in them. He disliked confession, except in a few special cases, and thought it "at its best, fatal to moral vigour—at its worst, an instrument of corruption or ambition." He spoke scornfully of "the chemical theory of orders," and disowned any system which pigeon-holed the mysteries of faith. The truth is that his beliefs were far too fundamental to adapt themselves to any narrow system. Like another believer of that time, Cardinal Newman, his faith was based on a most profound appreciation of the difficulty of belief. He faced all the gloomy facts, and could see little or no explanation of them save in the supernatural illumination of the Christian revelation. He had no confidence in schemes of metaphysical argument to prove that God existed; and, unlike most moderns, he owned the authority of Christ, not because His words were admirable, but because His personality was divine—for him, the divinity justified the teaching, not the teaching the divinity. Like Pascal, his God was One who concealed Himself, and who could be known usefully only in Jesus Christ. The natural world, too, seemed so little naturally Christian that he held Christianity "incapable of co-existing permanently with a civilization which it did not inspire." There was something of the Calvinist or fatalist in him. Man was in the hands of a Power to be understood only through revelation; he was an instrument used by spiritual forces beyond his control. They talked to him of "doing good" by personal service, but he answered, says his daughter, "with the rapid intense utterance which characterized his rare moments of unreserve, 'Yes, but not by you—never by

you—never allow yourself to believe that for an instant.'" With much of the fatalism of the great Puritans, he had nothing of their desire for self-revelation, or their unction of phrase. His religion was a central fire, tempering his spirit and conscience but never apparent on slight occasions, and even at crises working indirectly. It was revealed through the qualities which made him a very great gentleman—his perfect honesty of soul, his belief in principle, the sense that all he did assumed without hesitation the primacy of spiritual issues.

It is impossible, within the limits of this review, to deal with the whole scope of Lord Salisbury's earlier political career. But two episodes, one domestic, the other diplomatic, occupy so great a portion of the biography, and are so entirely representative of his methods and ideas, that they must be considered in detail. The first is the Reform Act of 1867, the second the Eastern problem which found a period in the Congress of Berlin. In 1866 Lord Cranborne, as he then was, became secretary of state for India in the third Derby administration, with Disraeli as presiding genius. The situation was more than curious. For twenty years Disraeli had been reshaping the Tory party, but throughout these years the Tory gentlemen had been restive under his guidance—never quite sure whither he meant to lead them. "Opponents were wont," said Cecil, in 1860, "to speak almost with envy of the laudable discipline of the Tory party. They little knew the deep and bitter humiliation that was masked by the outward loyalty of its votes." They had given up protection, under Disraeli's diplomatic guidance, and had supported the futile Reform Bill of 1859. But a crisis had now arrived. Thanks to John Bright's systematic agitation, reform had become, by 1866, an unavoidable political issue; and, now that Palmerston was gone, neither Russell nor Gladstone was in a mood for holding back. Gladstone, whose feet always travelled more slowly than his head, had talked of the moral right of all, who were not explicitly disqualified, to a vote; but his bill had offered something less drastic—a borough franchise of £7 and a county franchise of £14. He had won the support of the Radicals, but his bill had been shattered by a coalition of old Whigs and Tories; and the Derby-Disraeli government was now in power, with a majority in the House of Commons, and a successful effort against Reform to its credit.

What an honest Tory thought of Reform there was little doubt, and ever since 1860 Robert Cecil had been confirming his

party's views in a series of brilliant and weighty *Quarterly* articles. The British constitution was a series of balances or compromises. There was the balance of institutions, there was the balance of classes. In the world of institutions the balance had already been overturned by the predominance of the House of Commons, and, since the British executive, unlike that of the United States, responded quickly to the slightest wish of parliament, it was of vital importance to control the system of representation which moulded the popular house. Now, in the balance of classes, there was threat of a similar predominance by democracy, that is, by classes with a far smaller stake in the community than the upper classes, and with no natural regard for property. Disaster, for Lord Cranborne, lay in the predominance of a House of Commons which should be elected by a franchise overwhelmingly democratic. The consequences of that disaster, to the publicist of 1866-67, must involve the denial of the rights of property. "Wherever democracy has prevailed," he said, "the power of the state has been used in some form or other to plunder the well-to-do classes for the benefit of the poor." It was therefore constitutional wisdom to prevent this democratic class and majority from tyrannizing over the prosperous minority. It was quite certain that Disraeli concerned himself with no such fears. Quicker-witted than his party, he saw, with a foreigner's freedom from prejudice, first that the catastrophic consequences predicted by Cranborne and his group might not occur; and, secondly, that even should there be some peril it was the price which must be paid, if the Tory party was to maintain its connection with the British nation. No doubt, as subtle interpreter of party and aristocracy, he admired party principles and class loyalty, but one might pay too much for uncompromising adherence to quixotic standards. No course seemed quite secure, but Disraeli —and in 1866 he took Derby with him—determined on a great gamble in the interests of his party, and, incidentally, of the country.

His first pronouncement was a jaunty phrase about reform being no longer allowed to decide the fate of cabinets—a piece of cynical humour towards a party whose principles demanded the instant death of any cabinet which trifled with reform. In spite of steady remonstrances from Cranborne, Carnarvon, and others, he proposed a measure extensive enough to satisfy the people, and innocuous enough to conciliate his party. Householders were to have votes, but the voting householders must

also be ratepayers; and to counterbalance the enormous extension of the popular vote, the less numerous propertied classes were to recover their control through a most complicated system of plural votes. It is possible that Disraeli never believed in the artificial safeguards he proposed. In any case they all vanished under the stimulus of radical criticism. The cabinet situation, while the bill was under discussion, was too kaleidoscopic to be described within the limits of this review; but the net result was that, on Sunday, February 24, 1867, Lord Cranborne, having a little Sabbath leisure from his India Office work, spent the spare time in calculations, and, discovering that Disraeli meant to hustle him and his party into that very surrender to democracy which he had always feared, resigned. On Monday Derby and Disraeli faced a broken cabinet, half an hour before Derby had to explain a shattered measure to his party, and two and half hours before Disraeli had to introduce the same measure to a hostile House of Commons. It is unnecessary to repeat the story of "the leap in the dark." What happened was that a Tory cabinet passed a Reform Act infinitely more sweeping than that in opposition to which they had come into office. Disraeli had annihilated Tory principles, and, in his view, saved the Tory party. In criticism of the leap in the dark Cranborne was at his brilliant best. There is something very stimulating in watching a great reactionary fight his rear-guard actions. Without disputing whether he was right or wrong on the Reform question one must admit that an historic party, pledged to an aristocratic theory of the franchise, cannot begin by fighting progressives on the point, and then, having won a victory, attempt to recommend themselves to the country by developing the actual policy which they had just defeated. It may have saved the party, but it was what Cranborne called it—"a policy of legerdemain." It was power "purchased at the cost of a political betrayal that had no parallel in our parliamentary annals." Never, even when minister in the later Disraeli cabinet, did Salisbury recover that confidence in his chief's honesty which, as Lord Cranborne, he had flung away. "He had the greatest respect for every member of the government, except one," he told Disraeli with brutal honesty in 1868, "but he did not think his honour safe in the hands of that one." It is interesting to note that, on this whole episode, the moral judgments passed by Gladstone and Cranborne were at one.

After 1868, then, the only argument which could induce Lord Cranborne, or as he must now be called, Lord Salisbury, to rejoin

a Tory cabinet, was that his presence might help to save the party from new freaks of Disraelian political adventure; and nothing but that argument forced office on him in 1874. His objectivity of mind made him accept the fact that, if the Tories must hold office, he and his kind rather than Disraeli represented that party, and his presence would be a guarantee against possible betrayals in the future.

So we come to the House of Lords, the foreign secretaryship, and the Berlin Conference. Between 1874 and 1880 diplomacy claimed Lord Salisbury for its own, and he became, for a quarter of a century thereafter, the most authoritative voice proclaiming the international policy of Great Britain. The facts of the situation, which brought Lord Salisbury definitely to the front in 1876, are too familiar to require more than the briefest of summaries. Turkish misrule had provoked one of those local and racial outbreaks—this time in Bosnia and Herzegovina—which Europe had come to accept as natural incidents in Turkish government. Discontent had grown general, and, in suppressing disorders in Bulgaria, the Turkish soldiery had exceeded even their usual limits: Russia, as protector of the Slavic and Balkan states, had stepped in, and the great despotic northern and eastern powers began to act. In consequence, Europe was for three years in constant danger of a general conflagration. Lord Salisbury's activities, first as British representative at the Constantinople conference, then as foreign minister, and finally as Lord Beaconsfield's colleague at Berlin, constitute one of the most important chapters of his life and of British diplomacy in the century.

He entered on his diplomatic career with principles and a point of view almost as clear-cut as in domestic affairs. Fourteen years before he had written a masterly estimate of Castlereagh's statesmanship, which in many ways might be accepted as a comment on his own. He had dwelt on Castlereagh's essentially pacific intentions; but it was peace based on "a willingness for good cause to go to war," not on peace, as in the late Palmerstonian days, preceded by blustering interference, and established by helpless surrender. In Castlereagh he recognized with admiration that grim repression of sentiment and blunt challenge to sentimentalists to explain how hard facts could be changed by sounding generalities, which gave his own diplomatic words and acts their peculiar quality. In answer to the charges of heartless neglect of race, and of general cynicism, which Whig critics levelled against the chief English author of the terms of 1815, he summed up the

case for the defence in a paragraph which may be applied with little modification to his own diplomacy:

> Lord Castlereagh's was not a mind in which excited feelings had destroyed the proportion between different objects of desire. He knew the very different values of the boons for which men indiscriminately clamoured. The graduation in his mind seems to have stood thus: he cared for nationality not at all; for the theoretic perfection of political institutions very little; for the realities of freedom a great deal; and for the peace and social order and freedom from the manifold curses of disturbances, which can alone give to the humbler masses of mankind any chance of tasting their scanty share of human joys—for the sake of this, he was quite ready to forego all the rest.

An undiscriminating public, confusing the cheaper and more obviously advertised glories of Disraeli and Chamberlain with the quiet, detailed labours for peace which marked all Lord Salisbury's diplomatic actions, have sometimes spoken of the Victorian Tory policy as Jingo and militant. The truth, as critics like Morley and Dilke always admitted, is that extreme caution, loyal adherence to engagements, sacrifices and compromises made to stave off war, and a very real, if quiet, spirit of humanity were the marks set by Peel, Aberdeen, and Salisbury on British Tory diplomacy.

In the Eastern difficulties between 1874 and 1878 the trouble was that the cause of sanity, which Salisbury represented, had too many foes, not merely in Europe, but at home. Gladstone, who understood neither the dangers of rhetoric applied to foreign policy, nor the error of making diplomacy a party issue, was proclaiming lofty doctrines the sublimity of which was in inverse ratio to their pacific tendencies. Derby, son of the late prime minister, and Disraeli's foreign minister, imagined that because passivity was sometimes useful he might refuse to act in emergencies where inaction spelt disaster. And Disraeli, mustering his spent energies for one last glorious scene before the curtain descended for ever on his great career, was prepared for any fantastic turn which might glorify his Queen and Country and round off his own political achievements. On the continent Russia played her usual double game—protector of the Slavs and aspirant to the headship of Europe; Austria was incalculable; France, impotent but militant; and Bismarck, the temporary Providence of the diplomatic world, might be expected to act for his own inscrutable pleasure and gain

some advantages for Prussia by setting all the rest of Europe by the ears.

It was a situation unlikely to bring glory to anyone concerned, but one where a sane humanitarian, who would banish sentiment and condescend to facts, might secure a peace, temporary, but even if temporary, useful. The second volume of Lord Salisbury's biography adds to our knowledge of the episode some fundamental facts, and while nothing can deprive that inimitable actor, Beaconsfield, of the glory due to the hero of a successful melodrama, it is plain that if he brought honour home his junior colleague saw that it was in company with peace.

One may picture Salisbury's action as a composite and changing thing. It is plain that he cared nothing for the Turk. "We have not the power," he said in September, 1876, "even if we had the wish, to give back any of the revolted districts to the discretionary government of the Porte." He complained of the Greek and Anglo-Turkish cliques, who queered the course for him in Constantinople by encouraging the Sultan, and from first to last it is apparent that what Gladstone called Beaconsfield's crypto-Judæic fondness for the Turk interrupted his colleague's most skilful moves for peace. Again and again it seemed to him that partition was the only possible solution, and partition with Russia as an acknowledged partner. He had no illusions or sentimentalities on the matter. Turkey was rotten; the little Balkan peoples were then, as now, even more dangerous to peace as nations than as tributaries. He wished peace, and the retention of the Concert of Europe. The partition of Turkey and the aggrandisement of Russia must be effected if peace could be had at no other price. Unlike his countrymen, he disbelieved in the actual strength of Russia. Unlike them, too, he had gauged the fundamental dishonesty of Russian statesmen. Ignatieff, the Russian representative at Constantinople, he linked with Midhat Pasha as one of the "biggest pair of liars to be found in Europe"; and Ignatieff and his colleagues practised diplomacy on a moral level which would have excluded them from any decent gambling den in London. Still, liars as the Russians were, it was worth agreeing with them in a settlement, if peace might be preserved thereby.

Nothing is plainer in all this, than that Salisbury was no fire-eater. In the moment of his own deepest perplexity he found time to send Lytton in India a characteristic word of warning: "You listen too much to the soldiers. No lesson seems to be so

deeply inculcated by the experience of life as that you never should trust experts. If you believe doctors, nothing is wholesome; if you believe the theologians, nothing is innocent; if you believe the soldiers, nothing is safe. *They all require to have their strong wine diluted by a very large admixture of insipid common sense.*" (The italics are my own.) For a time it seemed as though the soldiers would have the last word. Partly through Beaconsfield's injudicious encouragements, the Turks proved unresponsive to the desires of Europe, and Russia struck in. It was a time peculiarly trying to Lord Salisbury. He entirely distrusted his chief. Carnarvon, his closest associate in the cabinet, and his companion in a previous retirement, resigned. Derby, the other obvious friend of peace in the cabinet, also retired. Moreover, as we now know, Queen Victoria was in a militant mood. I doubt if there is anything finer in Salisbury's earlier career than the action, and the reason for the action, taken by him as successor in the Foreign Office to Derby. He dared not leave the situation to the fantastic mercies of his chief's imagination. He had a jealous care for the reputation of his party; his unexpressed love of England bade him stand by in an awkward crisis; and he knew that, literally, peace depended on his sole action. Russia, early in 1878, was prepared to make her last desperate thrust at Constantinople. Neither Carnarvon's scruples nor Derby's love of peace mattered if Russian action forced war on Britain and Europe. So from the famous criticism of April, 1878, in which Salisbury tore in shreds the Russo-Turkish treaty of San Stephano, to the end of the Berlin Conference, the British foreign minister was playing a game, with all the cards against him, to maintain the Concert of Europe, and through concert, peace. It must be clearly understood that there was little in common between the aims of the two famous plenipotentiaries who brought Peace with Honour back from Berlin to London. Salisbury had no illusions about glorious victories, or the renovation of the Turkish state. He was bent on saving what he could out of a wreck. It was his purpose to bring the Eastern question back within the operations of the European Concert, with as much satisfaction to the subjects of Turkey, as little upset to Europe, and as secure safeguards to English interests as was possible. It was he who did all the detailed work. He proposed Cyprus as a base from which to restrain Russian operations in Asia Minor, and he attended to everything except the staging of the more melodramatic episodes at Berlin. There were characteristic differences in the attitude

of the two great English leaders towards the final settlement. For Beaconsfield, it was "roses, roses, all the way"; triumphs and feasts and honours, impossibly overdone reports to the Queen, and a world of illusions, in which that most inveterate of cynics deceived even himself. For Salisbury it was an awkward and dirty job, finished off as properly as difficult circumstances permitted. His own honest verdict came two years later: "I was only picking up the china that Derby had broken." As for his opinion concerning his illustrious chief, some admirably frank letters to Lady Salisbury—the cessation of which on her arrival in Berlin makes us grudge husband and wife their happy meeting—put the matter succinctly: "He is not exactly false, but he has such a perfect disregard for facts that it is almost impossible for him to run true. . . . This makes him very difficult to work with because, whenever he does handle a detail, he almost always does with it exactly the reverse of what he intended."

Not even success, and great success, could mislead his blunt and candid judgment as to possibilities. Even in 1878 he warned Turkey, and through Turkey Europe, of the dangers still imminent: "Whether use will be made of this—probably the last—opportunity which has thus been obtained for Turkey by the interposition of the Powers of Europe, and of England in particular, or whether it is to be thrown away will depend on the sincerity with which Turkish statesmen now address themselves to the duty of good government, and the task of reform." He never had it in his power to eliminate the disastrous consequences of parts of the Berlin settlement. But by his high sense of international honour, his love of hard fact, and his genuine desire to maintain Europe in some kind of concerted action, he secured peace and temporary stability.

We shall await with impatience the coming volumes of the biography, for they will deal with great issues—the Irish question, the relations of Britain, through twenty momentous years, with France and Germany, the long story of imperial development. But readers of Lady Gwendolen Cecil's first instalment will carry away with them impressions of a very lofty nature, inspired with a sense of honour, which national vanity likes to think peculiarly British, an entire honesty of purpose, and a capacity which delighted in concealing its most characteristic successes from the crowd, whose interests it sought, and whose plaudits it contemned.

J. L. MORISON

IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN CANADA, 1812-1820

THE emigration that for a century and a half had been building up the old colonies of England was only slightly interfered with by the change in the political status of those colonies after the American Revolution. After 1783 as before, every year saw the new republic enriched by thousands of settlers from the old country, while Canada remained neglected and unknown[1]. The war of 1812-14 to a certain extent changed this: in the first place, it made a great deal of very bad blood between Britain and her former colonies; in the second, it called attention to the existence of a British portion of the New World. That Canada got much advertisement out of the war among the emigrating masses is doubtful; that she got a good deal amongst officialdom appears fairly evident. At any rate, for several years afterwards, the war, and considerations arising out of it, governed official opinion on emigration to, and settlement in, Canada.

The necessity for defending the colonies called attention to their weakness. The most obvious thing to be done, towards strengthening them, as also the most desirable, was to increase their population and thus in time render British North America capable of defending itself. But if British North America was to remain British, great care must be taken to see that only a loyal and trustworthy population should be introduced. Whatever consistent policy the Colonial Office thereafter had was based on these two considerations. Problems of immigration and settlement were, without doubt, the major problems of the day. Owing to the small number of inhabitants and the desire of the great majority of the newcomers to go on the land, the government had to concern itself very closely with the immigrant and his affairs. It becomes of importance, then, to study the attitude assumed towards these problems by those responsible for their solution.

[1] A. C. Buchanan, in his report for 1831 on immigration, estimates the total number of immigrants up to 1815 to have been about 5,000.

The first step towards providing a population adequate to self-defence was taken as early as 1813 by Lord Bathurst, then but newly appointed secretary of state for the colonies. He proposed to send out a number of Scottish emigrants, to give them free passages, free land, and other assistance, and in return to secure a fairly large deposit from each head of family as a bond against removal to the United States within two years of arrival. The proposal, having been submitted to the Canadian authorities, was enthusiastically approved of by Sir Gordon Drummond[2]. The prospective settlers would form very valuable additions to the loyal population of Upper Canada—a province which already contained too many aliens. Moreover, the Scots would make good militia-men—a fact that would outweigh any objections to the increase in the number of mouths to be fed. Naturally enough, at such a time Drummond's interest was primarily military; he looked on immigrants as means for ensuring the retention of the colony by Britain. This view is representative in that most of the colonial officials, at that time and for some years later, held it. It was a self-evident principle to them, crowding into a very subordinate background the question of building a strong colonial state by means of whatever immigration would best secure such a purpose. It led to a careful selection of immigrants on the bases of approved loyalty and military usefulness, to attempts at the arbitrary location of settlers for strategical purposes, to experiments in settlement (such as the Rideau and Drummondville colonies, which were settlements of military men run on strictly military lines), to a vigorous and narrow anti-American policy and, generally, to an overemphasis of considerations of defence.

This strategic motive was so dominant in everybody's mind that it will be in order, at this point, to examine it more closely.

Writing while yet the war raged, Prevost states to Bathurst (May 9, 1814) that he has desired to settle the Glengarry Fencibles in the township of Sherrington because, it being near the lines, they could defend the frontier in case of future attack. In a similar way the islands in the St. Lawrence near Kingston were held to be particularly important sites for the location of settlers who could be relied upon not to go over to the enemy, either during or after the war. The adjutant-general, Baynes, was of the opinion that these and other key-localities should be settled

[2]Drummond to Prevost, Feb. 19, 1814.

by ex-soldiers; other settlers would not voluntarily go near so dangerous a frontier, and if left vacant, they would soon fill up with an American population that would willingly sit on whichever side of the fence best suited for the time being. Even the soldiers would not be too reliable, for, without exception, desertion had proved a drain on every corps employed in frontier duties; "the ideal blandishments of the United States is so powerful an incitement that the corps of the highest established reputation have not escaped frequent desertions."[3]

After the war was over, the formation of a second line of communication between Montreal and Upper Canada was proposed. This line was to run *viâ* the Rideau and Trent Rivers and Lake Simcoe to Lake Huron. It was pointed out that such a line could be made in war only at great expense, but that if the country along it could be settled, when the need arose, there would be roads over the portages and plenty of transport available along the route.[4] This was perfectly correct, of course, and undoubtedly the St. Lawrence was a very precarious line in time of war; from Kingston to Montreal, for example, the only settlers whose loyalty could be depended on had been the Scots of Stormont and Glengarry.[5] If people would only go where they were told and cast their lots according to the doubtlessly sound plans of the military chiefs, the desired settlements might have been made. But pioneers, like other people, have a way of looking out for themselves first and the state afterwards, so that the second line was slow in forming, and emigrants passed by the beautiful lakes (and barren rocks) of the Rideau to the more fertile lands of the west. Not for over twelve years more was the line formed, and then not by settlement, but by the engineers of the mother country in the building of the Rideau canal.

Opinions in the matter of strategic settlement were indeed much more common than accomplishments; the Scottish settlers sent out by Bathurst (to whom we shall refer again) were, it is true, placed in the Eastern district of Upper Canada along the frontier, but the deciding motive in their case was the fact that in that locality they would be in touch with other Scottish settlers who had preceded them.[6] The most formal attempts made to colonize on the strategical plan were the Rideau and Drummond-

[3] Baynes to the governor, 18 June, 1814.
[4] Major-General F. P. Robinson to Bathurst, 29 July, 1815
[5] Baynes to the governor, 18 June, 1814.
[6] F. P. Robinson as above.

ville military settlements. Plans for semi-socialistic communities in British North America were, of course, legion. It was easy enough to sit in a London club and draw a picture of a beautiful little Utopia somewhere out in America where the citizens were the best of soldiers and the most industrious of pioneer farmers at one and the same time, but it was quite another matter to translate these schemes into accomplished facts.[6] To the credit of the Colonial Office, be it said, most of these schemes to kill two birds with one stone died a quiet death within the confines of the United Kingdom. The government's own scheme, however, was proceeded with. All disbanded soldiers were to be given land on condition of actual settlement, and the chosen band who elected to join their fellows on the banks of the Rideau or the St. Francis, were to be given much more—implements, log-cabins and food. The initial expression of opinion was voiced by Prevost in his despatch of March 18, 1815. He takes it for granted that the settlements should be made at strategic points. Debating the question as to the policy that should be pursued with regard to the frontier townships of Lower Canada, he states that the settler there would find a wilderness between himself and the St. Lawrence. He would also find easy communications leading to the United States: the inevitable consequence would be that the easy and evil communications would corrupt his good manners, no matter how loyal he had been to begin with. Moreover, the experience

[6] *Cf.* Col. David Stewart's "Observations on the Means of Obtaining from the Highlands of Scotland an Efficient and Permanent Force for the Defence of Canada in the event of Future Wars and for Promoting Cultivation and Augmenting the Population of the Colony," April 24, 1815: "One or more effective regiments may be raised from the Emigrants, for the double purpose of defence, of increased population and cultivation. The Male progeny of these emigrants would become both Cultivators and Soldiers as they arrived at the age of Puberty, thereby not only increasing the Military Defence of the Colony but Augmenting the Cultivation of the Soil." "The boon offered might be fifty acres of land to every private, seventy acres to every Non-commissioned Officer," etc. "Still more to attach the people to the soil it might be politic to stipulate that the eldest son of each Family who entered into the Army should be entitled to a freehold grant of fifty Acres." "These lands to be laid out as near as possible to the different Military Depots where Log Houses should be built by the troops for each family, the one assisting the other in clearing the Land for a Garden and Orchard, and in cultivating when they could be spared from Military duty. A Village would be thus formed in the Vicinity of every Military Depot which would rapidly rise and become of some consequence; while the Military were occupied in the duties of their profession, their children who were growing up would assist in the cultivation of their little farms. Under such circumstances a Military Force almost to any extent might be raised and ultimately supported at very moderate expense." (Canadian Archives, Series Q, Vol. 135, pt. 2.)

of the war had shown that a broad belt of wilderness was the country's best defence. Therefore the best plan was to leave the frontier alone and put the men on the St. Francis where the soil was generally good and where communication with the rest of the country was easy. A compact population would spell security. Prevost was also careful to point out that under no conceivable circumstances would regular soldiers make good farmers.

The Upper Canadian settlement met with less intelligent criticism, Lieutenant-governor Gore merely remarking that as it was apparently the government's policy to put "a consolidated loyal population" between the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence on the Rideau, he was setting aside three hundred thousand acres for that purpose.

At first only the corps specially raised for service in the colony were designated as recipients of government aid, but finally almost any discharged soldier could join the settlements and live under semi-military discipline. Inevitable blunders were soon made, leading to delays in getting the men located and consequent loss of enthusiasm. "I must apprize you that the spirit of enterprise which appeared to actuate the de Wattevilles on their first arrival has evaporated in consequence of their not being placed on their lands and that some have already quitted the settlement and others have notified their intention of following their example," writes Supt. McDonald to Deputy Quartermaster-General Fowler.[7] Every despatch from England inculcated economy and the abolition of aid as soon as possible; less than one year after the settlements had been begun Bathurst was expecting that soldier-settlers would be able to sustain themselves, but instead of that most of the people at Drummondville, inexperienced even in agriculture, let alone pioneer agriculture, were plunged in abject misery. To make matters worse a number of Chelsea pensioners were allowed to come to Canada: these people were destitute on their arrival and many of them old and infirm. The governor protested, but further consignments continued to arrive. No arrangements were made to have their pensions forwarded to them and the spectacle was not uncommon of a soldier, who had served his country faithfully, begging in the streets. Bathurst stated that he had thought that these men would have made most successful settlers as they would have "in their pensions the means of comfortable subsistence until their lands were

[7] June 18, 1816.

cultivated and they would not easily be led to remove into the United States".[8] So much for his knowledge of the realities of colonial life.

By the end of 1819 a total of 235 people—men, women and children—had been received at Drummondville[9]; a considerable administrative establishment continued to be kept up. The sites of the military settlements were chosen on grounds of military expediency, but the settlements themselves appear to have been undertaken chiefly with a view to assisting the demobilized soldier —and incidentally to increasing the loyal population of the country.

Within a year or two after the end of the war the strategic note was perceptibly softened; officers who had fought were recalled; general peace had come and an active policy of defence gave way to a state of mind which, while recognizing that the Americans were no longer an imminent danger, retained all of the ill-feeling engendered during the war. Americans to the official class, whether in their own country or out of it, were taboo. Hence we have a period during which anti-Americanism bulked large. Here at least there was a clear-cut policy on immigration. It may be put in three words: "Keep them out!" That American immigrants were in general more intelligent, more prosperous, and better suited to the new country than any possible arrivals from Europe (including Great Britain), had nothing to do with the question; the Americans were factious democrats who brought with them their republican principles and their presence could only be, at the best, dangerous to the British connection, at the worst, fatal to it. Democracy was not yet popular in Canada.

But under the circumstances the attitude was an entirely natural one. During the war disloyalty had been found to be widespread; Americans who had come in previously had in numerous cases gone over to the enemy. American peaceful penetration had gone so far that "a few years would have rendered Upper Canada a complete American colony." "The population, with the exception of the Eastern District, are chiefly of American extraction; these settlers have been suffered to introduce themselves in such numbers that in most parts they form the majority, and in many, almost the sole, population. In some of the most populous parts of the Settlements, two-thirds of the inhabitants

[8] Bathurst to Sherbrooke, Sept. 5, 1817.

[9] Can. Archives, C. 625, p. 105.

have absconded, abandoning valuable farms; even Members of the Provincial Legislature have gone over to the enemy." Thus the doughty patriot, Baynes.[10] His views were the views of officialdom. They were put into official form in Bathurst's despatch to Drummond of January 10, 1815, in which orders were given that no land was to be granted to Americans, and that they were to be prohibited as far as possible from coming into Canada. Nevertheless, Americans kept coming and, to keep them out of Upper Canada, a rather ingenious use of a current provincial statute was resorted to. All persons who had not been resident six months in the province, or who had not taken the oath of allegiance, could be "dismissed" upon very slight grounds. Lieutenant-governor Gore ordered the magistrates not to administer the oath to any person "without a special authority"; no "special authority" being likely to be extended for the administration of the oath to Americans, they thus became automatically subject to "dismissal".[11] In addition, all children of Loyalists when applying for their land-grants were required to furnish a certificate proving their loyalty during the war.[12] The refusal of the oath of allegiance was continued during the following years, and residence in the United States during the war became prima-facie evidence of enemy nationality.[13] On the other hand, we have a glimpse of slowly changing public opinion in some "Resolutions proposed to the Commons House of Assembly on the 3rd April, 1817" and published in the Kingston *Gazette* of April 12. These seek to establish by existing statutes (13 Geo. II and 30 Geo. III) that Americans, despite the Revolution, still have the rights of natural-born citizens, and claim that, as the country needs, above all else, population to fill up its vacant lands, Americans should be allowed to take the oath of allegiance.[14] In the same year, James Buchanan, British consul at New York, submitted a proposal for the admission of American immigrants and argued that there was no danger of their disloyalty as self-interest would bind them to their new home. But the weight of public opinion seems to have been against American immigration.[15]

[10] June 18, 1814.

[11] Gore to Bathurst, October 17, 1815.

[12] Canadian Archives, "Upper Canada Sundries," January 27, 1815.

[13] Minutes of the Executive Council, Upper Canada, January 22, 1817.

[14] These resolutions are not found in the Journals of the House.

[15] See the Quebec *Mercury* of November 14, 1820: "We are well aware of the prejudices of the country on this point," etc.

An interesting phase of the immigration from the south was the movement initiated by Buchanan, having for its aim the sending of British subjects already in America to Canada. He got permission to issue passports to these people (strictly excluding those who had been there during the war) and, painting in glowing terms the prospects awaiting them in Canada, he managed to induce several hundred to go there; he judged the hatred they had conceived of everything American—presumably owing to their lack of success among the Americans—would be most useful in Canada. Buchanan's zeal outstripped his prudence and some of his immigrants were refused admittance by Gore on the grounds that they were seditious Baltimore Irish and a very bad lot indeed. But the consul, elated with his success, got permission to advance the fare of such others as were willing to go. Finally the stream of work-hungry men began to dismay leisurely Canadian officialdom, and Buchanan, *viâ* London, was ordered to restrain his enthusiasm. It is stated for he forwarded "about 3,000 poor Irish who are chiefly located in the township of Cavan and have prospered".[16]

Turning now to the attitude, more particularly, of the Imperial government on emigration to British North America, we find that, during the war it had appeared as if a well-considered and comprehensive scheme were about to be embarked upon. The Scottish settlers, to whom we have referred above, were quickly got together, brought to Glasgow, looked after until embarked, and on arrival had land allotted to them. Everything was carefully supervised, and apparently a fair measure of success was obtained. The authorities were very careful to explain that their motive was the diversion from the United States of inevitable emigration—a motive which was as much stressed then as now. Bathurst terms it "too obvious to require observation",[17] "one of the great objects of His Majesty's Government",[18] and so on. It is very explicitly stated in the official notice of the discontinuance of free passages[19] that "it cannot be too much impressed on the minds of applicants that the wishes and instructions of Government are directed not to the increase of emigration from this part of the united kingdom [*i.e.*, Scotland] but to direct to the British Provinces in North America, the surplus population that would

[16] A. C. Buchanan's Report on Emigration, 1831.

[17] To Drummond, June 13, 1815.

[18] June 12, 1815.

[19] Copy of notice published in Scotland, in Campbell to Goulburn, March 27, 1816.

otherwise proceed to the United States". Letters having "diversion" for their theme rained upon the government. Typical examples are those of a Mr. Bell (June 22, 1814) from Scotland, who claims that the system of farming in vogue is drawing men overseas daily and that free passages will take them to Canada in preference to the United States; and of the lieutenant-governor of Guernsey (April 21, 1816), who forwards a long list of Channel Islanders who will go to the United States if some inducement to go to Canada be not given them.

The Hundred Days put a stop to government aid to emigrants; under the altered circumstances, writes Bathurst five days before Waterloo, no government encouragement to go to Canada is for the present to be given to anybody, and the administrator need not expect nearly as many families as it had previously been intended to send.[18] This cessation of an active colonizing policy, it was thought, was only temporary; but, as it turned out, direct aid, insofar as free passages and other direct assumption of expense by the Home government went, was not resumed. The need for economy at home, and perhaps the influence of those land-holders hostile to a policy which threatened to rob them of their tenants, brought the movement to a close; on March 23, 1816, official notice was given that no more free passages would be provided. A despatch of the following summer curtailed aid to the land grant alone,[20] and a recommendation of Sherbrooke's that settlers be given subsistence for one year after arrival met with a discouraging negative.[21] The following spring a few were given agricultural implements (at the province's expense), and free land was given to approved settlers, who, by the way, had to leave England before June 1,[22] but thereafter, with every outward despatch, the need for economy is inculcated. The era of paternal colonization ends.

What followed it? If we look for any broad and well-defined policy of emigration and settlement, we shall be disappointed. Whatever policy there was, was a hand-to-mouth policy, based on parsimony; of organized effort to colonize and settle the new country, there was none. In fact, English public opinion seemed to be quite hostile to the colonization of Canada, even when privately undertaken. A prevailing view was that British North America must, sooner or later, be absorbed by the United States,

[20] July 13.

[21] Sherbrooke to Bathurst, December 19, 1816.

[22] Bathurst to Sherbrooke, April 14, 1817.

and that money and men sent there would thus be wasted. Hence we find *The Times* (April 5, 1817) contending that North America is no proper place for British emigration. In another war, Canada could not be defended and would be lost outright, together with its British population. If it could be defended the emigration of disbanded soldiers and the unemployed might be in order, but in any case emigrants passed over to the United States and became a net loss to the Empire. "The Western Hemisphere from Hudson's Bay to the Straits of Magellan seems destined by Providence for other nations." Such extreme opinions were probably not representative, but they help to explain why the authorities were unwilling to adopt an aggressive policy.

Towards the end of 1817, the Colonial Office began to discriminate against the poor emigrant. Persons to be favoured were now to be those "who shall be possessed of some means to carry out and maintain a certain number of Cultivators".[23] As securities would be required from these people, it was hoped that the evils occasioned by the influx of needy emigrants during the last year would be obviated. In 1817 there had been 6,800 immigrants, nearly all desperately poor; great numbers were maintained at the colonial government's expense and by charity.[24] Insomuch as this policy determined that the Canadas were not to be a happy hunting ground for the Motherland's poor, it was sound. Unfortunately, it did not last, and in succeeding years British America again became the objective for hordes of hungry paupers, while the well-to-do tended to go to the United States. In 1818 the policy was reaffirmed.[25] One of the first settlers to proceed under it was a Mr. Milburn, who was recommended to Sherbrooke by Bathurst (as all settlers of this type were supposed to be) and noted as leaving for Canada with a number of "followers" and as a suitable person for a grant. No further change in the official attitude arose during 1819, the end of the period under review.

We have now reviewed the characteristic policies and opinions of the authorities, both home and colonial, in respect to immigration into Canada during the five years' post-war period. We have found little of a constructive nature, but despite the absence of lead or encouragement, immigration steadily grew. In 1816, there came by sea to Canada 1,250 immigrants; in 1817, 6,800;

[23] Bathurst to Sherbrooke, Nov. 10, 1817.
[24] Sherbrooke to Bathurst, Despatches Nos. 148 and 149.
[25] Bathurst to Sherbrooke, May 16.

in 1818, 8,400; in 1819, 12,800; and thereafter increasing numbers. Canada had emerged somewhat from the total obscurity of pre-war days, and had begun a period of sound growth.

A. R. M. LOWER

THE *TRENT* AFFAIR OF 1861

THE *Trent* Affair of sixty years ago has been described as "the most farcical incident in the history of Anglo-American relations".[1] It was farce, however, that seemed for a time to be nearing the border of tragedy; and its results, particularly the alienation of British sympathy from the North during a large part of the Civil War period, were regrettable. Sixty years afterwards, one may well wonder how either nation would have justified itself to posterity had war actually come; and there is room for speculation as to what would have been the future of Canada had the British provinces been the battle-ground of a second Anglo-American struggle.

The beginning of the incident need be reviewed but briefly. In the autumn of 1861 the government of Jefferson Davis decided to send to Europe commissioners in the persons of James Murray Mason and John Slidell, both of whom had been formerly senators at Washington. No two men were more hated in the North, and when, on the morning of November 8, Captain Wilkes, of the U.S. sloop *Jacinto*, halted the British steamer *Trent*, plying between Vera Cruz, Mexico, and the Danish islands of St. Thomas, and by force removed the two southerners, there was wild enthusiasm all through the North. It was the first effective blow that had been struck at the South in months, and from cabinet secretaries down to the meanest citizen there was nothing but praise for Wilkes, who at once became a national hero.

There was no cable to carry the news swiftly to Europe and thus, although the capture took place on November 8, and became known in the United States on the 15th, it was not until the 27th that anybody in England knew about it. In those latter twelve

[1] Villiers and Chesson, *Anglo-American Relations, 1861-1865*, London, 1919, p. 51. Mr. Charles Francis Adams says: "Seen through the perspective of fifty years, it may now, with reasonable assurance, be asserted that in the controversy which ensued, the United States did not have, and never had, in reality, a justifying leg to stand upon, and least of all was there any justification for the course pursued by Captain Wilkes" (*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xvii, no. 3, p. 544).

days there was quite a cooling off in some quarters in America, doubts arising in a few men's minds as to the legality of the seizure by Captain Wilkes, but while doubts were arising in the United States, war fever was at a tremendous height in England, and Henry Adams, son of the ambassador at London, could write to Charles Francis Adams, Jr., at Boston: "This nation means to make war. Do not doubt it." [2]

Henry Adams, in London, was astonished at the childish way in which his own people across the Atlantic were treating the incident. "There's Judge Bigelow," he wrote, "parading bad law 'at the cannon's mouth', and Governor Andrew all cock-a-hoop, and Dana so unaccustomed confident, and Mr. Everett following that 'great authority', George Sumner, into a ditch, 'blind leader of the blind'."[3] There does not seem to have been any fever for war with Great Britain in the circle in which the Adams family moved in Boston. "We have been quaking over the seizure of Mason and Slidell," wrote C. F. Adams, Jr. on November 10, and he expressed a suspicion that Seward was trying to get the United States into a foreign war.[4] This suspicion was in the minds of many other people, including Lord Lyons, the British ambassador at Washington, in whose correspondence the idea recurs again and again. Lord Lyons had a marked dislike for Seward even before the latter had taken office. "I cannot help fearing that he will be a dangerous foreign minister," he wrote early in 1861, and again, "His view of the relations between the United States and Great Britain has always been that they are a good material to make political capital of. He has even to me avowed his belief that England will never go to war with the United States".[5] The British ambassador was uneasy over the character of the Lincoln cabinet generally. "Neither the president

[2] *Cycle of Adams Letters, 1861 to 1865*, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, 2 vols, Boston, 1920, I, 76, letter of November 30, 1861. This was but three days after the news had reached London.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 83, letter of December 13, 1861.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 70, letter of November 10, 1861. In a letter written on November 19 Charles Francis Adams, Jr., says that "at first every one thought it must be a violation of national law," but opinion changed when "Dana crowed with delight" (*Cycle*, I, 71). Lord Lyons noticed that mixed with the enthusiasm there was a certain amount of fear of the consequences. Writing to Lord John Russell on November 25, he says: "The people here are extremely frightened about the capture on board the *Trent*. The New York money market gives signs of this. Another indication is the moderation of the newspapers which is, for them, wonderful" (*Lord Lyons*, I, 57).

[5] Lord Newton, *Lord Lyons, a Record of British Diplomacy*, 2 vols, London, 1913: Lyons to Russell, vol. I, p. 30.

nor any man in the cabinet has a knowledge of foreign affairs," he wrote to Lord John Russell.[6] All through the spring months of 1861 the ambassador's anxiety increased, so apparent were the signs that, in the minds of many, a foreign war would be the solution of the distracted domestic situation in the United States.[7] The culmination of his anxieties came in June when he reported to the British government his discovery that Seward had prepared a despatch which was all but a direct announcement of war, and that it was only the intervention of the president and of the more reasonable members of the cabinet which prevented its being sent to the American minister in London.[8] In the summer of 1861, however, Lord Lyons thought that matters were improving and in August he wrote to the governor of Canada, Sir Edmund Head, that relations were more peaceful than they had been in some time. He attributed this improvement to the firmness with which the British government had stood for its rights and to the preparations for defence.[9] Writing to Lord Malmesbury he said: "I should hardly say that the bulk of the common people are hostile to the old country but I think they would rather enjoy seeing us in difficulties." [10]

The elder Adams was undoubtedly right when he sent word from London: "This nation means to make war." Almost daily the old Duke of Cambridge was busy inspecting troops that were setting out for Canada, and indeed some of the finest regiments in the British army were crossing the Atlantic. Especially among the upper classes was there a readiness for war. "England," wrote a prominent foreign office official, "is naturally and rightly furious at this outrage. Apart from this, ministers and the upper

[6] *Ibid.*, I, 37.

[7] "I am so seriously alarmed by what I see passing around me here, and especially by the conduct of the cabinet, that I have thought it my duty to call the attention of our government to the danger which I conceive to exist" (Lyons to Sir Edmund Head, May 22, 1861, quoted in *Lord Lyons*, vol. I, p. 39). To Sir Edmund Head he also wrote: "Canada is, as you know, looked upon here as our weak point. There are in the cabinet men who are no doubt as ignorant of the state of feeling in Canada as they were of that in the Southern States and who believe that there is a strong American feeling in Canada. You will not have forgotten that Mr. Seward, during the presidential canvass, publicly advocated the annexation of Canada as a compensation for any loss which might be occasioned by the disaffection of the South" (*Lord Lyons*, vol. I, p. 40).

[8] *Lord Lyons*, vol. I, pp. 46-47.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 50.

[10] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 16.

classes are in favour of the South, while the Queen and the lower orders favour the North." [11]

Thus was the situation neatly and concisely put by one of the upper class. England was quite right in the stand that she took with regard to the action of Captain Wilkes, but there was a bitterness of feeling towards the North during 1861 that stands out in striking contrast to the Anglo-American courtesy of recent years. The leaders in *The Times* were often savage, so much so that in October of 1861 John Bright was moved to complain that "in *The Times*, the most powerful representative of English opinion, at least of the richer classes, there has not been, since Mr. Lincoln took office in March last, one fair and honourable and friendly article on American affairs".[12] What must Bright's feelings have been, about a year later, when he read in *The Times* this sentiment: "Is the name of Lincoln ultimately to be classed in the catalogue of monsters, wholesale assassins and butchers of their kind?" [13] Perhaps, had war actually come, we should to-day have reason to place a part of the blame on the newspapers both in England and America. Lady John Russell, writing to Lady Dunfermline, said Lord John felt that "not a word had been spoken, not a deed done by him but what showed the friendliest feeling to the United States, and the strongest wish to remain at peace with them". But she added:

> I wish the newspapers were blameless; but there was a sneering, exultant tone in many of them after the military disasters of the North which was likely to irritate. Mr. Motley said long ago that *The Times* would, if possible, work up a war between the two countries, and though I can't speak from my own knowledge, as I have seldom looked at its articles, I have no doubt from what John and others say that he was right. . . . There can be no doubt that we have done deeds very like that of Captain Wilkes—not exactly alike because no two cases ever are so—but I wish that we

[11] F. W. H. Cavendish, *Society, Politics and Diplomacy, 1820-1864*, London, 1913, pp. 362-363. In his diary for December 3 Cavendish wrote: "I hear Lord Palmerston wrote a violent despatch to go to Washington, which the Queen and Prince Albert modified. France is warmly backing us up while Russia, Austria and Prussia are most sympathetic."

[12] Speech at Rochdale, Sept. 4, 1861.

[13] *The Times*, October 14, 1862. It is to the credit of *The Times*, however, that during the actual crisis of the *Trent* affair its editorials, while firm, were not too aggressive and many public men wrote to Delane thanking him for his attitude on the issue. See Sir Edward Cook, *Delane of the Times*, New York, 1916, p. 131.

had not done them, and I suppose and hope that we shall admit that they were wrong.[14]

When the crisis was passed, the United States having acceded to the British demands and surrendered the two Confederate commissioners, Lady John Russell was sufficiently observant to note the "very tempered joy, or rather the ill-concealed disappointment of London society" over the outcome.[15] Not all the jingoes were in Washington in November and December of 1861.

The part played by the dying Prince Consort in smoothing out the difficulties must not be overlooked. The last official act of his life was the revision of the despatch that was to go to Washington. "A violent despatch," was the way a foreign office official could describe the document which was sent to the Queen for approval. At seven o'clock on the morning of December 1, the Prince Consort wrote, with a quavering hand, a series of suggestions for alterations to the draft. It was a softening down of its wording sufficient to leave the way open for peace. Two weeks later, the Prince was dead. His last act had materially aided in averting war.[16]

Lord Lyons, the ambassador at Washington, deserves credit too for the manner in which he played his exceedingly difficult part. His own view was expressed in his letter to Lord John Russell on December 23, 1861, when he said: "I am so convinced that unless we give our friends here a good lesson this time, we shall have the same trouble with them again very soon, under less advantageous circumstances, that even my regard for them leads me to think it all important that they should receive the lesson." [17] In his dealings with Seward there was no trace of either bullying or weakness, and Seward, when he was finally cornered, had to admit that the British note was "courteous and friendly and not dictatorial or menacing." [18] He could hardly have said that of the original draft of the despatch.

What of the Canadian provinces during this period when it appeared that they might become the battle-ground of a great war? There was evidence of the possibility of war in the steady movement of garrison troops westward to the lake borders and in

[14] *Lady John Russell, a Memoir*, London, 1910, p. 194.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[16] See Sir Theodore Martin, *Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, London, 1875-1880, vol. v, pp. 416-427.

[17] *Lord Lyons*, I, 69.

[18] *Ibid.*, I, 65-66.

the arrival of the fresh British troops a little later on. There was great activity in the volunteer militia, and a patriotic wave swept the whole country. But patriotic fervour did not blind clear minds to the horror of a possible war. The Toronto *Globe* expressed this feeling when it said, in its issue of December 13, 1861:

> The Canadian people do not desire war with the United States. On the contrary, and notwithstanding the hot feeling now rising, a war with the Americans would be regarded with horror by the great mass of the community.

At an earlier date the *Globe* had pointed out:

> The danger is that hard feelings may be incited . . . and that pride may prevent justice being done on one side or the other. Patriotic men on both sides of the line should use all their exertions to prevent that result.

The Toronto *Leader* was less temperate in its comment. It was regarded as the newspaper voice of the government of the day, so that its utterances were of some weight. Eventually, probably under pressure from the government, the *Leader* found it necessary to present prominently a statement that it was not to be regarded in its editorial utterances as voicing the views of the administration. There was a good deal of quarrelling between the rival Toronto journals, the *Leader* charging the *Globe* with pandering to "Yankee bluff" and the *Globe* in turn charging its rival with seeking to bolster up a tottering ministry by stirring hatred against the United States.[19]

In December of 1861, while the excitement was at its height, the Hon. A. T. Galt, then finance minister, was in Washington and had an interview with President Lincoln of which the details have

[19] The *Leader* had on its editorial staff for a time one George Sheppard, lately come from Richmond, Va. The New York *Times*, in its issue of January 1, 1862, hinted that the *Leader's* editor was in the pay of Jefferson Davis. The *Leader* took note of this and denied it on January 6, 1862. The New York *Commercial Advertiser* was quoted by the *Globe* as saying: "We are loth to apply any harsh epithets to a part of our Canadian neighbours, much less to all. But if such journals as the Toronto *Leader* were to be accepted as the mouthpiece of public sentiment they would do their best to make us believe hard things of those of whom we have always thought and spoken in the kindest spirit" (*Globe*, Dec. 27, 1861). An example of the *Leader's* bitterness might be quoted from its issue of January 4, 1862, in which it said: "The government of Mr. Lincoln is a standing monument of incompetence and wickedness." The occasion of this denunciation was the sinking by the federal authorities of some old stone hulks to block the entrance to the harbour of Charleston, S.C.

been preserved.[20] Lincoln disclaimed for himself and his cabinet all thought of aggression towards Canada and said that he himself had been opposed to Seward's circular putting the coasts into a state of defence, but had been overruled. Galt asked what was meant by the recommendations to erect fortifications and provide depots of arms on the Great Lakes, to which the reply was: "We must say something to satisfy the people." About the Mason and Slidell case Lincoln remarked: "Oh, that'll be got along with," and he also volunteered the observation that if he could not within a reasonable time get hold of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and keep Maryland, he would tell the American people to give up the contest, for it would be "too big" for them.

Lincoln impressed Galt with his sincerity and honesty of purpose, but Galt was of the opinion that there was a considerable lack of harmony in the cabinet. He brought back with him to Canada a letter from Lord Lyons to the governor-general of Canada, urging the necessity of immediate further preparations for defence.

It is interesting to note that during the crisis of the *Trent* incident the French-Canadian press and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec took a decided stand with regard to preparations for defence. In its issue of January 4, 1862, the Toronto *Evening Leader* said:

> There is not a single organ of French-Canadian opinion that has not urged the necessity of being prepared for war; and done more or less to inspire its compatriots with a sense of duty on the approach of danger.

The administrator of the diocese of Quebec, the Rev. Charles François Baillargeon, issued a pastoral letter to be read in all the churches of the diocese, urging the young men to join the militia and ordering special prayers "for the preservation of peace or for the happy success of our arms, if war takes place".[21]

The *Trent* incident, perhaps more than any other single incident during the Civil War period, was an influence in the development

[20] Galt's memorandum on his interview with Lincoln, dated December 5, 1861, is printed in full in Skelton, *Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt*, Toronto, 1920. See also Newton, *Life of Lord Lyons*, vol. I, p. 60. In a letter to his wife, Galt said of Lincoln: "I went by appointment last night to see the President and had a long and satisfactory private interview. He is very tall, thin, and with marked features, appears fond of anecdote, of which he has a fund. I liked him for his straight-forward, strong common-sense." Of Seward, Galt wrote: "He did not impress me much, seemed fidgety and out of temper" (Skelton, *Life of Sir A. T. Galt*, pages 314-315).

[21] *Evening Leader*, January 4, 1862.

of the transportation systems of both Canada and the northern states. There was an immediate movement, through the northwestern states in particular, for the building of larger canal systems that could not be troubled by "the ghost of British fleets upon the lakes". The danger of war had probably been much exaggerated in the Northwest, and some of the resolutions that were passed by state legislatures and conventions of various kinds have within them more or less indication of panic. In June, 1863, at a ship canal convention held in Chicago, and attended by five thousand delegates, it was urged that the federal government be asked to aid in the construction of a waterway from the Mississippi to the lakes and from the lakes to the Atlantic. While the federal finances did not permit acceptance of such plans, there was a decided impetus given to the development of internal waterways. The restrictions that were being placed upon the Canadian canal system also encouraged the states to develop their own waterways.[22]

The *Trent* incident and its attendant difficulties were presented to the British government as good reason for assisting with the building of the Intercolonial Railway.[23] An application for aid made in 1857 by Macdonald and Rose had failed, but in 1861, with the possibility of war ahead, the home government looked at the railway project in more favourable light and agreed to extend a guarantee to the road. But, since it was for military purposes that the road was being considered by the British government, strong pressure was brought to bear to have a route well separated from the Maine boundary. In Canada there was a fear that unless the "northern route" were adopted the imperial authorities would be disinclined to extend their guarantee, and so in a sense we owe the present inconvenient route of the government railway through the maritime provinces to the act of Captain Wilkes and its consequences.

F. LANDON

[22] See Callahan, *The Lake Frontier during the Civil War* (American Historical Association, annual report, 1896, vol. I, particularly pages 340-342). In the same way needs of defence had had much to do with developing the Canadian canal system at an earlier date.

[23] See *Canada and its Provinces*, vol. x, pp. 417-419.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Examination of a Deserter from Canada about 1708

The document reproduced below is contained at f. 174, vol. 102, of the Clarendon MSS. in the Bodleian Library, amongst the papers of Lord Cornbury, the grandson of Clarendon and the governor of New York from 1701 to 1708. The document is unsigned and undated, but is clearly the report of the examination of one Pierre Barbecq, a French soldier in Canada, by the English to whom he had deserted. Its date may be fixed at 1708 from the mention of the fort at Detroit having been begun seven years before. In 1708 also, as is stated in the text, Vaudreuil was governor of Canada, the Raudots, father and son, shared the intendant's office, and Subercase was governor of Acadia. Information of the sort Barbecq might give would be specially looked for by the English in 1708, since in this year plans were made for the abortive land and sea expedition of 1709 against Quebec.

The information contained in the document is mainly military. There were in Canada, Barbecq tells us, twenty-eight companies of regular troops, the same number, we may note, as in 1701. These companies, however, instead of being fifty strong, averaged only fourteen or fifteen, the strongest being eighteen. This made the total of regular troops not more than four hundred—a third only of those in Canada seventeen years earlier. The decline is in part explained by Barbecq's statement that no reinforcements had reached Canada from France since the arrival of four hundred troops seven years before. Since then had come the heavy demands made on France by the war in Europe. Barbecq's figures agree with those of Vaudreuil in his report of 1709, where the number of regular troops is given as three hundred and fifty, exclusive of the Detroit detachment, though sailors, militia and Indians brought the total available force of the colony above three thousand.[1] Apparently the regular troops were not only reduced in numbers, but were also ill-supplied, if we may credit

[1] *New York Documents*, ix, 725, 833, 841.

Barbecq's statement that no clothing had come for them for five years. We know from other sources that the British capture of the King's ship *La Seine*, with its valuable cargo of supplies for the colony in 1705 had caused considerable distress there.[2] The English troops in New York were reported a few years earlier as no better off for clothing than their rivals.[3]

Regarding the disposition of the regular troops, we learn that there were thirteen companies at Montreal—presumably under two hundred men—with eight hundred militia. At Three Rivers there were three companies, at Sorel one ridiculously weak "company" of four to six men; the number at Quebec we are not told. There is some information about the defences along the St. Lawrence basin, in particular around Montreal, but the information is limited. Sorel had a stone fort with a garrison of eighteen to twenty men, apparently not all regulars. Three Rivers had no fort, and there was no fort in the thirty leagues between that place and Quebec. Of the fortifications at Quebec itself, all we are told is that they were being added to year by year. Montreal itself is described as fortified with stone, and within its government were a number of forts. At Saut des Recollects was a small stone fort and a large wooden one; at Bout de l'Ile a stone fort with a garrison of eight men; at Chambly a wooden fort with a garrison of sixteen. The importance of Chambly for the defence of Montreal and the threat to it in 1709 led to the commencement of a stone fort there in 1710.[4] Barbecq mentions the names of the other "forts" near Montreal, but says nothing as to their nature or garrisons. Further afield, whilst he omits Fort Frontenac, he mentions Detroit with Fort Pontchartrain, which last had, he says, a garrison of two hundred soldiers and habitants under La Mothe Cadillac. He also knows of the mission of Clerambaut D'Aigremont (D'Egremont), who was sent in 1707 to report on conditions at Detroit and Michillimackinac, and also to consider whether it was worth while to place a fort at Niagara. He is apparently wrong in saying that D'Aigremont had either prepared plans for such a fort or gone to France to present his report, for D'Aigremont reported against the proposal, and Pontchartrain dismissed the project as "not

[2] Kingsford, ii, 420; *New York Documents*, ix, 758.
[3] Parkman, *Half Century of Conflict*, 6, 7.
[4] Kingsford, ii, 451.

expedient" in a letter to him the following year.[5] Yet the English were naturally alarmed at the idea, as the examination shows.

Pierre Barbecq, having thus given his brief account, steps back behind the curtain with a reminiscent appreciation, probably sharpened by seven weeks in the wilds, of the "bonnes maisons" he had left behind him at Montreal.

R. FLENLEY

[*Transcript.*]

Pierre Barbec de Valenciennes age de vingt et cinq ans dit qu'il a demeuré sept ans à Paris ou il s'enrola dans un regiment de marine commandé par Monsieur de Ramsay ou il s'engagea pour trois ans, et vingt en Canada il y a neuf ans, il a reste deux ans en Quebec, et environ sept ans à Montreal dans la compagnie de Monsieur La Mesni, il a este au Detroit pres d'un an, le detroit est a trois cent lieues de Mont Real (le detroit est a deux cent lieues d'albanie). Dans tout le Canada il y a vingt et huit compagnies de troupes reglées qui composent un Regiment, la plus forte Compagnie est composée de dix et huit hommes les autres de moins et ne font en tout pas plus de quatre cens hommes. Dans la gouvernement de Mont Real il y a huit cens hommes de Mllice, le gouvernement de Mont Real contient Sorelle,* St. Tour, Contrecoeur, La Corne, Verchierre, Le Cap St. Michel, Le Cap Varrennes, le village de Varrennes, Boucharville, Le Tremblay, Longueille, La Prairie St. Lambert, La Prairie de la Madelaine, Le Saut St. Louis, Chateau Gué, tout au sud, Bertier, Repentigny, La Rivière des Prairies, L'Isle Jesus, La Chesnaye, Le Saut des Recolets, il y a un petit fort de pierre et un grand fort de bois, Le Pointe de Tremble [aux Trembles], La Longue Pointe, Mont Real fortifié de pieux, a treize compagnies de garnison, Le fort Curie, Le fort Remy, Le fort Roland, Le bout de Lisle d'en haut un fort de Pierre, garnison de huit hommes, le fort de Chambly, de bois a seize hommes de garnison, Les trois Rivières a trois compagnies mais point de fort, entre Quebec et Trois Rivières trente lieues mais point de fort, entre Trois Rivières et Mont Real trente lieues. Ou travaille a fortifier Quebec de pierre, peu a peu toutes les annees, dans cinq annees il est arrivé tous les ans un vaisseau du roy et trois ou quatre vaisseaux marchands, il y a cinq ans que les soldats ne sont pas habillés, il y a sept ans qu'il vint quatre cents soldats de France en Canada, depuis il n'en est point venu. Il y a sept semaines qu'il a quitté Mont Real, il a deserté parce que ou voulait l'envoyer au destroit, Le destroit est un nouveau

[5] *New York Documents*, ix, 805, 819, 826.

* Compagnie entière 4, 5, à 6 hommes, etc, fort de pierre 18 ou 20 hommes.

établissement commencé il y a sept ans par l'ordre de Monsieur de Ponchartrain, un nomme Le Mothe commandoit la, il y a un fort nommé le fort de Pontchartrain, ou il y a deux cent hommes, soldats et habitants, un nomme Degremont a este à Niagara pour en faire le plan et il est allé en France pour faire son rapport, pour qu'il soit fortifié. C'est un endroit qui estant fortifié empechera nos sauvages d'aller à la chasse, il y a cent et vingt grandes lieues d'albanie à Niagara, de Niagara au Destroit il y a quatre vingt lieues au sud ouest. Monsieur de Vaudreuil est gouvernour du Canada, Monsieur Rodeau [Raudot] le pere est intendant du Canada, le fils Intendant pour les troupes, Monsieur Supercasse [Subercase] est gouvernour de l'Acadie. D'Albany a Chambly il y a 80 lieues par eau, de la par terre a Mont Real il y a sept lieues mais par eau il y en a 36. Le grand portage est de quatre lieues. Il y a des bonnes maisons a Mont Real, cet homme icy est charpentier de son metier.

THE ORIGINAL "SALARY GRAB" IN UPPER CANADA

When Upper Canada set up as a country legislating for herself, her constitution was described by her first lieutenant-governor, Colonel John Graves Simcoe, as "the very image and transcript" of that of the mother country.[1] Nor was this wholly untrue. There was an Executive Council corresponding to the ministry, and responsible to the governor respresenting the king, a Legislative Council not wholly unlike the House of Lords (the members having a life tenure but the office not being hereditary) and a Legislative Assembly of elected members which claimed the privileges and sometimes used the name of the House of Commons.[2]

The members of the Executive Council, which as such was no part of the parliament, were paid by the imperial government

[1] Speech from the Throne on prorogation, October 15, 1792; 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), 18.

[2] *E.g.*, on June 17, 1793, a resolution was carried in the Assembly "That the Speaker do inform N. B. Sheehan, Esquire, Sheriff of this District [the Home, formerly the Nassau, District], that the House entertain a strong sense of the impropriety of his conduct towards a Member of this House in having served a Writ of Capias upon the said Member contrary to his Privilege, and that the House has only dispersed with the necessity of bringing him to their Bar to be further dealt with from a conviction that want of reflection and not contempt made him guilty of an infringement upon the privileges of the House" (6 Ont. Arch. Rep., 1909, 21, 22). So, too, the members had the same privilege from arrest from forty days before to forty days after the sitting of the House. Rex, Gamble and Bolton (1832), 9 11. C.R. 546; Cix and Prior (1899), 18 P.R. 492.

£100 sterling each.[3] The legislative councillors had to take their pay in the honour of their position, but the members of the Legislative Assembly were not so patriotic. The province was a country of magnificent distances, and the members of the Assembly were, for the most part, men who were without means except the land which they held for themselves and their children.

In the first session there was considerable private discussion—I do not find that the matter was brought up in the House—as to the members being paid; and Simcoe reported officially that "many of the Members were not averse to Parliamentary wages."[4]

In the second session, beginning May 31, 1793, a bill was introduced, and read the first time on June 18, to provide a fund for paying the wages of the "Members of the House of Assembly". The bill was much more comprehensive, and it received its proper name on going into committee on June 25—"An Act to authorize and direct the Laying and Collecting of Assessments and Rates in Every District within the Province and to provide for the Payment of Wages to the Members of the House of Assembly." The bill passed the committee, and was read the third time in the House, and sent up for the concurrence of the Legislative Council on July 4: it was read there the first time on the same day, the second and third times the following day, but did not finally pass until July 6, when it was sent back to the Assembly with amendments. The house concurred in the amendments, and returned the bill to the Council: it was then assented to by Simcoe on July 9, and so became law.[5]

This Act is not only the first for the payment of parliamentary wages in Canada, but also the first of a long train of Assessment Acts. It provided for taxation to pay for gaols, gaolers' salaries,

[3] Reduced very considerably sometimes by income tax and exchange. In those days £9 sterling equalled £10 currency. The "old par" of £1 sterling equalled $4.44; £1 currency, $4.00.

[4] See the very interesting despatch of Simcoe to Dundas, dated Navy Hall, November 4, 1792 (Can. Arch. Q. 279, Pt. 1, pp. 79 sqq.). Simcoe says of the members of the Lower House: "The persons who composed . . . the House of Assembly consisted chiefly of the most active characters in the several Counties. It was impossible to obtain any knowledge of the temper and disposition of the several candidates from the want of Intercourse and Communication, and perhaps had any wishes been formed for the success of any particular candidate, they must have been unavailable as no means could have been found to suggest them." He was right; the members of the first House were in almost every instance outspokenly independent of governmental wishes.

[5] 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), pp. 32, 36, 39, 40, 42; in the Legislative Council, 7 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), pp. 29, 30, 33. The Act (1793) 33 George III, C. 3 (U.C.).

houses of correction, coroners, bounty for destruction of bears and wolves, "and other necessary Charges within the Several Districts of this Province". Section 30, after reciting that "it was the ancient usage of that part of Great Britain called England, for the several members representing the Counties, Cities and Boroughs therein to receive wages for their attendance in Parliament", enacted that every member of the House of Assembly should be entitled to demand, from the justices of the peace of the district in which his riding was situated, a sum not exceeding ten shillings[6] for each day he had been engaged in attendance in the House, and had been necessarily absent from his home, the amounts to be paid by local assessment provided for by the same Act. Simcoe did not like the Act. Although he gave the royal assent, he wrote in his official despatch to Dundas that the fund to be raised would, after the county charges had been paid, "leave a sufficiency for wages for the members . . . . and some members insisting upon the payment of wages it was thought most equitable that they should be paid by the several constituencies to those who chose to demand them by a particular vote upon the plan of the District Assembly," *i.e.*, the quarter sessions of the district. Simcoe adds: "This project has already created some disgust and will probably lead to offers of unrewarded service from the candidates at the next elections".[7]

There is no extant contemporary account of any disgust being expressed except by those who did not receive wages, and there is no instance on record of any candidate offering his services without wages or reward, since few could afford it.

Dundas was as indignant as Simcoe himself. Writing on March 16, 1794, shortly after Simcoe's despatch must have reached him, he says of the members of the assembly: "Much is to be allowed to the novelty of the duties imposed on them and to the light in which they are called upon to view things, namely as not connected with them or that local consideration, but with the Protection and Welfare of the Province at large . . . a mode of viewing things naturally repugnant to the first impressions created in their minds. Nothing could tend more completely to the continuance of such first impressions and of course to a narrow and contracted policy than the idea of the members receiving

[6] Ten shillings currency, or nine shillings sterling, say $2.20—not an extravagant amount when day-labourers received four or five shillings per day.

[7] Simcoe to Dundas, "York (late Toronto)", September 16, 1793 (Can. Arch. Q 279, pt. 2, pp. 335 sqq.).

wages from their several Constituencies, an idea which I trust will not be entertained by the Assembly for a moment."[8] *De haut en bas.*

However, the mischief was done; and while it is practically certain that had Simcoe received this despatch before the prorogation of parliament he would have reserved the bill for the royal assent, it was not thought wise to take any action in the matter. After all it was the money of Canadians, and not that of the Mother Country, which was to be used in this way.

There can be no doubt that the payment of wages by constituencies to their representatives in the House of Commons was the "ancient custom", but it had long been obsolete. Indeed, while there were "isolated instances of local payment of wages during the Commonwealth, as for instance at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1654, such payment had long ago generally disappeared and it may be concluded that Andrew Marvel was the last member to receive wages regularly and freely paid by his constituents"[9]. Simcoe's expectation of the result from members claiming wages had much justification in the history of parliamentary wages in the Old Land: claims for wages were frequently made by retiring members of the House of Commons in England by way of a lever to secure their easy re-election on condition that they would not press claims. So common was this scandal that at one time a bill was introduced to put an end to wages for members. This bill failed of passage, however, and there was no prohibition against such claims. In Scotland, there were instances of members being elected on the express condition of charging no fees: no wages were paid there after the Union of 1707. In Ireland, such arrangements were not uncommon: on the eve of the dissolution of 1666, the House freed the constituencies from the payment of wages, for the parliament then approaching its end, by resolution "that in respect of the poverty of this Kingdom and the many taxes now upon it the members of the House do freely remit their several wages due to them for sending them to parliament." This did not quite put an end to the practice, for as late as 1727 members made agreements with their constituencies not to

[8] Dundas to Simcoe, Whitehall, March 16, 1794 (Can. Arch. Q 278 A, pp. 35 sqq.; Q 280, pt. 1, pp. 16 sqq.).

[9] E. Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons*, Cambridge, 1903, Vol. I, p. 51. In Vol. II, pp. 34-36, 76, will be found an account of such wages in Scotland. They were not paid after the Union. As to Ireland, wages there came to an end practically in 1666.

charge wages for their services in parliament.[10] The method provided by the Act of 1793 for the payment of the wages of members of the Assembly did not prove at all satisfactory. The statute reads: "It shall and may be lawful for the said Justices [*i.e.*, the justices of the district in which the riding was situated] to levy by assessment to be made on each and every Inhabitant Householder in the several Parishes, Townships, reputed Townships or places within the County or Riding represented by such Member by virtue of and in pursuance of an Order to be by the said Justices made for that purpose to the High Constable of the District who shall and may thereupon issue his Warrant to the Assessors of the Several Parishes, Townships, reputed Townships and places as aforesaid who shall assess the same . . . "; and in case any person should refuse or neglect to pay his assessed quota, the amount was to be levied by distress.

It requires no great effort of the imagination to recognize the unpopularity of such a special tax, and the members of the assembly found it unpopular. The matter was frequently mentioned in the general election of 1797 for the second parliament, and some of the candidates promised relief.

Nothing was done in the House in the session of 1797, so far as existing records show; but the proceedings of this session in both Houses are missing. In the session of 1798, which opened on June 5, David McGregor Rogers, member for Prince Edward and Adolphus, obtained leave on June 7 to bring in a bill "to remedy the inconveniencies arising from the present method of levying supplies to defray the expenses of members of the House of Assembly." It received its first reading; the next day it was read the second time, and went into committee of the whole. On June 11 it was passed and sent to the Legislative Council.

The change to be effected by this bill was to make the members' wages part of the expenses of the whole district, to be levied as part of the general rate.

The Council made some amendments, in fact emasculating the bill, and making the member's wages payable as before out of the taxes of his own constituency. The Assembly declined to agree to the amendments, and the bill dropped[11].

[10] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 34-36, 76, for Scotland; pp. 186, 194-198, 202, 328, for Ireland.

[11] In the Assembly: 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), pp. 58, 59, 60, 61, 65. In the Council: 7 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), pp. 60-63.

The Assembly was not at all pleased with what it considered the cavalier treatment of its bill: on June 30, Rogers moved and Dr. Solomon Jones, member for Leeds and Frontenac, seconded a motion "for leave to bring in on Monday a Bill to provide for the expenses of the Members of the Assembly while attending their service in Parliament." On Monday, July 2, the bill was read for the first and second times, and went to committee of the whole; the Committee promptly reported it, and it was the next day read the third time, and sent up to the Council, where it received the "three months' hoist" the same day, July 3.[12]

Thus far, the Assembly was within its undoubted rights, while the Council cannot be blamed for the implied rebuke of its peremptory treatment of the last-named bill whereby the Assembly had tried to get round the action of the Council on the former.

But now the Assembly went quite astray, and tried to bring about the first "salary grab" in Canadian history.

There was a provincial fund for paying the salaries of the officers of the Legislative Council and Assembly and for defraying the contingent expenses, stationery, etc. This was made up from licence fees from liquor dealers, and those who kept houses of public entertainment[13]. There were also certain licence fees from distillers[14].

The House went into committee of the whole on the public accounts on June 15, 1798, and had obtained full information concerning the receipts and expenditures. It was found that there was a surplus, and when the news came that the Legislative Council had killed the Assembly's bill, the committee of the whole, on July 5, "after mature consideration recommended to the House to vote . . . sums . . . to reimburse twelve members their travelling expenses and during their attendance in Parliament this Session, the new mode of assessment not taking place this year". Parliament was prorogued the same day, the last

[12] In the Assembly: 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), pp. 81, 84, 85. In the Council: 7 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), p. 75.

[13] (1793) 33 George III, cc. 10, 13 (U.C.); (1797) 37 George III; c. 11 (U.C.). Liquor vendors paid £1/16 sterling per annum to an imperial fund. The colonial Act imposed a further sum of 20 shillings currency (say $4.50). The keeper of a house of public entertainment paid the same, but was to be relieved of the 20 shillings tax from and after April 5, 1796. (1794) 34 George III, c. 12 (U.C.), regulated such houses and vendors, as did (1796) 36 George III, c. 3 (U.C.) and (1797) 37 George III, c. 11 (U.C.).

[14] (1794) 34 George III, c. 11 (U.C.).

act of the committee being to resolve that a copy of their journal should be presented to the House as their report, and the last act of the Assembly the adoption of their report[15].

The Speaker sent, on July 9, to Peter Russell,[16] the President and Administrator his certificate of the various sums which had been voted payable out of the Provincial Fund. Russell recognized that the fund had been formed by parliament for a particular purpose, and that the one House had no power to change its destination. He laid the matter before the Executive Council on July 9, and the Council were unanimous that he could not honour the vote of the House.

Russell, accordingly, wrote to David William Smith, Speaker of the Assembly, on July 14, that he "was struck by the singularity of this application of the present Revenue which appeared to me to have been destined by the three branches of the Legislature to another service and consequently not at the disposal of any single one to be diverted into a different channel without the joint concurrence of the other two." He rather cruelly added that the opinion of the Council was based upon the fact that "the law had already made an ample provision for the

[15] 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), p. 91, for the resolution as to reimbursement and p. 92 for the action of the committee and House. The twelve members in attendance, not including the Speaker, who was paid £200 currency (say $900), were:

Richard Wilkinson, Glengarry, 1st riding.
John Macdonell, Glengarry, 2nd riding.
Robert Isaac Dey Gray, Stormorel.
Capt. Thomas Fraser, Dundas.
Major Edward Jessop, Grenville.
Solomon Jones, M.D., Leeds and Frontenac.
Christopher Robinson, Ontario and Addington.
David McGregor Rogers, Prince Edward and Adolphus.
Richard Beasley Durham, York and 1st riding Lincoln.
Samuel Street, Lincoln, 2nd riding.
Benjamin Hardiston, Lincoln, 4th riding and Norfolk.
John Cornwall, Suffolk and Essex.

The Speaker was the Hon. David William Smith, afterwards Sir David William Smith, Bart., and pensioner.

[16] Peter Russell, president of the Executive Council, became administrator of the government on Simcoe's departure for England on leave of absence in July, 1796, and continued in that office until the arrival of Lieutenant-governor Peter Hunter in August, 1799. He did not know much law, although he acted as judge of the Court of King's Bench for several terms; but he had a fund of shrewd common sense. He is perhaps best known for his acquisitiveness when head of the Government. "I, Peter Russell," granted much land to "you, Peter Russell". His property was the foundation of the Baldwin fortune.

payment of their wages", and "no other made could be adopted except by passing a new Act to constitute another made for that purpose".[17]

And thus that "salary grab" failed[18].

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

[17] 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), p. 103.

[18] An attempt was made in vain by the Assembly to pass the desired legislation in 1799: see 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), pp. 105, 106, 108-111, 117. In 1803, the Act was finally passed: see 6 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1909), 375-377, 379, 381, 382, 392, 393, 399, 409, and 7 Ont. Arch. Rep. (1910), 195, 196, 198. The Act was (1803) 43 George III, c. 11 (U.C.), which provided for the Speaker giving to any member demanding it a warrant upon the quarter sessions for the payment out of the funds of the district the amount to which the member was entitled (sec. 1). Sec. 30 of the Act of 1793 was repealed (sec. 2). The assessment for this purpose to be made and levied like any other assessment, and the rate paid in to the treasurer of the district. There are many entries of such payments extant in the proceedings of quarter sessions: see Riddell, *Some Early Legislation and Legislators in Upper Canada* (Canadian Law Times, 1920).

REVIEW OF BOOKS

The Lands of Silence: A History of Arctic and Antarctic Exploration. By Sir CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1921. Pp. xii, 539.

THIS long and ambitious work, which was hardly completed when the author died in 1916, aims at telling the story of exploration and discovery in both the Arctic and Antarctic Circles from the beginning up to the present time. Part I, which deals with Arctic explorations, contains naturally much that touches on the geographical aspects of Canadian history. It contains accounts of the voyages of the Northmen, of Frobisher and Davis, of Baffin and Hudson, of Hearne and Mackenzie, of Ross and Franklin, of Amundsen and Bernier—to mention only the most outstanding of the explorers who have contributed to the making of the map of northern Canada.

The attempt to include, within the covers of a single volume, an account of the work, not only of these explorers, but of other Arctic explorers as well, and, in addition, the whole story of Antarctic exploration, has imposed on the author a brevity and succinctness which makes the book at times reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. One result of this brevity is that the author is occasionally too dogmatic. One would never guess, for example, from his pages that there was any doubt or controversy over the location of Vinland:

> Karlsefni had discovered America. His first land was what is now called Baffin Land, his next the coast of Labrador, and the Vinland of Leif is the east coast of Newfoundland (p. 45).

It would be pleasant to be able to settle insoluble historical problems in this way with a mere *ipse dixit.*

The fact, however, that the book was not revised by the author before his death, and that one or two chapters were actually unfinished, disarms criticism. Possibly, had he been able to prepare his manuscript for the press, and had he been able himself to revise the proofsheets, Sir Clements Markham might have made many changes. As the book stands, it is the result of enormous labour and much erudition, and serves to give the reader a view, within reasonable scope, of the whole history of the Polar Regions. It should be added that through the pages of the book are interspersed many admirable maps and charts.

W. S. WALLACE

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume I: August 29, 1774, to July 4, 1776. Washington: Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1921. Pp. lxvi, 572.

PROBABLY no period has been examined more thoroughly than that of the American Revolution. A separate biography has been written even of nearly every secondary figure in the great struggle. Every campaign has been studied exhaustively. Travellers such as Benjamin Lossing have visited the places connected with the history and described not only the events of the past but the conditions existing at the time of the visit. Collections have been issued of the writings of such persons as Washington, John Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, and Madison, who sat in the Continental Congress. A vast literature lies open to the student. But it is a rather odd fact that, until now, no attempt has been made to give as full a record as possible of the proceedings of the Continental Congress under whose authority the struggle was conducted. There is a bald official record of the Congress, but it lacks colour. Not only were the sessions held in private, but the members were under a pledge of secrecy even in talking to their friends. In their most private letters they were guarded and sometimes they apologized for the necessary lack of candour. The only possibility in our time of giving life to the proceedings of the Congress was to collect from letters, journals, and any other conceivable source, anything of value that was recorded at the time about the Congress. This Dr. Burnett, with an industry and a method beyond praise, has now done. The result will be six portly volumes telling the story of the Congress from its beginning, when in it sat the best men in the colonies, to the later days when, forlorn and discredited, it ceased to exist, to the relief of the new nation which it had brought into being.

This first volume contains much of interest in regard to the history of Canada. During the period covered (to July 4, 1776), we have fulminations against the policy of the Quebec Act, followed by the outbreak of war with Great Britain. Then came the decision of Washington that, since British naval power could use the St. Lawrence and make Quebec and Montreal a perpetual menace to the lines of the Hudson, the occupation of Canada was vital to the American cause. The twofold and ultimately disastrous invasion of Canada followed. Meanwhile, however, the British were driven from Boston and, until their capture of New York later in the year 1776, they had no foothold, south of Canada, on the coast of what is now the United States. And when the British were preparing for great and, as they were to prove, successful efforts to occupy New York and Philadelphia, Congress, on July 4, 1776,

took the irrevocable step and passed the Declaration of Independence. The leaders of the Revolution rarely lacked self-consciousness. Abraham Clark of New Jersey, who joined in the Declaration, writes grandiloquently, "I am among a Consistory of Kings"; and he called the Congress "the greatest Assembly on earth." John Adams wrote that "the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was nor will be decided among men." It is singular that, in spite of the painting by Trumbull in the Capitol at Washington, depicting the scene, the Declaration was apparently not signed at the time by the members present. Already the jest was current that the revolutionists must hang together or hang singly, but they signed singly as occasion offered, when, weeks later, the Declaration had been engrossed. It was signed even by members who had not been present at its adoption. In such ways does the cynical jade of history pour scornful ridicule on popular traditions. The signing of the Declaration, like Wolfe's repeating of Gray's "Elegy", has got into the wrong place in the popular mind.

It does not greatly matter. What matters is the filling in of sober background in great epochs, and this volume plays its part in this useful work. The Continental Congress faced two great problems—the determining of the relations of the colonies with Britain and the carrying on of the war. Pervading the writings here is a deep sense of responsibility, a conviction that a vital issue is involved, and a resolve to go on without feeling any panic because of apparent failure. The background is very obviously the late eighteenth century. In spite of a serious effort to move to Hartford, because of its nearness to the scene of conflict in New England, the Congress continued to sit in Philadelphia until, in 1777, the British took that place. John Adams describes houses there as "grand", "spacious", and "elegant"; he is lodged at the most "genteel" tavern in America, and coaches drawn by "four beautiful horses" are driven by Philadelphia magnates. Congress sits from nine to three nearly always and sometimes on to four or even six, with the result that the members complain of overwork and lack of exercise. John Adams describes his day: "We go to Congress at nine, and there we stay, most earnestly engaged in debates upon the most abstruse mysteries of state, until three in the afternoon; then we adjourn, and go to dine with some of the nobles of Pennsylvania at four o'clock, and feast upon ten thousand delicacies, and sit drinking Madeira, Claret and Burgundy, till six or seven, and then go home fatigued to death with business, company, and care. Yet I hold it out surprisingly" (p. 60).

There is much admiration of the eloquence not only of speeches and sermons, but also of prayers. The chaplain, Mr. Duché, opened the Congress in 1774 with a prayer "which it was worth riding one hundred miles to hear." Though an Anglican, he "prayed without book about ten minutes so pertinently, with such fervency, purity and sublimity of style and sentiment . . . that even Quakers shed tears." This scene reminds us inevitably of Oliver Cromwell and his fellow officers praying together at Windsor before they took the momentous decision which brought Charles I to the block. Already Patrick Henry was holding that the tyranny of George III had dissolved all government in the colonies and brought that "state of nature" on which a new structure might be built. We wonder whether Henry was thinking of Rousseau and the social contract. Certainly the members were examining the foundations. The difference between Freemen and Slaves, it was said, lay in the fact that Freemen were not bound to submit to the arbitrary will of another.

There was from the first much debate about Canada. Washington, described in 1774 as tall with a rather hard face, "a very young look and an easy soldier-like air and gesture" (p. 28), was from the first convinced that the side which held Canada would win the war. This feeling was fortified by the passion against the Quebec Act, setting up arbitrary government and the Roman Catholic faith at Quebec. It was believed that the French would welcome deliverance from the yoke of Britain. When Washington was at Cambridge, holding Gage shut up in Boston, he planned two expeditions, one open, the other secret. There is bare mention of Benedict Arnold's secret adventure, but we hear much of that of Schuyler and Montgomery. With Montreal taken, came the exultant belief that Canada was secure. A Canadian convention should be called to send delegates to Congress. In any case Britain had no right, it was said, to hold all of Canada. Had not colonial soldiers done much of the work of conquest?

The Canadian horizon soon clouded. Montgomery's army was ill-disciplined and disobedient. There was lack of "hard" money, in a word of gold and silver, and the Canadians resented the offering to them of the paper money already on its down grade to worthlessness. Then, on the last day of 1775, came the tragedy of Montgomery's failure and death before Quebec. Only slowly did the news reach Philadelphia. But on January 18, 1776, it was proposed in Congress that the members should wear mourning for Montgomery during a month, that there should be a public monument, and a memorial service with a sermon. The monument was to come from France at a cost of not more than three hundred pounds. The funeral oration was delivered some weeks

later by Dr. Smith, Provost of the College at Philadelphia, a man at heart a Loyalist. Thus it happened that "certain political Principles were thought to be interwoven with every part of the Oration which were displeasing to the Auditory. It was remarked that he could not even keep their attention. A Circle of Ladies, who had seated themselves in a convenient place on purpose to see as well as hear the Orator, that they might take every Advantage for the Indulgence of Griefe on so melancholy an Occasion, were observed to look much disappointed and chagrined" (p. 365). So incensed was Congress at the tone of the oration that it refused to order it to be printed. Censorious John Adams called it "an insolent performance". Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, which came out about the same time, was assuredly a vigorous corrective.

With matters going badly in Canada, Franklin was chosen as the chief member of a committee to go there. Not only his wisdom and experience but his knowledge of French and of France led to his selection. "The Unanimous Voice of the Continent is Canada must be ours; Quebec must be taken," said John Adams. With Franklin was to go Chase of Maryland and Charles Carroll of Carrolton. Adams wrote of Carroll:

> He has a Fortune as I am well informed which is computed to be worth Two hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling. He is a Native of Maryland, and his Father is still living. He had a liberal Education in France and is well acquainted with the French Nation. He speaks their Language as easily as ours; and what is perhaps of more Consequence than all the rest, he was educated in the Roman Catholic Religion and still continues to worship his Maker according to the Rites of that Church. In the Cause of American Liberty his Zeal Fortitude and Perseverance have been so conspicuous that he is said to be marked out for peculiar Vengeance by the Friends of Administration; But he continues to hazard his all, his immense Fortune, the largest in America, and his Life. This Gentleman's Character, if I foresee aright, will hereafter make a greater Figure in America. His abilities are very good, his Knowledge and Learning extensive (p. 354).

Carroll's brother, a priest, was also to go. And to command the army in Canada was to be sent Charles Lee, the general who ranked next to Washington in the public eye as a soldier.

The only result in Canada was failure and, with this sinister cloud darkening in the north, Congress took the finally decisive step. Individual colonies had voted for independence. Massachusetts, the scene of war, was for independence at an early date, and John Adams records his growing objection to the use of the terms "colony" and "mother country". But the middle colonies had seen no war and were still for reconciliation, while the southern states were monarchical in feeling and dreaded the excesses of democracy. The tide was, however,

irresistible. On July 2, 1776, Congress voted unanimously, not by individuals but by states, for independence, and, on July 4, the formal declaration was made which broke up the older British Empire.

From the proceedings of the Congress it seems clear that, for the time at least, the political difficulty could have been solved short of independence, had it not been for the resentment aroused by the shedding of blood. Each side could say, of course, that the other began it, but the new-made graves lay in colonial soil and were a perpetual text for homilies on the cruelty and bloody-mindedness of the British ministry. No one in Congress seems to have thought it possible that Canada should remain outside the so-called Continental Union. Most of the colonial traders who had sought fortune in Canada were on the side of revolution. It is one of the paradoxes of history that, had Canada been more completely anglicized in 1776, it would probably to-day be a part of the United States. The French element did not save Canada to Britain by any feats of arms; but they proved a non-conductor to those currents of opinion which brought even the monarchical south into the republic.

GEORGE M. WRONG

A History of Minnesota. By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL. In Four Volumes: Volume I. Saint Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society. 1921. Pp. xix, 533.

IT is difficult to realize that until the end of the eighteenth century, and indeed for some years after that, the history of Minnesota was part of the history of Canada. Minnesota was first explored in the seventeenth century by explorers from New France; it was, during the whole of the eighteenth century, exploited almost exclusively by Canadian fur-traders; and, although British authority was finally withdrawn from it by Jay's treaty in 1794, the Union Jack still flew for twenty years afterwards over the trading-posts of the North West Company within its boundaries. The first three chapters of this first volume of the *History of Minnesota* which Dr. Folwell, the president emeritus of the University of Minnesota, has undertaken, do little more, therefore, than cover a particular phase of the history of Canada; and in the chapters that follow there are constantly recurring passages which have a distinct interest for students of Canadian history.

Seldom has local history been presented in a more attractive and scholarly way than in Dr. Folwell's pages. Though apparently not a professional historian (for he began his academic career, it seems, as a professor of mathematics), he has all the necessary equipment of an historical writer. His style is clear and picturesque; he marshals his materials with masterly precision; and into his copious footnotes there

is thrown a wealth of bibliographical lore. These footnotes, indeed, are alone well worth the perusal of Canadian historical scholars, if only for the titles of western publications regarding some of the early explorers and fur-traders, with which otherwise they might not readily become familiar. With regard to Radisson, for instance, there are listed the titles of a number of papers written and published in the Middle West of the United States which do not appear to be listed anywhere else.

Dr. Folwell's pages do not perhaps add anything new to our knowledge of Canadian history; but it is useful to have the story of the outer fringe of the Old North West told in such detail as here, and with such a clear handling of the facts. The later volumes of Dr. Folwell's work will no doubt contain less material of interest to the student of Canadian history, but the relations between Minnesota and the Canadian North West have been, even during the past century, so close and intimate, that we may perhaps expect to find in Dr. Folwell's subsequent work not a little that bears on Canada.

McGill and its Story, 1821-1921. By CYRUS MACMILLAN. Toronto: Oxford University Press, Canadian Branch. [1921.] Pp. 304. ($3.00.)

THE will of the Hon. James McGill of Montreal, who died in 1813, left £10,000 and about forty-six acres of land for the foundation of a college or university. In 1821 the proposed college received a royal charter, but for many years did no teaching, its only degrees being those awarded from 1829 on in medicine to the students of the affiliated Montreal Medical Institution, which had been founded in 1824 by the zeal and energy of the local practitioners. In the elaborate report on education in Lower Canada submitted to Lord Durham in 1839 by Arthur Buller (Appendix D to Lord Durham's *Report*), "McGill's College" is dismissed in a few lines, and the view taken that "the proper seat of an university would seem to be Quebec." Not till 1843 were any buildings opened, and except in medicine little work of a university standard was done until 1855, when Sir William Dawson came as principal from Nova Scotia. Under Sir William Dawson (1855-93), Sir William Peterson (1895-1919) and Sir Arthur Currie, the small college has steadily grown into a great university.

Professor Cyrus MacMillan's work contains some useful documents, is well printed and well illustrated, but it is difficult not to feel that it was hurriedly put together for the centenary of October, 1921. The causes of the long delay in utilizing James McGill's noble gift are a part of the history of Canadian education, and could have been much more clearly set forth. The projected college was drawn into the long, half-

hearted attempt to Anglicize and Anglicanize the French Roman Catholics of Lower Canada. The story of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, which too long controlled the endowment of McGill, is one which reflects credit neither on the statesmanship of the Home government, nor on that of the Church of England authorities in Lower Canada. Lack of discernment of the signs of the times and undignified personal squabbles mark the history of McGill's benefaction from 1813 to 1855. But instead of a vivid and sympathetic history, we are too often put off by Professor MacMillan with vague references to "numerous other differences of opinion" (p. 98), or to descriptions of narrow-minded ecclesiastics as "men of far and clear vision, of unfaltering courage and unwavering faith." The well-known opposition of the Roman Catholic Church in the early nineteenth century to the proselytizings of the Royal Institution and similar attempts to Anglicanize them is thinly disguised as "opposition from one section of the community" (p. 18). But while Professor MacMillan has not seized the opportunity of writing a definitive history of McGill, the volume is a fitting memorial of the hundredth anniversary of the founding of this great institution.

W. L. GRANT

Policing the Plains, being the Real-Life Record of the Famous North-West Mounted Police. By R. G. MACBETH. Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. 1921. Pp. 320.

Sergeant 331: Personal Recollections of a Member of the Canadian North-West Mounted Police from 1879-1885. By F. J. E. FITZPATRICK. New York: Published by the Author. 1921. Pp. ii, 126, iii-v.

BOTH these books are contributions of original value to the history of that famous scarlet-coated force which, after keeping the King's peace for nearly half a century on the prairies of the Canadian West, passed out of existence in 1920 as "the Royal North-West Mounted Police", and became merged in "the Canadian Mounted Police". The story of the North-West Mounted Police is one of the shining pages of Canadian history, and anything which serves to throw light on it is welcome.

Mr. MacBeth's book, which is the more ambitious of the two, aims at telling the story of the R.N.W.M.P. from first to last. As a history, it can hardly be said to supersede the semi-official history of the force, entitled *The Riders of the Plains*, published by Mr. A. L. Haydon in 1910, to which, indeed, it seems to be indebted in no small measure, and without acknowledgment. The style of the book is in places popular, not to say colloquial; at other times it is rhetorical and grandiloquent. Superlatives are piled up with unnecessary frequency: one would have

thought that the deeds of the Police might have been left to speak for themselves. Tributes to the work of the force are quoted from a great variety of sources, as though the author were commending to his readers some patent medicine of sovereign qualities. Numerous poetical quotations interlard the text. Nowhere are authorities cited, nor is there in the book either bibliography or index.

The book, nevertheless, has real value. The author was born and brought up in the West, where his ancestors belonged to the old Kildonan settlement founded by Selkirk, and, though he has never been a member of the Mounted Police, he has been familiar with them and their work from early boyhood. During the North-West Rebellion of 1885, indeed, he was brigaded with them. With practically all of their senior officers he has been personally acquainted; and his pen-pictures of them are among the most valuable portions of his book. The result is that his narrative takes on occasionally the character of that of an eye-witness. In regard to the North-West Rebellion, for instance, he is able to adduce evidence, not only from his own "close personal contact with the situation", but also from the experiences of other members of his family, with reference to the relations that existed between General Middleton and the North-West Mounted Police. "I feel," he says, "that General Middleton rather resented the dominant place of the Mounted Police in the mind of the West, and was more ready to make slighting remarks about them than to take their counsel" (p. 117). Touches like this give to Mr. Macbeth's book something of the character of an original document.

Mr. Fitzpatrick was, unlike Mr. Macbeth, a member of the Mounted Police in the early days. He entered the force as a constable, and he rose to the rank of sergeant. His period of enlistment covered the critical years of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the second North-West Rebellion. His book is merely a plain, unvarnished narrative of his experiences in the force during these years, with the object of giving the reader "a vivid idea of the everyday life and the general details of a Mounted Policeman's duties". In attaining this object, the book is remarkably successful. It is written in a lucid, straightforward, and effective way, "without fuss or feathers"; and it contributes to the stock of stories about the Police a number which have not hitherto become current. Mr. Fitzpatrick does not vouchsafe any information as to whether his narrative is based on a diary or notes made by him at some previous date, or merely on his memory of events which occurred forty years ago, but his story is so clear-cut that it carries conviction with it. There is nothing which will give the reader a better idea of the life of the Police in the early days. It may be added

that the book is written with a modesty and simplicity beyond praise, and that it is "dedicated by Sergeant F. J. E. Fitzpatrick, N.W.M.P., to his daughter, Sergeant Azilda M. L. Fitzpatrick, Motor Corps of America".

The Men of the Hudson's Bay Company. By N. M. W. J. MCKENZIE. Fort William, Ontario. [1921.] Pp. 214.

THIS book is an autobiography. The author is a native of the Orkney Islands—that breeding-place of Hudson's Bay men—who came out to Canada in 1876 as a carpenter in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. He rose rapidly to positions of trust, and at the time of the North West Rebellion of 1885 he was in sole charge on one of the Indian reservations. He eventually became the fur-trader inspector of the Company, and occupied in turn the position of district manager of several of the Company's most important districts before he retired in 1916. "I had attained," he says, in referring to his resignation, "the ideal position that I had laid out for myself to reach in the service, and was now, as far as my official position was concerned, only second to the Fur Trade Commissioner, and had gained my promotion from the bottom by merit alone."

Mr. McKenzie's *apologia pro vita sua* is written with an almost complete absence of literary art. Violence is done to the English language on many a page. But one could wish that there were more books of this sort which had seen the light. The very artlessness of the book is one of its chief recommendations. To have the plain, unvarnished autobiography of a man who has spent forty years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, who has lived through all the formative stages of western development, and who has played an active part in the story he tells, could hardly fail to be a matter for congratulation. When to this is added the fact that Mr. McKenzie writes with a wealth of intimate detail which a less ingenuous author might have avoided, it will be seen that the book is one of distinct value to the historian.

There is not lacking an abundance of material on which the political historian of Canada can draw at will, but the materials for the economic historian are not so plentiful, nor are they so available. Often the details of the early economic history of Canada are to be found only in rare company reports in pamphlet form, or in advertisements in old newspapers, or in faded account books; and this information is, as a rule, tantalizingly meagre. For the history of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1876, however, Mr. McKenzie's pages supply just that sort of detail which is generally lacking. Perhaps the quotation of a few

sentences will serve, better than anything else, to indicate the character of the material the book contains:

> Mr. Calder was now full-fledged District Accountant, and was daily absorbed in books, figures and accounts. He had laid away as curiosities the old grey goose quill pens, and had adopted the Waverley and other makes of steel pens, to do duty. A new era had dawned. There was also a new innovation of wrapping paper and bags for the store. The old style was that when an Indian bought a pound of tea he had also to buy a 25 cent handkerchief of Royal red to wrap it up in. Now he could have his parcels neatly tied up in paper without cost. So many white settlers were now customers at the store that this new method of wrapping purchased goods had become an absolute necessity. Drever said the introduction of this custom had spoiled the sale of many a good handkerchief (p. 68).

This picture of the passing of the old order in the Hudson's Bay Company would alone redeem Mr. McKenzie's book from unimportance as an historical document. W. S. WALLACE

The Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. By OSCAR DOUGLAS SKELTON. Two vols. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. 485; 576.

THIS is a work of quite exceptional importance in the fields of Canadian biography, history, and literature. As the authorized life of a very distinguished Canadian whose official career coincided with a period of unique national development, its appearance has been awaited with great interest. If the sympathetic skill of the biographer, combined with the judicial temperament of the trained scholar in economics and history, should prove at all equal to the task imposed and the opportunities afforded, it was certain that the work would take a high place in Canadian literature. That it is being eagerly read over a wide area, and critically examined from many different points of view and angles of interest, whether of sympathy or prejudice, goes without saying. But, however varied be the judgment in relation to any of the multifarious interests which filled the long and crowded life of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, few candid minds will be able to deny that these volumes are entirely worthy of the highly important and varied task assigned to the author. In point of form, also, the work is of high literary quality.

In selecting Professor Skelton as the person to whom he could unreservedly entrust the varied public, private and confidential materials available for an historical biography, Sir Wilfrid was actuated by the consciousness that, as his life's work had been almost entirely devoted to the public service, to ensure an adequate record of that life in its public features was the last obligation which he owed to his country. He was conscious also that the treatment which would accord most

impartial justice to his life as a servant of his country, would do most justice to himself as a private individual. It was, indeed, one of the remarkable characteristics of Sir Wilfrid Laurier that few men of his personal distinction have lived their lives so completely in their public functions, a personal peculiarity which would have rendered it nearly impossible for him to have retired to the position of a private citizen. His private life was indeed singularly placid and happy, an ideal recruiting retreat from the strenuous demands of his public functions; but it was the happiness which presents no annals, and would have been difficult for one of his interests and experiences to sustain alone. The outcome of Professor Skelton's labours has amply justified the wisdom of Sir Wilfrid's choice.

In estimating such a work it is necessary, of course, to recognize at once the limitations and obligations under which a competent biographer works. Few biographies have been more adequate and more successful than Morley's *Life of Gladstone*. It serves, indeed, as a high standard with which to compare this life of Laurier. From it we recognize the necessity for a biographer to enter sympathetically into the life of his subject. He must be able to appreciate the actuating motives and the larger ends to be realized, the methods and resources with which the materials at hand are utilized, and the obstacles to be faced or evaded or disposed of. Undoubtedly the biographer must be sympathetic towards the fundamental principles and general political and social policy of his subject; although this by no means involves a support of all the methods and means adopted to promote various ends, or to meet the attacks of opponents, whether based on principle or on the mere effort to thwart and discredit. In the case of a political biography, the author must thoroughly understand and present the main historical incidents which constitute the political atmosphere of the period within which the life falls, but he is called upon to treat with detail only those features in which his subject was specially interested, or which gave occasion for his chief activities. Naturally his history must be sound and fair to all interests, yet his task is not to write a general history, but an adequate personal biography, the features and incidents of which will be broad or narrow according to the interests and activities of his subject. Judged by such standards the biography before us amply justifies itself as a whole, although exception may be taken, on different grounds, to special sections of it.

It is significant, from the point of view of intellectual and spiritual eugenics, that Sir Wilfrid was descended from both of the two most notable stocks settled in French Canada—Maisonneuve's, pioneers of Montreal, and the members of the Carignan-Salières regiment brought

out by Tracy to subdue the Iroquois. His native ability, chiefly contributed, as with most men of distinction, from the mother's side, was brought forward, as usual, by the happy combination of opportunities and circumstances. Notable among these was the opportunity afforded of residence for a time in English-speaking families, and especially his association with a Scottish Presbyterian family, which enabled him to acquire unconsciously a knowledge of the inner life and sentiments of another race than his own; thus furnishing a solid foundation for subsequent relations with his fellow-citizens of British descent. Thus was nourished also that native spirit of freedom and equality which became so fundamental a motive in his public life, and which, because so greatly needed and so sorely tried, was the basis of his chief contribution towards Canadian national life. Further opportunities for developing his personal tastes and social and national sentiments were furnished by his association with kindred spirits, especially in Montreal, where, with limited knowledge and experience, but with the rigorous logic and enthusiasm of youth, were applied the principles of freedom and reform to the social, religious, and political conditions of the time.

In the second chapter some interesting extracts are given from Sir Wilfrid's comments, at a later period, on the earlier history of the struggle for responsible government in Canada, and the attitude of Lord Durham, after the defeat of the exclusively French nationalist movement. In this we find that Sir Wilfrid had evidently not made a first-hand study of the development of events before the Union, but had simply accepted the traditional views and representations of the Papineau section. He was thus under the impression that only the French, and not the English, section of Lower Canada, had suffered repression during the racial struggles in that province between 1791 and 1838. His view of Lord Durham and his report is entirely coloured by these traditional views. Thus we find him in a logical mystification as to how a radical British reformer such as Durham could be so hopelessly reactionary as regards Canada. But he ends, as our author says, by condemning Durham's policy and defending his character (Vol. I, p. 70). Yet Sir Wilfrid himself was to fight many a battle, not always successfully, and frequently misunderstood and misrepresented, in a life-long political effort to mitigate, and, if possible, subdue ultimately just that racial antagonism which Durham recognized as the curse of Canada, but which as he saw, could be settled only in Canada, and not from Downing Street.

Papineau, with logical consistency as the champion of French nationalism, for Lower Canada at least, refused to the end to accept the union. But after Lord Sydenham's demonstration that the union

could be maintained, Lafontaine and the more practical French-Canadians gave up the struggle for an exclusively national government, and settled down to make the most of a possible control of the union government. This latter section of the Rouges Laurier followed, but he developed from it, with Confederation, into the virtual leadership of the larger and wiser policy of developing a distinctively Canadian nationality, unfettered by the narrow sectional and racial conceptions which had consumed the strength of the older provinces in futile internal strife.

It was characteristic alike of Laurier's personal temperament and of his early associations, that he should be found in the following of those more advanced young Libèrals of Quebec who were the leaders of the Rouges. In the second chapter we have a very adequate presentation of the difficulties in which that connection involved him, more particularly as regards the relations of church and state. A special feature of this was the famous struggle between the bishops of Montreal and Three Rivers and the Institut Canadien, of which Laurier was a prominent member. Although still a disciple rather than a leader, he sympathized entirely with the valiant fight for the freedom of political convictions from the dominating control of ecclesiastical authority. As, however, the ardour of youth gave place to the moderation induced by the wider knowledge and the larger experience of later years, though sacrificing little in point of principle, he moderated his attitude of aggression towards the intolerant episcopacy. The leaders of the church also abated much of their claim to the right of interference in political issues and between political parties. The atmosphere of political and ecclesiastical conflict in which he spent his early manhood naturally forced him to mature and define his political principles with more definiteness and range than was customary for the vast majority of his fellow-citizens. His extensive reading was also influenced by the same conditions, arousing a strong interest in the political experiences of France, Britain and the United States. In British political history, and especially in British political biography, he found most assistance in maturing his views on the larger issues of life and fixing his fundamental principles. So far as his political principles can be summed up in one phrase he may be said to have been a typical Gladstonian Liberal. His political career, however, was to be run in Canada, and his own personality and method of dealing with special political problems as they arose gave a very special application to these ultimate convictions. When, therefore, he entered the legislature of Quebec in 1871, at the age of thirty, it was soon recognized that a quite new element had been added to the political life of the province. His first speech attracted

much attention. It certainly presented several novel features in that atmosphere. He advocated industrial development for the province, and proposed the encouragement of immigration, even the immigration of British artisans and other aliens, the special horror of the nationalists of pre-union days. In fact, he frankly repudiated the practical ideals of French-Canadians down to that time, and indeed, as events were to prove, down to a much later period. The English, even more than the French, journals noted this new French voice, and more than one of them predicted indefinite possibilities for the new-comer, especially in the federal sphere where his advanced views seemed to indicate that he would be more at home and more surely bring distinction to his province.

The revelation of his quality and the reception accorded did not escape his old enemies, the ultramontane leaders of the church, who fully appreciated the dangers to their interests which were threatened by the advanced liberal views of the highly-gifted young leader. Naturally, therefore, they devoted much of their far-reaching powers towards obstructing the progress of the influences they had most occasion to fear. The details of these struggles are set forth in the third chapter, the culminating note of which is the great speech of Laurier before the Club Canadien of Quebec, on June 26, 1877, in which he laid down the fundamental principles of liberalism as he understood it, with special application to the proper relations of church and state. By this time he had transferred, as was anticipated, from the provincial to the Dominion House, having been returned for Drummond-Arthabaska in the general federal elections of 1874.

In chapter four we have a very interesting and well-balanced historical sketch and analysis of the coming to power of the Mackenzie government and its career between 1874 and 1878. The great speech of June, 1877, had marked Laurier as the most original and distinguished of Quebec Liberals, and thus led to his elevation to cabinet rank in the federal government, as minister of inland revenue, in October, 1877. His defeat in the by-election incident to his appointment to office resulted in a change of his constituency to Quebec East, which he represented throughout the remainder of his political career.

The defeat of the Mackenzie government in 1878 placed the Liberals in opposition for nearly twenty years. In view of the long and unremitting demands upon Laurier's time and energies during the crowded period of his premiership, this sojourn in the wilderness had its compensations. It enabled him to become thoroughly familiar with Canadian political conditions, domestic, imperial, and foreign. As leader of the opposition, from 1887, it enabled him to gain a thorough knowledge of the management of men, and to become known and appreciated by

the Dominion at large. When Edward Blake, discouraged and worn out as leader of the opposition, insisted upon resigning and named Laurier as the only possible successor in the leadership, the latter was but slightly known to the rank and file of the party or to the country at large. Time was required to confirm the wisdom of Blake's choice. This period, with its formative and seasoning influences for Laurier, occupies the remainder of the first volume. It covers the interesting story of the organization and building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in which some quite new features are introduced, and also the opening of the North West, the second Riel Rebellion and the Manitoba school crisis. The two latter features served incidentally, along with the first Riel Rebellion, to demonstrate how thin is the film of national unity which slowly forms, in years of quiescence, over the molten lava in the crater of Canadian racial animosity and Christian emulation. These were questions, then, as they were later, in connection with the provincial autonomy of the western provinces, and the recent incidents as to national unity in the face of the war, which were particularly trying for a French-Canadian leader in parliament, whether in opposition or in power. Incidentally they served to bring out the remarkable shrewdness, resourcefulness, and diplomacy of Sir Wilfrid. When he became prime minister, he was thoroughly matured in all these respects. It only remained to put in practice and thereby reveal the unique personal power and resources of one whose distinction of person, unaffected dignity, and gentlemanly bearing alone indicated that he was a man of exceptional quality. His courteous manners, unruffled temper, and moderate treatment of even the most critical of issues, seemed to be characteristics quite unsuited to the rough game of politics and the control of the very mixed elements and interests which necessarily compose any political party attempting to represent all sections of Canada. Yet, before his premiership had reached beyond the first parliament, active participants and onlookers alike were to realize that the bland and courteous exterior and unaggressive manner did not indicate a want of knowledge of human nature, or an inability to grapple with the most complex situations or the cleverest of manipulators. His lack of interest in the mysteries of finance and in the details of industry and commerce did not argue lack of knowledge of the larger economic interests and motives of men and corporations. The apparent devotion to abstract principles and ideal standards, which many of his most effective public speeches might seem to indicate was, in his case, quite consistent with his being, in the best sense of the term, a consummate opportunist. Well aware, from long experience, that the average good citizen cherishes high ideals and responds with enthusiasm to their

skilful presentation, he was yet equally aware that in practice the same citizen falls far short of their attainment, and to count on his realizing them is to court disaster. A slow and steady improvement, with bursts of zeal and inevitable relapses, is the most to be hoped for. Sir Wilfrid, therefore, while ever ready to encourage worthy aspirations and to applaud even the most modest success in their attainment, never expected too much from human nature, and was therefore not unduly disappointed or gruffly pessimistic at finding the actual course of events so much below the lofty expectations which heralded them. Genial cynicism may be said to express his estimate of the men most commonly met with, alike in the inner and outer circles of political life. In consequence of his clear vision of the realities of human nature and its environment, he was seldom taken by surprise and never disconcerted. Virulent personal and political attacks he met calmly and turned adroitly, thus at once disconcerting the attacker and paralysing his shafts. Slow to take offence and still slower to show resentment, he passed by the attacks of the vulgar and abusive, and adroitly parried the skilful attacks of the more courteous opponents, frequently showing no little zest in the political game of thrust and parry. He thus contributed to raise distinctly the tone of political debate, and to eliminate from it the all-pervasive element of personal bitterness which was so characteristic of the parliamentary speeches of an earlier date.

In his relations with his cabinet, as his biographer has pointed out, he was a very indulgent leader. He evidently rode with a loose rein, with excellent results for all concerned. He had neither the knowledge nor the interest for mere details of departmental administration. Once a common policy of the government was determined upon, each minister was supposed to carry it out as it affected his own department. So long as the ministers were men of high calibre, personal honour, and inclined to give attention to the vital features of their departments, Sir Wilfrid's policy was entirely justified. If, however, any minister should lack one or more of these essential qualities, no amount of attempted supervision or interference on the part of the prime minister would afford an effective remedy. Treasury control, as in Britain, which involves a close supervision of the essential features of all departments by a body of experts, drawn chiefly from tried veterans of the general service, can alone avail, and must some day be adopted in Canada, as indeed was recognized by Sir Wilfrid in the latter days of his premiership. While great freedom was allowed to the individual members of the cabinet, yet no minister could presume on such freedom to adopt a course of his own to the weakening of the general policy of the government, as was amply demonstrated in the cases of Tarte, Blair, and others. Nor was Sir Wilfrid

to be caught napping in the event of any outside conspiracies aiming at the overthrow of his administration, as was demonstrated in the case of the interesting Russell-Greenshields conspiracy (Vol. 2, p. 203).

Our author has no difficulty in establishing, incidentally to many issues rather than by set argument, the genuine quality and high value of Sir Wilfrid's efforts to develop better relations between the French and the other races of Canada, the others being usually included under the term English or British, because they had adopted British national principles. From Confederation at least, Laurier's personal convictions, and from his selection as leader of the Liberal party, his personal and private interests all lay in that direction. But his persuasive eloquence reached but a limited number on either side, while the ideal of racial separation and nationalist integrity, which he had supported in his earlier days, had deprived the masses of the two elements of any common meeting-ground or means of direct communication. Hence, as he was forced to recognize in his closing years, the fruits of his labours were meagre, though possibly with more hopeful prophecy for the future. As preparatory to the election of 1911, an equally gifted and much more logical voice, that of Mr. Bourassa, had taken up the sacred theme of French nationality and separated much of Quebec from its most distinguished son. On the other hand, the masses of the other voters, compelled as usual to take their information about French Canada at second-hand, were roused by the typical racial and anti-British appeals so profitable in gaining votes in Quebec. Even as regards Sir Wilfrid their doubts were once more revived as to whether anything really good could come out of the French-Canadian Nazareth. In the last election in which Sir Wilfrid took part, that over the head of conscription, whether conscription itself was necessary or unnecessary, wise or unwise, there was no longer any question for the general body of the English-speaking electors, as to the essential disloyalty of the French-Canadians and their slackness in the war. Thus did Sir Wilfrid see the hard-earned fruits of his labours towards the establishment of permanent harmony between the French and other races apparently swept away, while Lord Durham's analysis was once more vindicated.

A very picturesque and yet highly important feature in Sir Wilfrid's career was his first visit to Britain and Europe, in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of 1897. He had just attained to the premiership, established his new cabinet, and passed in its earliest form the British preferential tariff, and was in a mood thoroughly to enjoy that great pageant. His wide and constant reading of French and British literature, and especially British political history and biography, had rendered him mentally familiar with the salient features of the mother lands. He

was eager to visit these scenes in person. He did so under the most ideal conditions. As a French-Canadian of distinguished personal appearance and most attractive personality, holding the premiership of the most important of the British Dominions abroad, he was the most outstanding personage amid hosts of notabilities. His intellectual and artistic interests and his whole temperament eminently fitted him to respond to the attentions which were showered upon him, with a combination of modesty, dignity, and unfeigned appreciation, which entirely captivated both the populace and the dignitaries. It was a trying experience for one unaccustomed to the social atmosphere of Britain, especially under such exceptional circumstances. The imperial spirit was then in full swing, and most of the other colonial representatives were obviously carried away by it. To the eye of a fertile imagination such as Sir Wilfrid's, there appeared the possibility of a later French-Canadian carrying off oratorical honours in Westminster itself, the possibility indeed of such a successor carrying his own experience into still loftier regions and becoming prime minister of a world encircling empire. All things were possible in the atmosphere he was then breathing, and several of his public utterances seemed to make answer to the persuasive apostles of empire, "Almost thou persuadest me to be an imperialist." Salutary reflection, however, and that well-seasoned clearness of vision which enabled him to see, through the glamour of the immediate, the permanent array of cold facts, convinced him that this was not the pathway which the spirit of permanent good relations between Britain and the outlying members of the Empire must follow. Hence, in the brief conferences which followed the Jubilee festivities, and with increasing clearness and firmness, at subsequent Colonial Conferences, Sir Wilfrid steadily argued against formal documents and binding obligations, as shackling the limbs of imperial good will. In this respect his services to the Empire were to prove greater than he himself or anyone could have foreseen. At the close of the Great War, in which Canada had spontaneously joined, making enormous contributions and sacrifices as a free nation, Sir Robert Borden, at one time the white hope of the imperialists, not only adopted the Laurier policy of free co-operation, but carried the independent status of Canada to unlooked-for lengths, with the enthusiastic approval of both British and colonial statesmen.

The details of the various imperial conferences in which Sir Wilfrid shared, and the historical background for them, are admirably developed in their due sequence. The chapter dealing with the relations with the United States, over the head of the functions of the joint high commission and the subsequent settlement of the Alaska boundary, is not so happy

as most other sections of the work, either in the presentation of the facts or in the spirit in which they are treated.

Professor Skelton has evidently made an admirable selection from Sir Wilfrid's letters, for purposes of reproduction; so much so that one cannot but regret that more of them were not included. One gathers, however, from the brief preface to the work, what will be fully recognized by those familiar with Sir Wilfrid's methods and characteristics, that he was not a voluminous letter-writer, and that he much preferred, in the case of matters of vital importance, to deal with them in direct conference, being much more interested in satisfactory results than in the means and methods by which they were secured. Hence, one can quite understand that the letters dealing with matters of special importance were rare and, where there was no special occasion for temporizing, brief and to the point.

Where so much of the ground covered in this biography deals with matters affecting so many and such vital interests, and so many public characters, it is inevitable that most of it will be treated at one time or other from different points of view, and with variations in the background of facts available. But, just because of the assurance of a perennial interest in the personality, motives, and achievements of the central figure in a very important epoch of Canadian history, these volumes will continue to furnish a mine of reliable historical data and information, and their value will be enhanced through time.

ADAM SHORTT

The Friendly Arctic, the story of five years in polar regions. By VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xxxii, 784; illustrations.

THE fascination of the Arctic regions has been repeatedly illustrated by the devotion of explorers, many of whom return again and again to its apparently inhospitable ice and snow, and would have us believe that their only motive in doing so is zeal for discovery or the quest of a chimera like the north pole. Mr. Stefansson is no less devoted than his predecessors to the cause of discovery, but he frankly puts his devotion on a less exalted plane by admitting that he likes the country and the life better than southern climes and civilization. There is nothing forbidding to him in masses of floe-ice or stretches of snow-covered land. He finds food in abundance under the ice or upon it, and the nearest snow-drift is the quarry from which in an hour he builds a comfortable house, draught-proof, sound-proof, and easily warmed even to the temperature of a Pullman car. Mr. Stefansson possesses indeed all the

physical qualifications for travel in the Arctic region, splendid health, wonderful powers of endurance, an invariable appetite for fresh-killed game and nothing else, a well-trained aptitude for hunting, skill in keeping a straight course over land or sea-ice under all circumstances of weather, and, above all, unfailing resourcefulness in emergencies. Many instances of the exercise of these powers occur in his narrative and constitute the most interesting and attractive parts of the book. Valuable also are his observations and *excursus* on natural conditions that he has studied, such as the habits of the dogs and the wild animals, or the behaviour of floe-ice under varying stresses, or the description of his own practice in hunting or in finding his way through fog and blizzard.

Mr. Stefansson's explorations of the unknown were made in journeys with dog-sled over the sea-ice in four successive seasons of spring and early summer. On the second and third of these he was successful in discovering new land, first a large island which he named Borden Island, to the north-east of Prince Patrick Island, with a few adjoining smaller islands, and then another island of no great extent, north-east of Ellef Ringnes Land, which he named Meighen Island. On his fourth journey he succeeded in disproving the existence of the large island marked on recent maps as King Christian Land, which was inferred from hasty observations by Isaachsen and Hassel of the Sverdrup expedition to extend to the south-west of Ellef Ringnes Land, and instead of it he replaced on the map Osborn's Finlay Land, which he mapped almost completely and renamed Lougheed Island. Besides these greater discoveries he made corrections in the accepted coast-line of some of the other large islands on which he hunted and spent his winters. His first journey, made in 1914, discovered nothing. Indeed it is hard to understand why it was made at all. A march of two hundred miles or so, due north over the Beaufort Sea, was reasonably certain not to be rewarded by the discovery of land, ever since Leffingwell and Mikkelsen, in their expedition of 1906-07, established by soundings for one hundred miles to the north of Flaxman Island that the continental shelf extends but a little way from land and is succeeded by oceanic depths. Mr. Stefansson shows by a reference to this expedition, on page 129, that he was aware of their results, but later in the book he appears to have forgotten them entirely, both during his own journey and when composing his narrative. Lest we should be thought to misrepresent Mr. Stefansson on this point, his own statements are appended; the italics are ours.

> **It had been a theory with many geographers that the ocean north of Alaska was shallow, its bottom an extension of the continental shelf with a consequent average depth of under 400 meters and a concomitant probability of numerous islands studding this shallow sea (p. 216).**

And he quotes from his diary:

> We have carried a line of soundings . . . through four degrees of latitude and nineteen degrees of longitude, most of it unexplored *and all of it unsounded ocean. We have determined the continental shelf off Alaska and off Banks Island* (p. 236).

We have not Mikkelsen's own book at hand, but the following sentence from a review of it in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society for the year 1909 will sufficiently indicate what the opinion of competent geographers on the subject must have been since 1909 when the book was published:

> They found that the continental shelf was very narrow, and, long before they reached their highest point, they stood above waters of oceanic depth, which, according to present theories, discredits the supposition that there is land to the north of that part of the Arctic.

The line of the continental shelf, it may be added, has long been determined and was marked on Admiralty charts of a much earlier date.

In other instances also Mr. Stefansson's acquaintance with the performance of his predecessors in Arctic exploration is incomplete. His references to McClintock, while complimentary in general terms, too often betray strange unfamiliarity with the printed record of that great explorer's achievements. After a mystifying passage on the identification of the island named Ireland's Eye by McClintock, Mr. Stefansson concludes thus: "Ireland's Eye is upon the map, but no one knows whence it came or how it got there." As a matter of fact, the island so named is distinctly shown and named on McClintock's chart, and on the Admiralty charts upon which Mr. Stefansson's map is based. It is identical with the island named Brock Island by Mr. Stefansson.

There are a few favourite topics to which Mr. Stefansson recurs frequently in the course of his narrative. One of these is his method of "living on the country", in other words depending for food and fuel upon what the district traversed will supply instead of hauling large quantities of both with him. He does not claim credit for having invented the method, but he frequently makes disparaging allusions to the failure of his predecessors to adopt it. For instance, on page 323, he quotes an entry in McClintock's diary, "No fuel could be got," as the text for a criticism of McClintock for not using for fuel the blubber of seals killed *en route*, instead of hauling fuel from the ship. But McClintock's own narrative repeatedly mentions the use of seal-blubber in this very way. The particular occasion on which the above entry in the diary was made may have referred to a day when seals could not be found. Stefansson himself was not always successful in finding them. The inference, however, from the quotation followed by the criticism is that McClintock was ignorant of the fact that seal-blubber could be

used as fuel, than which nothing could be farther from the truth. It would be about as fair to quote from Mr. Stefansson's book some sentence in which he alludes to the supply of kerosene carried on the sled running low and then lecture him for not realizing the advantage of depending on seal-blubber. As a matter of fact, Mr. Stefansson, like a sensible man, always carried supplies both of food and fuel with him on his sled journeys, in spite of his theory of living on the country, and used them to supplement seal meat and blubber whenever the latter were hard to obtain. McClintock and other Arctic explorers, as far back at least as Dr. John Rae, have lived on the country also, as well as they could with inferior weapons to the splendid rifles now in use, but likewise being sensible men they have been careful to carry with them sufficient food to take them back to known supplies in case of failure to find game. When we discover later in the book that two members of Mr. Stefansson's expedition, old and experienced hands at Arctic travel, died of starvation on a sled journey to his advanced winter camp, we realize that the abundance of the Arctic, which is one of the author's favourite themes, is still largely a matter of good hunting and perhaps in no small degree of good luck, and that the old-fashioned practice of carrying sufficient food to take the party in case of accident to the nearest depot of supplies is not likely to be discontinued in future by prudent people. Mr. Stefansson overstates his case here, just as he does in making light of the Arctic cold.

Very early in the book Mr. Stefansson pokes fun at the scientists for not knowing that sea-ice a year old melts into fresh water, and he says that "although some polar explorers knew that sea-ice becomes fresh a large number never discovered it." He mentions no names either of those who knew or of those who did not know, so he gives us no sure clue as to whether he considers this a recent discovery or not, but in connection with his gibe at the scientists of his own party we get the impression that the knowledge is of comparatively recent date and concealed from ordinary inquiry. In McClintock's narrative, however, published in 1859, occurs the following passage, under date of November 25, 1857:

> By my desire Dr. Walker is occupied in making every possible experiment upon the freezing of salt water; the first crop of ice is salt, the second less so, the third produces drinkable water, and the fourth is fresh. Frosty efflorescence appears upon ice formed at low temperatures in calm weather—it is brine expressed by the act of freezing.

Having before him such a statement in a classic of Arctic travel like McClintock's book, it is unlikely that any explorer since McClintock's date would be ignorant of the scientific result so clearly demonstrated,

nor does McClintock write as if the mere fact of sea-ice becoming fresh were unknown previously, but implies that he conducts an experiment to determine under what conditions the salt may be entirely eliminated. In his log, under date of June 17, 1853, he plainly states that he and his men drank the water that lay in hollows of sea-ice.

The above are perhaps the most conspicuous instances of Mr. Stefansson's unfamiliarity with the work done by earlier explorers. There are many minor inaccuracies. On page 31 Franklin is said to have been scarcely a sailor "in the proper sense." In what sense would he consider a captain in the Royal Navy to be a sailor? The expedition of Nares was in 1875-6, not 1878 (p. 3). It is not correct to say that part of the coast of Prince Patrick Island remained "unexplored" by Mecham's party in 1853 (pp. 300 and 312). About fifteen miles of coast-line were unsurveyed, but were seen and sketched by Mecham, as he relates. Reynolds Point on Victoria Island, twenty miles east of Hornby Point, not the latter, was Wynniatt's farthest (p. 430).

Mr. Stefansson's book raises questions also of a more serious character. The expedition, as a whole, was fitted out by the Canadian government. It was divided into two sections, one under Mr. Stefansson for exploring, the other under Dr. Anderson for scientific research about Coronation Gulf. Mr. Stefansson was named as leader of the whole expedition. For his special purposes the *Karluk* was equipped, while other and smaller vessels were to be at the service of the Coronation Gulf party. As is well known, the *Karluk* was caught in the ice before reaching Herschel Island and carried to the neighbourhood of Wrangell Island off Siberia, where she was crushed and sank. Most of the stores of the entire expedition were lost with her. Mr. Stefansson himself was fortunate enough to have left the ship for land before the storm which carried her far away from the Alaskan coast, but he found himself in consequence without a ship and without much needed equipment for his journeys. Under these circumstances he appears to have assumed that as leader he was entitled to draw for his own purposes upon the resources of the expedition as a whole and to requisition the vessels and supplies originally destined for the use of the scientific section. His authority to do so was disputed, and, although some compromise was eventually arrived at, his book is full of complaints that his orders were disobeyed, and of references to what he might have accomplished had they been carried out. This is not the place to discuss whether Mr. Stefansson is right or wrong in these statements. We have before us only his own side of the case, and doubtless there is another side which will be put before the public in due time. That such differences arose is very much to be deplored, and these and other difficulties encountered later

in connection with Captain Gonzales produce the impression that Mr. Stefansson's conduct of the expedition and management of his men left much to be desired. In these respects, at any rate, the modern explorer might well learn from his predecessors. The reports of McClintock and other great Arctic explorers of the nineteenth century contain no stories of mutinous or disobedient subordinates or of conflicts of authority.

The loss of the *Karluk* was more than an embarrassment to Mr. Stefansson's plans, it was one of the tragedies of Arctic exploration, for it involved the death of eleven men, as appeared later when the survivors were rescued from Wrangell Island. Captain Bartlett, the sailing-master of the ship, has already written and published his account of the disaster, and his narrative includes a statement of how the *Karluk* came to enter the ice from which she was never afterwards free until she sank. Mr. Stefansson also gives an account of the same fateful step. The two accounts may be compared. Capt. Bartlett says:

> We started on our way again, on the morning of Aug. 12, steaming through the loose ice and keeping as near the shore as possible. . . . We steamed along through the open water and because the ice near the shore was closely packed, we were driven farther off shore than I liked. We had to follow the open lanes, however, and go where they led.

Mr. Stefansson says:

> Bartlett and I discussed these things fully, and decided for the more conservative alternative. We steamed inshore according to local practice and followed the edge of the ice until, when it prevented further eastward progress, we finally anchored at Cross Island. . . . We have outlined the two main views of ice navigation—the bold Atlantic policy of "keep away from the land, face the ice and take your chances"; the cautious Alaska one of "hug the coast, play safe, and if you don't get there this year you may have another chance next". . . . After tying at Cross Island for several hours, discussing theories and plans, we hove anchor and steamed deliberately north, away from land, threading our way between ice-cakes and occasionally ramming them to break a way. "It may be safe but I don't think so", said Hadley. Everyone else seemed delighted with our adoption of what they considered the bolder and more sportsmanlike policy. Relentless events were to prove this decision my most serious error of the whole expedition (p. 48).

The differences are so marked in these two accounts that it is hard to believe they refer to the same incident. In Bartlett's story, the course taken by the ship was inevitable, and she followed the only open lanes available. According to the other story, there was a consultation followed by a deliberate abandonment of safe anchorage and a bold attempt to penetrate the ice pack. Which is the correct account? Both cannot be right. Upon the answer which the reader makes to himself will depend much of the value for him of Mr. Stefansson's book.

H. H. LANGTON

An Outline of Provincial and Municipal Taxation in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. By A. B. CLARK. [Winnipeg. 1920.] Pp. 97.

Recent Tax Developments in Western Canada. By A. B. CLARK. (Reprinted from Proceedings of the National Tax Association. Vol. xiii.) National Tax Association. 1921. Pp. 22.

THE most interesting feature of these pamphlets is the light which they throw on the results of single-tax experiments in western Canada. During the ten or fifteen years preceding the war, many western cities adopted the policy of exempting improvements and incomes to an increasing extent from municipal taxation. The increase of speculative prices and the corresponding high assessment of land, accompanied by general prosperity, made this policy tolerable for a time, although the "single tax" did not justify the predictions of Henry George by checking speculation. When the boom collapsed and land values fell to a more reasonable level, the weakness of the system became apparent, and Professor Clark shows the dangerous financial situation to which a number of cities were brought by tax arrears, which could not be collected because public opinion would not sanction extensive tax sales on the falling real estate market. The result has been the broadening on the basis of taxation in many places by subjecting improvements, incomes, etc., once more to taxation. All this Professor Clark has well explained, with much detail.

The general description of the western methods of taxation is clear and systematic, and the pamphlets should be of value to the student of Canadian public finance. One would have liked, however, some information as to the extent of double taxation. There is a well-known case in which the province of British Columbia, insisting on its right to tax the whole estates of deceased residents, no matter where these estates were situated, demanded from the executors several thousand dollars more than the whole value of the British Columbia property involved. It would be of interest to know how far this is still possible, and whether anything like it exists in other cases. H. R. KEMP

Canada at the Cross Roads. By AGNES C. LAUT. Toronto: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. 279.

MISS LAUT asks in this book a very pertinent question. Why is it that, in the Dominion of Canada with its immense natural wealth, its almost boundless opportunities for advancement and prosperity, there are barely eight and a half millions of people, a mere handful compared with the number the country might support? Miss Laut's answer to this conundrum is that Canada has never really pulled together, never made a

concerted effort to come into and to enjoy its heritage. Canadians have been too modest, she says. They have always meekly accepted the statement that the United States was the country of promise, the land of milk and honey, and so for decade after decade the young men and women of Canada have been drawn away to the south, heedless of the opportunities that have lain at their very doors. The time has come, says Miss Laut, when Canada stands at the cross-roads. One road leads to a great and rich Canada, the other leads to a Canada which is nothing more than a hanger-on, a poor relation of the United States. What Canadians have to do is to believe in their own country, to believe that within its own borders lie opportunities for careers for the most ambitious ; in short, to stay at home and build a greater Canada than has been. Too many young men and women have left Canada to find careers elsewhere, while they might have done equally well, perhaps better, by staying at home. Only too often the Canadian universities are training men and women not to be leaders of Canadian life and thought, but to be recruits for positions in the United States. What is wanted is more confidence in Canada.

Such is Miss Laut's thesis, and she backs up her contentions with some very telling figures and facts. Miss Laut knows her Canada; she writes at first hand and from intimate knowledge; and the feeling that she has something to say that ought to be said makes her very vigorous in the saying of it. She is not ashamed to be a booster; she boosts with great energy, and the effect is sufficiently striking. If we may make one criticism, and it is a kindly one, and made in all good will to the author, it is that Miss Laut's somewhat *staccato* style is a little wearing on the reader. What may be entirely admirable in a newspaper or magazine may be a trifle out of place in a book. H. MICHELL

Commonwealth or Empire. Which Should It Be? By ERNEST LAW. London: Selwyn and Blount. 1921. Pp. 122. (5 *sh.*)

THIS volume is an attempt to discuss the connotations of the titles "Empire" and "Commonwealth" as used to describe the countries and the peoples owing allegiance to the British Crown. Mr. Law's method consists in examining the use of each word in history, law, politics, and literature. He moves along well-known lines, and it is rather significant that he makes no reference to Dudley's *Tree of the Commonwealth*, although there was an admirable, if limited, reprint of it in the middle of the last century. His book, however, will be useful for convenient reference.

Mr. Law decides in favour of the use of the term "Commonwealth." His discussion, however, is highly academic. Historical interpretations

are of small value in this connection, as the rank and file of British citizens are fully aware that the possessions of the Crown might be called "zero", without any idea of linking them up with detrimental associations. In spite of the "school of sophists", names do not matter when the facts are clear. Indeed, it is impossible not to believe that Mr. Law's book is not a *tour de force*, owing its origin to the present interest in imperial affairs. In so far as it is symptomatic it is so much to the good. But the problem of empire is threadbare save for those who are qualified to bring to bear on it a wider and newer conception of political philosophy than Mr. Law appears to possess. His pages disclose nothing new either in fact or in interpretation, and his style is so journalistic and so full of strong and excessive epithets that it creates misgivings.

There are some errors. Canada was not called "the United Provinces" in the first five drafts of the B.N.A. Act. The term appears in a subsection of the draft usually known as the "third", where, however, the general title is "Kingdom". The latter term is thus specifically used earlier than the "sixth" draft to which Mr. Law assigns its first appearance. If two incomplete drafts are included, this "third" draft might be known as the "fifth"; but no numbering of the documents can make it the "sixth". In discussing the origin of the final title, Mr. Law gives the well-known story from Mr. [*sic*] Joseph Pope, but he appears to believe that the substitution of "Dominion" for "Kingdom" had in it something deeper than the story implies, and was due to an intentional slur on the part of the imperial authorities. He fails to note the use of the word in the "third" draft, itself the product of the colonial delegates: "one united dominion under the name of the kingdom of Canada." This phrase appeared in the final draft with the words "united" and "of the kingdom" deleted, and "dominion" turned into a proper noun. This seems to be the real origin of the title. When imperial objections were raised to the term "Kingdom", some one crossed out a few words at a united conference, and an excellent title, colonial in its origin, automatically emerged. Lastly, it is somewhat surprising to find the delegates to London in 1867 called "Canadian", and reduced to three in number.

The mechanical side of the book is good. There is unfortunately no index, a fact which tells against any use that the book may possess.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Final Report of the Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation of Certain Portions of His Majesty's Dominions. (Cd. 8462.) London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1918. Pp. xv, 499. (1 *sh.* 6*d.*)

MANY citizens of the British Empire are familiar with the work of the Dominions Royal Commission who remain in blissful ignorance of its longer, but far less expressive, title. For while other such bodies have often been unhonoured, if not indeed unknown, its work was done in a shifting blaze of publicity. Including in its membership a representative from each of the self-governing Dominions (among them Sir George Foster), and fortified with the wide experience of Sir Rider Haggard, it travelled in search of wisdom about the British Empire. No less than eight hundred and fifty-one witnesses were examined altogether; two hundred and eighty-six of them in Canada. Five years were spent in making and co-ordinating its inquiries; and the present volume (apart from the detailed findings which it contains) summarizes all this information admirably.

The terms of reference precluded any finding which might encroach upon the rights of the Dominions. In particular, the fiscal question was left outside the scope of the commission. The result is a series of recommendations (some of them entering into very minute detail) intended, in the first place, to strengthen the bonds of Empire, and, in the second place, to render it as far as possible independent of external pressure.

In more senses than one, its labours mark the close of an epoch. Appointed in April, 1912, it took more than five years to complete its task. Much of its work was done in the stress of wartime, and here and there (as in Chapter V, on "The Control of Natural Resources During the War") specific reference is made to war expedients; but, as a whole, it represents a tremendous stocktaking of resources, in men as well as in materials, as they were immediately before the war began. As such it is an historic document; and, although very different in the purpose of its compilation, it suggests from time to time an inevitable parallel with the Domesday Surveys.

It is to be hoped, too, that it is only the first of a series of similar inquiries; for none of the problems here considered is ever likely to be settled once for all, and some, such as shipping, cables, or migration, cannot be treated successfully, either by the Mother Country, or by any one of the Dominions, acting in isolation. Problems of common concern demand research as well as action on a common basis; and although the establishment of an Imperial Development Board might render unnecessary the appointment of another Dominions Royal Commission within a generation, to create such a Board would in fact be to maintain in continuous session a successor to the Dominion Royal Commission.

The character of their task gives flavour and piquancy to the first pages of the commissioners' *Final Report*. There is a lyrical note in their general survey which is seldom found within the covers of a blue-book. It is an open secret that the panorama here presented comes from the pen of Sir Rider Haggard. His description begins with the tour of Canada, very much as it seems to have been made on this occasion, and he has never written with less effort or more vividly. But the succeeding chapters are a series of severely scientific studies, each of them confined within too small a compass to permit of the grand manner. Their merits of style consist in the presentation of a solid edifice of fact, from which the scaffolding of statistical operations has been skilfully removed. A noteworthy conclusion (in view of widely-held opinions to the contrary) is that the number of women, who were of ages suitable for emigration and had no statistical prospect of marriage in the United Kingdom was actually less, at the census of 1911, than the surplus male population of the Dominions. It is open to question whether the disproportion between the sexes which exists in almost every part of the British Empire where Anglo-Saxons predominate (and which results in an unnecessarily low birth-rate per 1,000 of population), can conceivably be remedied. War casualties have in any case increased it. But it is reassuring to students of migration to find it by no means so hopeless as it has sometimes seemed.

To summarize the findings, which are in themselves "an imperial reconstruction policy", would be too long a task for a reviewer. Some of them have already been noticed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Informal co-operation between the British and Dominion governments has already translated into action a few of the most urgent. The British employment exchanges are aiding in the selection of immigrants, for whom the Canadian department of labour, and the parallel authorities elsewhere, can guarantee secure employment. Land settlement schemes have been inaugurated on an extensive scale. An exchange of school teachers has produced the happiest results. A conference of statisticians has been held in London as a preliminary to the building up of an imperial statistical service. These are excellent beginnings. It is a pity that the Bill of 1918, which would have established a central emigration authority, representing the Dominions as well as Great Britain, was allowed to lapse. But it was open to serious objections; and the measure which is promised for the session of 1922 will perhaps be free from them.

G. E. JACKSON

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended notice later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

LUCAS, Sir CHARLES. *Balance of power within the Empire* (United Empire, January, 1922, pp. 17-25).

An attempt to formulate a philosophy of the British Empire.

———— (ed.). *The Empire at war.* Edited for the Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. I. By the editor. London: Humphrey Milford. 1921. Pp. xi, 324.

To be reviewed later.

MARRIOTT, J. A. R. *Empire partnership* (Fortnightly Review, December, 1921, pp. 949-960).

A study of recent developments in the constitutional framework of the British Empire.

POLLARD, A. F. *The Dominions and foreign affairs* (History, July, 1921, pp. 84-98).

A paper read before the British Institute of International Affairs on Empire Day, 1921.

ROSEBERY, Lord. *Miscellanies, literary and historical.* Two vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1921. Pp. 350; 347.

Contains an address, delivered in 1900, on "Questions of Empire", and another, delivered in 1909, on "The Press of the Empire."

SCHUYLER, R. L. *The climax of anti-imperialism in England* (Political Science Quarterly December, 1921, pp. 537-560).

A brief, but scholarly, study of anti-imperial tendencies in English government during the decade, 1861-1870.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

BORDEN, Right Hon. Sir ROBERT LAIRD. *Canadian constitutional studies.* (The Marfleet lectures, University of Toronto, 1921.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1922. Pp. 163. ($1.00.)

To be reviewed later.

FOLWELL, WILLIAM WATTS. *A history of Minnesota.* In Four Volumes. Volume I. Saint Paul: The Minnesota Historical Society. 1921. Pp. xvii, 533.

Reviewed on page 72.

GOSSELIN, Chanoine. *La paroisse du Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 12, pp. 361-372).

A valuable sketch of the history of the parish, both as an ecclesiastical and as a civil subdivision, in French Canada.

HINKS, ARTHUR R. *Notes on the technique of boundary delimitation* (Geographical Journal, December, 1921, pp. 417-443).

Contains an account of the boundary disputes between Canada and the United States.

HISTORIC LANDMARKS ASSOCIATION OF CANADA. *Annual report, 1921.* Ottawa: The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Department of the Interior. [1921.] Pp. 64.

Contains a number of summaries of addresses on Canadian landmarks: "Some historical points in Toronto", by the Hon. W. R. Riddell; "Footprints in the history of Montreal", by Pemberton Smith; "Two memorable landmarks of British Columbia", by Judge Howay; "Mission of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board", by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank; "Unmarked landmarks of western Ontario", by Dr. J. H. Coyne; "National parks and playgrounds", by J. B. Harkin; and "A forgotten project of the far west", by C. M. Barbeau.

WRONG, GEORGE M. *Ontario public school history of Canada.* Authorized by the minister of education for Ontario. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. [1921.] Pp. 365. (25c.)

An elementary text-book.

(2) The History of New France

Lettres inédites du gouverneur d'Argenson (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 10, pp. 298-309; no. 11, pp. 328-339).

Hitherto unpublished letters written by the Sieur d'Argenson, governor of New France, in 1658.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Notes sur la culture et l'usage du tabac dans la Nouvelle-France* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 10, pp. 289-297).

A sketch of the history of the growth and use of tobacco among the inhabitants of New France.

THOMPSON, JOSEPH J. *The time and place for a monument to Marquette* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, October, 1921, pp. 115-134).

A proposal that, on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Father Marquette's first landing at the mouth of the Chicago River, a monument should be erected to his memory at that spot.

(3) The History of British North America before 1867

ANDREWS, EVANGELINE WALKER (ed.). *Journal of a lady of quality; being the narrative of a journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. 341.

An admirably edited journal, which recounts the experiences of a Scotch "lady of quality" who visited America at the outbreak of the American Revolution, and which throws light on the treatment meted out in 1775 and 1776 to the loyalists.

CRUIKSHANK, Brig.-Gen. E. A. *Documents relating to the invasion of the Niagara peninsula by the United States army, commanded by General Jacob, in July and August, 1814.* (Niagara Historical Society: No. 33.) Published by the Niagara Historical Society. [1921.] Pp. 99.

A series of important documents illustrating the history of the American campaign of 1814 in the Niagara peninsula, drawn from letter-books in the Library of Congress and the Navy Department at Washington—the whole forming a supplement to the editor's *Documentary History of the Campaign on the Niagara Frontier in 1814.*

FISH, ANDREW. *The last phase of the Oregon boundary question* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, September, 1921, pp. 161-224).

To be reviewed later.

LANDON, FRED. *A daring Canadian abolitionist* (Michigan History Magazine, vol. v, nos. 3-4, pp. 364-373).

A sketch of the life of Dr. Alexander M. Ross, a Canadian born in Belleville, Ontario, in 1832, who played a conspicuous part in the abolitionist movement in the United States.

MAHON, Major-Gen. R. H. *Life of General the Hon. James Murray, a builder of Canada; with a biographical sketch of the family of Murray of Elibank.* London: John Murray. 1921. Pp. ix, 457. (21*sh.*)

To be reviewed later.

RANDALL, JAMES G. *George Rogers Clark's service of supply* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, December, 1921, pp. 250-263).

A study of one phase of George Rogers Clark's campaign for the conquest of the Old North West in 1778-1780.

RIDDELL, Hon. W. R. *The Blackstones in Canada* (Illinois Law Review, December, 1921, pp. 255-267).

A paper sketching the lives of the son and grandson of Sir William Blackstone, the author of the *Commentaries on the Law of England*, the first of whom settled in Canada in 1797, and both of whom lived and died in Canada.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

BROWN, Sir GEORGE MCLAREN. *Lord Mount Stephen* (United Empire, January, 1922, pp. 9-10).

An obituary notice.

CHARTIER, Chanoine EMILE. *Le Canada français: L'avenir du Canada et du Canada français* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, décembre, 1921, pp. 370-389).

A discussion of the political future of French Canada.

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *The Canadian annual review of public affairs, 1920.* Twentieth Year of Issue. Toronto: The Canadian Review Company. 1921. Pp. 909.

This invaluable review of public affairs in Canada during 1920 contains sections dealing with "Financial Conditions of 1920", "Agricultural Conditions and the Farmers' Movement", "Industrial Conditions and Problems", "Transportation Interests and Affairs", and the political history of the Dominion and of each of the provinces.

LAUT, AGNES C. *Canada at the cross roads.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1921. Pp. 279.

Reviewed on page 92.

MARTIN, PERCY F. *Overseas political confederation* (Quarterly Review, January, 1922, pp. 188-202).

A discussion of the movement looking toward political union of Canada and British West Indies.

MEIGHEN, Right Hon. ARTHUR. *Overseas addresses, June-July, 1921.* Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1921.] Pp. 82. ($1.00.)

Speeches and addresses delivered by the recent prime minister of Canada while he was in Great Britain attending the Imperial Conference of June and July, 1921.

RAFFALOVITCH, A. *Le Canada pendant les six dernières années, 1914-1920* (Journal des Economistes, juillet, 1921).

A survey of events in Canada since the beginning of the Great War, from the economist's point of view.

SKELTON, OSCAR DOUGLAS. *The life and letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.* Two vols. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. 485; 576.

Reviewed on page 77.

THOMPSON, BRAM. *Who owns Labrador?* (Canadian Law Times, December, 1921, pp. 724-732).

A discussion of the dispute between Newfoundland and Canada over the ownership of the Labrador coast.

WILLISON, Sir JOHN. *The political situation in Canada* (The Nineteenth Century and After, November, 1921, pp. 764-779).

A survey of the political situation in Canada preceding the Dominion elections of December, 1921.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

FRASER, Col. ALEXANDER. *Nova Scotia's charter* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1922, pp. 369-380).

A paper dealing with the charter granted by James I in 1621 to Sir William Alexander, conferring on him the province of Nova Scotia.

SETH, JAMES. *Halifax revisited* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1922, pp. 333-339).

Some interesting but rather discursive reminiscences of Halifax a generation ago, by the professor of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

ROSS, EFFIE MAY. *Thomas Chandler Haliburton* (Americana, vol. xvi, no. 1, pp. 62-70).

A biographical sketch of the author of *Sam Slick.*

(2) The Province of Quebec

DEMERS, PHILIPPE. *La vallée du Richelieu* (L'Action Française, Décembre, 1921, pp. 727-748).

A public lecture by a French-Canadian judge on the history of the Richelieu valley.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *François La Bernarde, sieur de Laprairie, premier instituteur laïque de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 12, pp. 359-360).

A note throwing some light on the life of the man who, in 1683, opened the first private school in Montreal.

———— *Les anciens cimetières de Montréal, 1648-1800* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 11, pp. 341-345).

Notes on the old burying-grounds of Montreal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

———— *Les chirurgiens et médecins de la région de Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 11, pp. 325-327).

A supplement to previous articles by the author on the surgeons and physicians of the Montreal district during the French period and the early English period.

MAURAULT, Abbé O. *Notre-Dame de Montréal: La décoration* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Septembre, 1921, pp. 269-292).

The third of a series of articles by the author on the history of the church of Notre Dame in Montreal.

MIGNAULT, Hon. P.-B. *L'Autorité des arrets* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Septembre, 1921, pp. 241-268).

A study of the effect of "judge-made law" in the civil law system of the province of Quebec.

ROY, P.-G. *Le palais occupé par M. de Tracy à Québec en 1665-1666* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 12, pp. 353-358).

An identification of the "palace" in which the governor of New France lived at Quebec in 1665-1666.

ROY, P.-G. *Les résidences successives de Mgr. de Laval à Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxvii, no. 11, pp. 321-324).

A statement as to the places of residence which Bishop Laval occupied in Quebec between 1659 and 1708.

[ROY, P.-G.] *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1920-1921.* [Québec:] Ls-A. Proulx, imprimeur de sa Majesté le Roi. 1921. Pp. vii, 437.

To be reviewed later.

WOOD, WILLIAM. *Place-names of Quebec* (The Gazette, Montreal, January 6-January 12, 1922).

A series of seven papers on the Eskimo, Indian, French, and English place-names of the province of Quebec.

(3) The Province of Ontario

CALDWELL, WILLIAM. *Impressions of Ontario* (Canadian Magazine, January, 1922, pp. 199-203).

Notes on present-day conditions in Ontario, based on observations made by the author, who is professor of philosophy in McGill University, during recent lecture tour.

DOW, CHARLES MASON. *Anthology and bibliography of Niagara Falls.* Two vols. Albany: Published by the State of New York. 1921. Pp. xvi, 1423; illustrations.

An elaborate bibliography of books, pamphlets, verses, articles, maps, and pictures relating to Niagara Falls. The titles are, as a rule, followed by descriptive notes, or by extracts reproduced in full. A useful feature of the book is an alphabetical list of authors and titles referred to.

[DUFF, LOUIS BLAKE.] *Hundredth anniversary of Trinity Church, Chippawa, established MDCCCXX: A story of the centennial ceremonies and the history of the church the past century, 1820-1920.* [Welland, Ont. 1921.] Pp. 20; illustrations.

A brief parish history, admirably illustrated.

HERRINGTON, M. ELEANOR. *Captain John Deserontyon and the Mohawk settlement at Deseronto* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxix, no. 2, pp. 165-180).

A piece of original research into the history of the Mohawk settlement founded in 1784 on the shores of the Bay of Quinté.

MEREDITH, ALDEN GRIFFIN. *A little journey in Glengarry* (Canadian Magazine, January, 1922, pp. 224-230).

A description of some historical landmarks in the easternmost part of the province of Ontario.

RIDDELL, Hon. W. R. *Early proposals for a court of chancery in Upper Canada* (Canadian Law Times, December, 1921, pp. 740-750).

An account of an episode in the legal history of the province of Upper Canada at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

———— *Simon Girty's marriage* (Canadian Magazine, December, 1921, pp. 169-171).

A curious episode in connection with the marriage of a United Empire Loyalist which throws light on the confusion in the early marriage law of Upper Canada.

(4) The Western Provinces

MACBETH, R. G. *Policing the plains: being the real-life record of the famous Royal North-West Mounted Police.* London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1921. Pp. 320; illustrations. (15*sh.*)

Reviewed on page 74.

McKENZIE, N. M. W. J. *The men of the Hudson's Bay Company.* Fort William, Ontario. [1921.] Pp. 214.

Reviewed on page 76.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS AND STATISTICS

ABEL, ANNIE HELOISE (ed.). *Trudeau's description of the Upper Missouri* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. viii, nos. 1-2, pp. 149-179).

A document, of some importance for the history of the western fur-trade about the year 1800, discovered during the war in the archives at Washington.

[ANON.] *Things out west* (Home Bank Monthly, January, 1922, pp. 1-33).

An account of a tour of inspection of the western provinces by a Toronto banker in the autumn of 1921.

CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, NATURAL RESOURCES BRANCH. *Lower Athabaska and Slave River district.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. [1921.] Pp. 44.

A synopsis of available information about the valleys of the Lower Athabaska and Slave Rivers, from McMurray north to the Great Slave Lake.

COLEMAN, A. P. *The Gaspé peninsula* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, appendix A, pp. xxxix-lv).

"A study of the geology of the region, and its influence on the inhabitants."

DÉSY, ANATOLE. *Le Canada économique sous l'Union* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Septembre, 1921, pp. 318-329; décembre, 1921, pp. 464-475).

Some notes on the economic history of Canada between 1840 and 1867.

KINDLE, E. M. *Notes on the forests of southeastern Labrador* (Geographical Review, January, 1922, pp. 57-71).

A paper on the timber resources of Labrador, by a member of the Geographical Survey of Canada.

LEBOURDAIS, D. M. *Canadian reciprocity again?* (North American Review, December, 1921, pp. 751-760).

A discussion of the future of trade relations between Canada and the United States.

MARKHAM, Sir CLEMENTS R. *The lands of silence: A history of Arctic and Antarctic exploration.* Cambridge: At the University Press. 1921. Pp. xii, 539.

Reviewed on page 67.

MORICE, A.-G., o.m.i. *L'abbé Emile Petitot et les découvertes géographiques du Canada* (Le Canada Français, décembre, 1921, pp. 225-235).

An account of the contributions to the study of Canadian geographical history of a French priest, who died in Belgium during the war.

PULLING, A. V. S. *Forest problems of eastern Canada* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1922, pp. 381-396).

A plea for forest conservation in the Maritime Provinces, by the Professor of Forestry in the University of New Brunswick.

REED, F. R. C. *The geology of the British Empire.* London: Edward Arnold. 1921. Pp. 480; maps and sections. (40*sh.*)

A handbook containing 62 pages descriptive of the geology of Canada and Newfoundland.

SAINT-PIERRE, ARTHUR. *Les répercussions sociales du fait industrial* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Septembre, 1921, pp. 297-309).

A study of the influence of industrialism on Canadian society.

SHORTT, ADAM. *Founders of Canadian banking: The Hon. John Richardson, merchant, financier, and statesman* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, October, 1921, pp. 17-27).

The first of a series of biographical sketches of some of the outstanding figures in the early history of Canadian banking.

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *The friendly Arctic: The story of five years in polar regions.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xxxi, 784; illustrations, maps. ($6.50.)

Reviewed on page 86.

The Dominion of Canada as a market for British goods. With introductions by Sir W. PETER RYLANDS and STANLEY MACHIN. London: Selwyn & Blount. [1921.] Pp. 242.

A guide to Canada as a market for British manufactures.

WILDMAN, M. S. *The bank as an instrument of re-adjustment* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1922, pp. 340-349).

A comparison of the comparative advantages of the banking systems of Canada and the United States, as agencies of post-war readjustment. Sir Edmund Walker adds to the paper "A Canadian comment."

V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BOYD, JOHN. *The university's role, an appreciation of the new chancellor of McGill university* (Canadian Magazine, January, 1922, pp. 217-222).

A pen-portrait of Mr. E. W. Beatty.

[ELLIOTT, Rev. J. A. and others.] *Herbert Symonds: A memoir.* Compiled by friends. Montreal: Renouf Publishing Co. [1921.] Pp. 319.

A memorial volume containing a biographical sketch of the late Rev. Herbert Symonds, vicar of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, together with the memorial sermon preached at the funeral by the Rev. Canon Shatford, a number of appreciations by various people, and a selection of Dr. Symonds's sermons and essays.

MACMILLAN, CYRUS. *McGill and its story, 1821-1921.* Toronto: Canadian Branch, The Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. xiv, 304. ($3.00.)

Reviewed on page 73.

MONTGOMERY, WALTER A. *Educational developments in the Dominion of Canada* (United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1919, no. 89: Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-1918, vol. ii, pp. 141-167).

A survey of education in Canada during the years 1916-1918, by "the specialist in foreign educational systems" in the United States Bureau of Education.

SANDWELL, B. K. *The Canadian Copyright Act* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxix, no. 2, pp. 182-188).

A lucid account of the provisions of the new Copyright Act, passed by the Canadian parliament in June, 1921.

VI. ARCHAEOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, AND FOLK-LORE

(Contributed by D. Jenness, Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa)

BARBEAU, C. MARIUS. *Anecdotes de Gaspé, de la Beauce et de Témiscouata* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. 33, no. 129, July-September, 1920, pp. 173-258).

———— *Blason, géographie et généalogie populaires de Québec* (Ibid., October-December, 1920, pp. 346-356).

———— and LANCTÔT, GUSTAVE. *Chansons et rondes de Laprairie* (Ibid., pp. 336-345).

A continuation of the author's well-known researches into French-Canadian folk-lore.

BOAS, FRANZ. *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl.* (Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1913-14, Part I). Washington, 1920. Pp. 794.

A continuation of Dr. Boas's voluminous reports on the West Coast Indians, dealing exclusively with the arts and industries of the Kwakiutl, their methods of fishing and hunting, and of preparing food. A concluding section recounts their customs and beliefs in connection with these occupations. The Indian method of narration is followed throughout, and the original Kwakiutl text is given at the bottom of each page, making the work a very valuable one linguistically. Every topic is treated so exhaustively that the book must be considered the standard work on West Coast technology. It renders unnecessary similar researches on the same scale among neighbouring tribes, where only the variations from the Kwakiutl practices need be recorded.

BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. *A geographical study of the early history of the Algonquian Indians* (Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, vol. xxiv, 1918, pp. 174-222).

A sequel to Steensby's work on the Eskimos, being an attempt to trace the original home and civilization of the Algonquian-speaking tribes by analysing the geographical bases of their cultures.

BUSHNELL, DANIEL I. *Native villages and village sites east of the Mississippi.* (Bureau of American Ethnology: Bulletin 69.) Washington. 1919.

Contains an interesting note on the old Iroquois village of Hochelaga (Montreal), with an illustration of it reproduced from an old sketch.

CLOUTIER, J. E. A. *Anecdotes de L'Islet* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. 33, no. 129, July-September, 1920, pp. 273-294).

COMER, G. *Notes on the natives of the northwestern shores of Hudson Bay* (American Anthropologist, vol. 23, 1921, pp. 243-244).

Contains some observations on the now extinct inhabitants of Southampton Island.

DUCHAUSSOIS, Père. *Aux glaces polaires.* Edité à Lyons, France.

An account of missionary work among the Indians and Eskimos of the barren lands of Canada, with observations on native life and manners.

EKBLAW, W. ELMER. *A recent Eskimo migration and its forerunner* (Geographical Review, New York, vol. ix, February, 1920, pp. 142-144).

An announcement of a migration of Eskimos from Smith Sound to the north of Baffin Land, with an account of a similar migration, but in the reverse direction, during the middle of the nineteenth century.

EMMONS, GEORGE T. *Slate mirrors of the Tsimshian.* New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1921. Pp. 21.

A brief note on a curious toilet article confined to a single nation in British Columbia.

GRINNELL, G. B. *When buffalo ran.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1920. Pp. 114.

An imaginative sketch, based on scientific data, of the life of a Plains Indian during the buffalo-hunting days.

HAYWOOD, V. *Indian Lorette, Quebec* (Canadian Magazine, vol. 54, 1920, pp. 495-503).

A description of the civilized village of to-day and its industries.

HOOTON, E. A. *On certain Eskimoid characters in Icelandic skulls* (American Journal of Physical Anthropology, vol. 1, 1918, pp. 53-76).

Some striking similarities between Icelandic and Eskimo crania are discussed by the writer, who comes to the conclusion that they are due rather to similar environmental conditions than to actual racial intermixture.

IRVINE, ALBERT. *How the Makah obtained possession of Cape Flattery.* New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1921. Pp. 11.

A brief account, by a Makah Indian, of the wresting of Cape Flattery from the Nitinat Indians of S.W. Vancouver Island.

JENNESS, D. *The cultural transformation of the Copper Eskimos* (Geographical Review, New York, vol. xi, October, 1921, pp. 541-550).

An outline of the revolutionary effect on the inhabitants of Coronation Gulf of five years' contact with the fur-trade.

———— *Note on Cadzow's "Native copper objects of the Copper Eskimo"* (American Anthropologist, vol. 23, 1921, pp. 235-236).

JOYCE, T. A. *Note on a carved wooden coffer from British Columbia* (Man, January, 1921, pp. 1-2).

A description, with illustrative plate, of a typical carved box, probably of Haida manufacture.

LÖWENTHAL, JOHN. *Irokesische Wirtschaftsaltertumer* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1921, pp. 171-233).

A technological study of the household utensils and implements used by the Iroquois in pre-European days.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Formulettes, rimettes, et devinettes du Canada* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. 33, no. 130, October-December, 1920, pp. 299-320).

MCKENNA, J. A. J. *Indian title in British Columbia* (Canadian Magazine, vol. 54, 1920, pp. 471-474).

A legal inquiry into the nature of the land titles of the Indians of British Columbia.

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Stray ethnological notes from the Ojibwa Indians.

Report of the department of Indian Affairs, 1921. Ottawa, 1921.

The first few pages give a brief compendium, valuable to local historians, of the history of the administration of Indian affairs in Canada.

SAPIR, E. *A bird's-eye view of American languages north of Mexico* (Science, vol. 54, October 28, 1921, p. 408).

A suggested reconstruction of these languages into six genetic groups instead of the fifty or more unrelated stocks recognized by the old orthodox classification of Powell.

SAPIR, E. *The life of a Nootka Indian* (Queen's Quarterly, vol. xxviii, no. 3, pp. 232-243; no. 4, pp. 351-367).

The writer has drawn on his extensive ethnographical notes and the actual biographies of some of his native informants for this imaginative, but scientifically accurate, account of the life of a typical Nootka Indian.

———— *A Haida kinship term among the Tsimshian* (American Athropologist, vol. 23, 1921, pp. 233-234).

———— *Language.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1921. Pp. 258.

The writer begins with an analysis of the basis of speech and outlines its various forms and processes in different parts of the world. He then attacks the current classifications of languages, pointing out their contradictions and inadequacy. An entirely new classification is proposed, based on a psychological analysis of the manner in which conceptual ideas are worked out structurally in the sentence. This is perhaps the most stimulating and original portion of the book, but the final chapters, which treat of drift in language, and language in relation to culture and race and current forms of literature, are almost equally interesting. There is no other work in the English language covering quite the same ground as this little volume; it could well be made a text-book in colleges and universities.

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———— and HEYE, GEORGE G. *Hunting charms of the Montagnais and the Mistassini.* New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1921. Pp. 19.

A description of some pack-straps and cords used as individual hunting charms.

STEVENS, O. A. *Uses of plants by the Indians* (Science, vol. 52, July 30, 1920, pp. 99-101).

Mainly a review of Dr. Gilmore's work, *Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region*, published in the 33rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1919).

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The writer draws two interesting conclusions: first, that in general body form the Sioux are not very different from the whites with whom they have mingled; second, that in those characters in which the Indians differ most markedly from whites the half-bloods stand more closely to the Indians.

The culture of the American Indian—its regional distribution and origin (Geographical Review, New York, vol. x, October, 1920, pp. 262-266).

A résumé of Dr. Wissler's book, *The American Indian*, New York, 1917.

WATERMAN, T. T. *The whaling equipment of the Makah Indians* (University of Washington Publications in Political and Social Science, vol. i, no. 1, pp. 67).

————, and GREINER, RUTH. *Indian houses of Puget Sound.* New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1921. Pp. 61.

This monograph discusses three types of large plank houses formerly built by the Puget Sound Indians.

———— and collaborators. *Native houses of western North America.* New York: Museum of the American Indians, Heye Foundation. 1921. Pp. 97.

A study of the distribution of houses built over a central pit that exist in various forms from Alaska to California. It concludes with a theory of their derivation from a single type of structure that originated perhaps in Asia.

WISSLER, CLARK. *Arctic geography and Eskimo culture: a review of Steensby's work* (Geographical Review, New York, vol. ix, February, 1920, pp. 125-138).

A critical review of the theory of the Danish geographer, Steensby, that the Eskimos were originally an inland people living between Hudson Bay and the Mackenzie River; that they migrated later to the Arctic regions around Coronation Gulf and there developed the peculiar culture that differentiates them from every other race.

WYMAN, LORAINE. *Songs from Percé* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. 33, no. 130, October-December, 1920, pp. 321-335).

The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. III. TORONTO, JUNE, 1922 No. 2

NOTES AND COMMENTS

AMONG educationalists the *Report to the President of the Board of Education on the Teaching of English in England*,[1] presented last year by a special committee of which Sir Henry Newbolt was chairman, is rapidly achieving a wide fame. To the student and teacher of history the findings of the report have a special interest. For in its appeal that every teaching "period" should be an English "period," and in its *credo* that "English connotes the discovery of the world by the first and most direct way open to us, and the discovery of ourselves in our native environment," the committee hammers again and again at the direct connection and interdependence of English and history in primary, secondary, continuation, evening and technical schools, in the training of teachers, in the universities, and in the private study. This is a far cry indeed from 1861, when the Newcastle Report segregated history as "a subject intended to increase directly the professional skill of the student."

The methods of intelligent co-operation between English and history are manifold. For the schools great stress is laid in the report on the historical essay. Here is a golden opportunity to kill two birds with one stone, to scotch the bogey Time-table:

> The time needed to be set apart for English composition could be greatly reduced if teachers of history exacted a higher standard

[1]London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1921. (1s. 6d.)

> of English in oral and written work than that which they at present accept; nor need English composition always be a thing separate from the written work in a special subject such as history, geography, or science.

This is not of course an original idea, though it can never be overemphasized. But a suggestion is made elsewhere in the report which may be new and very welcome to Canadian school-teachers. Pointing out the unassailable truth that "epics existed before essays," the committee claims history as the most fruitful source of dramatic work among children:

> Consider the training involved in the composition of a drama on the subject, say, of Sir Walter Raleigh! There is the actual work of planning the whole drama; then of planning each scene, of fitting the characters with becoming words, and of making the scenes accord with the conditions of time and space—of time and space in the artistic, historical sense, and of time and space in the practical theatrical sense. This is training in the writing of English such as periodical attempts at essays will never give. It is, in the fullest sense, practical English composition.

To substitute Canadian heroes for Drakes and Raleighs and Nelsons should not be beyond the powers of very many teachers of English and history in Canada, where the two subjects so frequently fall to the same instructors.

As the student becomes adolescent, the report points out, the *liaison* between English and history increases. In the day continuation schools, "with which the Education Act of 1918 will crown the elementary school system," an essential part of the English programme should be to "make the pupil at least conscious of the past history of the English people and of their position and functions in the existing family of nations." The committee notes and strongly approves the tendency in such of these schools as have already been instituted to make some simple social history and geography the centre of their English course:

> We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that local history, wisely interpreted, adapted to the minds of adolescent students, and studied not as an end in itself but as an introduction to the splendid literary and historic heritage of humanity, is one of the strongest allies of our cause.

This policy has already been adumbrated by the experiments of teachers in evening and technical schools:

> It was necessary somehow to relate English to the vocation of

> the student if he was to become a willing learner. Of recent years this has been accomplished by broadening the conception of English to include some study of the history and geography of the industry in which the locality is chiefly interested. In other words a well-written text-book of social history was substituted for the novel as the basis of class-work in English. . . . [The result has been that] in most thickly populated industrial centres, English has become one of the most popular subjects of the evening school curriculum.

This fact leads the committee to make the specific recommendation, which might at least be tested in similar Canadian circumstances, that

> the work chosen as the basis of the English teaching should be a book demanding study, and in commercial courses the most suitable books will be found in well-written elementary treatises on history or geography viewed from the commercial or the rather broader economic standpoint;

and to express the hope that the English libraries of such schools will be well stocked with books on history, geography, and biography. So also in technical schools "the history and geography of the particular industry might form the centre of the [English] course. It is sufficient to mention the building trade with its age-long history, its far-flung geographical connexions, and the wealth of the literature attached to it, to show what possibilities such a course would open up in the hands of an able teacher." One experienced witness expressed the opinion that "Industrial History is only less potent than literature in developing imagination, and tends properly handled in the same direction, and, by giving a meaning to every-day things, aids self-expression."

But the most striking example of the possibilities of history as an essential part of training in English is the opinion of two witnesses that English literature need not always be insisted upon as a compulsory subject in training courses for teachers of English. One said that

> If History were treated not merely as a record of deeds but as a revelation of man, and of his thoughts and attempts to express himself, it would form the basis of the type of education usually associated with the study of literature. There were students whose bent was towards History rather than Literature, and if they could obtain training of the type desired from a wider study of History, she saw no reason why they should not so obtain it. She did not want a course in knowledge of historical facts; a human training

> must be aimed at, and in such a History scheme as she desired, English Literature would have an essential place.

The other witness agreed that "for certain students History, in connection with which a certain amount of Literature would have to be read, might be substituted for English Literature proper." While recognizing that these views on training English teachers are perhaps somewhat heterodox, the committee particularly recommends that student-teachers who do not take History should do some reading in the works of the great historical writers. In the section of the report dealing with the universities, this point is again pressed home; and once more the rôle of history looms up in the foreground:

> Whether he [the University student] reads Literature or Natural Science, Theology or History or Philosophy, he will need the fullest command of the highest resources of his own language if he is to learn all that books and teachers in his subject can give him, and to make it a possession of his own. . . . Obviously literature should be read in connection with history: just as those who teach history should always use literature for purposes of illustration. . . A study, *e.g.*, of the Romantic Revival of English Poetry would lose much of its value without some concurrent study of the relevant history. . . . There is no history in which Puritanism lives as it lives in *Paradise Lost* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*. But though they stand utterly above history no study of them which disdains historical assistance can be scholarly or complete.

An interesting and valuable departure in regard to the study of Canadian history is being made this summer at Ottawa. Professor J. L. Morison, the head of the department of history at Queen's University, Kingston, whose name is well known to readers of this REVIEW, is establishing in connection with the Public Archives a summer school for students who wish to carry on research in Canadian history. The value of such a school for all who intend to pursue in any way the professional study of history, it would be difficult to exaggerate. Most historical investigators learn to handle their tools only after a long and blundering process of experimentation; and the advantages of embarking on a career of historical research under the experienced and enthusiastic guidance of Professor Morison, in collaboration with the officials of the Public Archives Branch itself, ought to attract to the school many applicants for admission. We venture

to commend the school to the support of all who are interested in the study of Canadian history.

Of the contributors to this number of the REVIEW, Mr. Alan F. Hattersley, the author of the paper on *Canada and South Africa*, is the librarian of Natal University College, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa; Professor Paul Knaplund, who writes on *Intra-imperial Aspects of Britain's Defence Question, 1870-1900*, is a member of the staff in history at the University of Wisconsin; and Mr. Walter N. Sage, who contributes another chapter in the history of British Columbia, is, as we have said before, a member of the staff in history at the University of British Columbia. Professor R. G. Trotter, who edits a most important document with regard to the genesis of Confederation, is a Canadian who is lecturing on Canadian history at Stanford University, California.

CANADA AND SOUTH AFRICA

A Plea for Inter-Dominion Historical Study

THE movement to achieve closer political, economic, and social relations between the British Dominions may be said to have, in the last two years, proceeded apace. Now that the term "British Empire" is coming to be discarded in favour of the more universally acceptable "British Commonwealth of Nations," stress is laid, and rightly so, quite as much on the necessity for channels of intercourse and co-operation directly connecting Dominion with Dominion, as on the need, now less urgent, because in large part provided for, of such connecting links between the Dominions and the Mother Country. In the eighties, opponents of the Imperial Federation movement ventured to doubt whether the Dominions cared very much for one another, however warm might be their affections towards Great Britain. Such doubts were largely the product of ignornace. "Canada," complained a settler at the Cape some sixty-five years ago,[1] "stands aloof from us; we consciously feel every mile of her immense distance." But, in 1922, the prospects of co-operation are decidedly hopeful. A steamship service, subsidized by the Canadian government, plies direct between Capetown and Montreal, a Canadian assistant trade commissioner has been stationed at Capetown, and a great mass of information as to the economic wants and products of the Union has been made available to Canadian farmers and manufacturers.[2] In South Africa, comparison of the figures of Union exports to Canada, which dropped from nearly half a million sterling in 1919 to a paltry £200 in 1920, directed public attention to the need for getting into touch with Canadian importers.

Whilst so much attention is being paid to economic relations, it may be doubted whether the clouds of ignorance which overshadow the respective ideals, political, social, and educational,

[1] *Eastern Province Monthly Magazine*, Jan., 1857.

[2] Observations of the *Times of Natal*, April 9, 1921, on the report of the Canadian assistant trade commissioner.

of the two Dominions, have been to any marked degree dispelled. In war time, the organization of historical scholarship in America, for purposes of universal enlightenment, drew attention to the fact that there was a sphere of public service for which the trained historian was peculiarly well capacitated.[1] Unhappily, the obstacles in the way of inter-dominion historical study have so far proved well-nigh insuperable. It is as much as a professor of history in the Dominions can do to keep in touch, by periodical visits, with the current of historical thought and research in England. It is but rarely that he finds himself in a position to visit another Dominion. In consequence, Canadian history comes in for but scanty treatment in the syllabuses of South African universities. The average candidate for a degree has a competent knowledge of the impact of British policy upon Canada; but of the domestic problems of that great Dominion, of the history of the Canadian people, his ignorance is colossal. And yet the history of Quebec contains a veritable *embarras de richesse* for the South African student, wrestling with the problems of race domination and nationality. On the other hand, what more profitable subject for a thesis for Canadian students could be found than "The Working of the Provincial Council System in South Africa"?

Divergent as have inevitably been the paths of development of the two countries, it is possible to trace a current of sympathy between the two bodies of colonists so variously situated, with, every now and then, a genuine throb of keen, public interest. Such an interest was evoked at the Cape by the publication of the famous Durham *Report*. The possible bearing of the *Report* on the political destiny of the Cape settlers was freely discussed in the nascent press of the Colony.[2] Commenting on Durham's statement that a great portion of the business of the Canadian assemblies was parish business, the *South African Commercial Advertiser* complained that, in contrast with Canada, "the parish business of the Cape was conducted by the Imperial Government."[3] Cape feeling, on the other hand, was inclined to be self-congratulatory as regards the comparative difficulty of the racial question in the two countries. The multiplicity of races at the

[1]Hubert Hall, in *History*, vol. 3, pp. 98-99; *Contemporary Review*, May, 1916, p. 603.

[2]The *South African Commercial Advertiser*, May 8, 1839, announced its intention "to draw some practical inferences for the use and benefit of this colony."

[3]*Commercial Advertiser*, May 15, 1839.

Cape was held to be an advantage, as affording a safeguard against tyranny by one section. There is a note of sympathy, as well as of self-congratulation, in the asseveration: "Of the numerous instances of mistaken policy which in the course of seventy or eighty years have nearly accomplished the ruin of Canada, we have generally speaking only specimens here, not parallel cases."[1] It was recognized at the Cape, that the new policy recommended by Lord Durham was exceptionally liberal; and hopes were expressed that an equally liberal treatment would be meted out to the Cape Colony. As time went on these hopes gradually dwindled. On October 2, 1841, the *Commercial Advertiser*, referring to the speech of the governor of Canada, at the opening of the united Canadian assembly, in the course of which he had promised a substantial loan for roads and other public works, enquired whether the government would permit a one per cent. tax on imports for similar works at the Cape. There was a general feeling that Canada had obtained concessions because she had been strong enough to extort them. "Canada is strong, next neighbour to an absorbing republic, was recently in open rebellion."

There could be no question that the political treatment of the colonists at the Cape compared very unfavourably with that which the original body of French-Canadian colonists had received.[2] The explanation for this is not hard to discover. The French Canadians were practically confined to the province of Quebec, and could be left in enjoyment of their language and laws, without seriously affecting the interests of any considerable body of English settlers. At the Cape, however, it was impossible for any body of English emigrants to settle without mixing with the Dutch colonists. Unless the dominant aim of establishing a British community was frankly to be abandoned, it is difficult to see what other course could have been pursued than that which found expression in the language ordinance of 1822 and the judicial changes of 1827-28. On the other hand, very little could be said in extenuation of the ungenerous economic policy pursued toward the Cape. Efforts were made to persuade the mother country that the permanent economic future of South Africa was assured on a firmer basis than that of Canada. The older colony, it was argued, would for generations be dependent

[1]May 8, 1839.
[2]Theal, *Progress of South Africa*, p. 146.

on the timber industry, "which is exhaustive, while the wool trade expands."[1] It was true that in the matter of public works, canals, railroads, etc., the Cape was demonstrably inferior; but, whilst this was partly due to geographical facts, the absence of inland seas and navigable streams, the chief cause was the lack of encouragement by the Imperial government. "It is emigration, an eager exodus into Canada, and a laggard limping to the Cape that makes that country full of life, and this a place where . . . the eye is weary with gazing on waste spaces." Whereas the government had offered free land to Canadian immigrants, they had done little for the Albany settlers, and less for those who followed them.

In the seventies, with the advent to power at the Colonial Office of Lord Carnarvon, the situation underwent an astonishing reversal. It was now the part of the Imperial government to draw the attention of the Cape colonists to the advantages to be derived from following Canadian precedents; and it was Lord Carnarvon's representative, Mr. Froude, who told a Grahamstown audience that confederation on the Canadian lines "would cause South Africa to advance with such rapid strides that it would soon equal in prosperity that great Dominion." But the claim of the Colonial Office was less valid than it appeared to be; and Cape colonists were not deceived by the proposition that, before federation, Canada had been "a few scattered states, almost bankrupt, apparently incapable of progress."[2] Moreover, the statement that Lord Carnarvon "had created" the Dominion, was fundamentally false, and known to be so. The circumstances were radically different. Incentives to some form of closer union had certainly existed, notably the paralysis of the Transvaal, and the Zulu menace, but the policy of the Imperial authorities, rightly or wrongly, had in the year 1877-79 largely resulted in their removal.[3] The circumstances of the various colonies and states in South Africa could not be compared with those of the provinces of the Dominion of Canada. They differed from one another in their history, political constitution, and native policy. The oldest of the units was larger in extent, and incomparably wealthier than the other four units put together. Nor had the way been prepared for some measure of spontaneous co-operation.

[1] *Eastern Province Monthly Magazine*, 1857, p. 296.
[2] *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1875, p. 237.
[3] *Life and Times of J. C. Molteno*, vol. I, p. 186.

It is true that Sir Henry Barkly had appointed a commission at the Cape in 1871 to enquire into federation, recommending study of the Canadian model. But the attempt to force the pace, so soon after the concession of responsible government, was an irremediable blunder; and the Canadian precedent, by which the initiative had been left in the hands of Canadians to shape their own destiny, was not to be followed in the case of South Africa. Moreover, the Canadian Dominion was still young, and Cape statesmen hesitated to follow blindly its lead. Mr. J. X. Merriman made anxious enquiries of Professor Goldwin Smith as to the working of the Canadian Confederation; and the latter's verdict that the Canadian constitution was complicated and expensive was not likely to pre-dispose Cape politicians in favour of the federal plan for a country of such wide distances and incomplete political education. Federation, declared Goldwin Smith, though it had "facilitated the joint execution of useful public works . . . has certainly led to the expenditure of very large sums of money in public works of more doubtful utility."[1]

The Federation controversy at the Cape certainly led to a quickening of interest in Canadian affairs; and with the participation of Dominion troops in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1900, the era of genuine co-operation may be said to have begun. In the twentieth century, down to the outbreak of the Great War, co-operation between the Dominions took largely a political and constitutional form, centring in the activities of the Imperial Conference. Since 1918, economic relations have come to the forefront. Perhaps the time is not far distant when equal attention will be paid to those less formal ties which are the product of mutual understanding and respect. This is the peculiar sphere of the teacher of history. There are many ways of approaching the problem, which, however, in the long run is bound up with the question of the status and endowment of Dominion universities. The Universities Bureau of the Empire has undertaken to consider the matter of interchange of university teachers; whilst a step in the right direction has been the recent progress in arrangement and classification of Dominion archives. An invitation to a Canadian professor of history to undertake a lecturing tour in the Union would be a graceful compliment; but it would be something much more than this. It would be an invaluable stimulus to what must surely come, and come soon,—

[1] A. Haultain (ed.), *Goldwin Smith Correspondence*, pp. 73-79.

the serious study of Canadian history in the universities and high schools of South Africa. As regards the study of South African history and problems in other Dominions, one can only say that it would help to dispel the impression so long prevalent at the Cape, that "South Africa is the Cinderella of the British-Colonial family. She is generally ignored, unappreciated or scolded by her big relatives."[1] Such a complaint has, of course, long since ceased to be justified; but history teachers must marshal their forces, if the British Commonwealth of Nations is to be a living organism, the free association of peoples conscious of one another's peculiar aspirations and needs.

ALAN F. HATTERSLEY

[1] *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, 1875, vol. VI, p. 155.

INTRA-IMPERIAL ASPECTS OF BRITAIN'S DEFENCE QUESTION, 1870-1900

ON March 7, 1873, the announcement was made in the House of Commons at Westminster by the Hon. Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen, parliamentary under-secretary of state for the colonies, that the self-governing colonies had assumed responsibility for their local defence.[1] Garrisons were to be retained only for the purpose of guarding imperial fortresses, such as Halifax and Esquimault. Great Britain was to continue to provide naval protection, however, and it was understood that the entire military and naval strength of the empire would be exerted in defending every portion of it against a foreign foe. Negotiations first begun by Earl Grey as colonial secretary in Lord John Russell's administration, 1846-1852, had thus been brought to a successful conclusion.[2] The question had "bristled with difficulties," but special factors had made it imperative to reach a settlement. Chief among these was, during the sixties, the necessity of providing an adequate military establishment for Great Britain in the face of a determined Liberal opposition to large expenditures on the army and navy.

The opening of the decade found the United Kingdom in the midst of what Cobden called "the Third Panic." It was commonly believed that Napoleon III was plotting an attack. Leading members of the ministry, including the prime minister, Lord Palmerston, shared this fear. A hostile Franco-Russian alliance was even considered within the range of possibilities.[3] To meet

[1] *Hansard*, 3rd series, CCXIV, col. 1528. An exception was made in the case of the Cape Colony, where local conditions made maintenance of imperial troops necessary; see A. B. Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (Oxford, 1912), vol. III, pp. 1256, 1257.

[2] For the negotiations leading up to the withdrawal of the imperial troops see Robert L. Schuyler, "The Recall of the Legions: a Phase in the Decentralization of the British Empire," *The American Historical Review*, vol. XXVI, pp. 18-36.

[3] Napoleon III and France occupied in the minds of the British in 1859-1862, a position analogous to that held by Germany in the years shortly before the outbreak of the Great War. See Richard Cobden, *The Three Panics* (London, 1884), pp. 47-704;

the threatening danger two lines of action were urged strongly: first, the concentration of all available military forces at the imperial base, and, second, increased appropriations for defence. The latter met with determined opposition from Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer, 1859-1866. Firm in his convictions he carried on a spirited debate over this question with the prime minister and strained to the breaking point a life-long friendship with the secretary for war, Sidney Herbert.[1] He scoffed at the fear of a French invasion, and declared, "My mind is made up, and to propose any loan for fortifications would be, on my part, with the views I entertain, a betrayal of my public duty."[2] For the sake of economy he favoured withdrawal of the British troops wherever possible.[3] This policy had also the support of military strategists, who considered scattered garrisons practically useless in case of war.[4] Under the influence of these factors, among others, the House of Commons passed, without a dissenting vote, on March 4, 1862, a resolution favouring the recall of all imperial troops from the colonies which enjoyed responsible government.[5]

Nine years of negotiations followed. The French scare vanished, but the need for an improved defence system remained. The period which witnessed the rise of Germany saw also Britain's influence in international affairs at its lowest ebb. Especially during the Danish crisis, 1862-1864, Lord Palmerston's bluster and Earl Russell's angry despatches proved of no avail. Bismarck possessed an uncanny ability to estimate paper preparedness at its true value. A series of diplomatic defeats was generally attributed to Great Britain's weak military establishment. There were only 20,000 men for an expeditionary force and no breech-loaders.[6]

Hansard, 3rd series, CLIV, cols. 619-626 and CLV, cols. 702-704, speeches by Lord Lyndhurst and Sir Charles Napier, July 5 and 25, 1859; Sir Theodore Martin, *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, 3rd ed. (London, 1880), vol. V, pp. 256, 257; Lord Palmerston to Gladstone, April 29, 1862, in Evelyn Ashley, *The Life and Correspondence of Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston* (London, 1849), vol. II, p. 414.

[1]The best account, with documents, of these negotiations is found in Lord Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert* (London, 1906), vol. II, ch. VI.

[2]John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, new edition (New York, 1911), vol. II, p. 44.

[3]Stanmore, *Herbert*, vol. II, p. 266.

[4]*Hansard*, 3rd series, CLV, col. 394.

[5]*Ibid.*, CLXV, col. 1060; the text of this resolution is given by Schuyler, p. 34.

[6]Arthur Irwin Dasent, *John Thaddeus Delane, Editor of "The Times"* (London,

When Gladstone became prime minister in 1868, he was committed to a policy of retrenchment.[1] And the colonial garrisons were still a heavy burden upon the exchequer. In favouring withdrawal Gladstone at this time had the support of the army reformers. Cardwell, afterwards Lord Cardwell, found the foreign service a serious obstacle to a successful working of his plan of building up large reserves through a system of short term enlistment.[2] He therefore gave Gladstone loyal support in regard to the recall of the troops.

That the military necessity was an important cause for the new policy is shown in a speech by Knatchbull-Hugessen in the House of Commons on February 28, 1873. Discussing the defence of the colonies, he said, "The policy lately pursued of withdrawing troops—a policy pursued by Conservative as well as Liberal Governments, and the reversal of which had never been attempted by the former when in office—had never been intended to weaken the ties existing between the Colonies and the Mother Country, nor to show any diminution on our part of regard for the Colonies; but the question was, whether in the case of a great insular Power like Great Britain, the concentration of troops in particular depôts would not in the long run prove most beneficial to the Colonies themselves, besides augmenting the general strength of the Empire."[3]

This disclaimer of any connection between the withdrawal of the troops and a possible desire to disintegrate the empire is of special significance. Many people in Great Britain considered the colonies a burden and an encumbrance. High officials in the government favoured casting them off. Bright and Cobden, both prominent members of the Liberal party, openly advocated separa-

1908), vol. II, p. 21; Ashley, *Palmerston*, vol. II, p. 431; The Earl of Malmsbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* (London, 1884), vol. II, p. 319: "If, when the Prussians and Austrians entered Holstein as they *said*, only with the intention of preserving peace, we *could have said*: 'Well, we highly approve of this, and *we will send* 50,000 men and our Fleet into the Baltic', the gross robery that was afterwards committed would never have been perpetrated" (General Peel to the Duke of Cambridge, Nov. 30, 1866, in Colonel Willoughby Verner, *The Military Life of H.R.H. George, Duke of Cambridge*, London, 1905, vol. I, p. 302). See also *Essays by the Marquess of Salisbury: Foreign Politics* (London, 1905); H. E. Egerton, *British Foreign Policy in Europe to the End of the 19th Century* (London, 1917), pp. 222-299.

[1]See "Address to the Electors" in *The Times*, Oct. 10, 1868; General Sir Robert Biddulph, *Lord Cardwell at the War Office* (London, 1904), p. 25.

[2]Biddulph, *Cardwell*, pp. 26, 27.

[3]*Hansard*, 3rd series, CCXIV, col. 1118; see also Sir Charles Trevelyan, *A Standing or Popular Army* (London, 1869), p. 15.

tion. Colonial independence, it was thought, was not only inevitable, it was desirable. The Liberal prime ministers of the sixties did not, however, support this view.[1] Lord Palmerston appreciated the value of the overseas possessions. In his opinion, separation would benefit neither the colonies nor the mother country. "We should be each to one another a source of mutual honour and mutual strength."[2] To Earl Russell, "it would be a sad spectacle, it would be a spectacle for gods and men to weep at, to see this brilliant Empire, the guiding star of Freedom, broken up."[3] Gladstone believed that the colonies would ultimately become independent, but he did not wish to hasten the separation. Speaking in the House of Commons on April 26, 1870, he declared, "Freedom and voluntaryism form the character of the connection, and our policy is not to be regarded as a surreptitious or clandestine means of working out the foregone purpose of casting off the Colonies, but as the truest and best, if not the only, means of fulfilling our obligations to them."[4]

To many in the colonies, however, the separation advocated so openly by Bright, Cobden, and others, seemed to reflect British official opinion. The clamour of the "Little Englanders" drowned so easily the plaintive utterances of resigned pessimists like Earl Russell. Little was known in British North America and in Australasia of the real factors which determined the decisions of the statesmen at home. Nor was it to be expected that the people of the colonies could appreciate the European situation. They knew the anti-colonial agitation. When the House of Commons decided to recall the garrisons "in order to develop the spirit of self-reliance in colonial communities," and to save money, the arguments were believed to clothe the desire to renounce all responsibility for the dependencies. The hundreds of thousands who daily face innumerable hardships on the far-flung frontiers of the empire were doubtless conscious of the fact that they needed no lessons in self-reliance from Downing Street. Their

[1] A convenient summary of these views is given by H. Duncan Hall, *The British Commonwealth of Nations* (London, 1920), pp. 45-50; see also George Peel, *The Friends of England* (London, 1905), pp. 140-143.

[2] *Hansard*, 3rd series, CLXVIII, col. 873: speech in the House of Commons, July 25, 1862.

[3] John Earl Russell, *Recollections and Suggestions* (London, 1875), p. 201. Similar views were expressed by him in his great speech on colonial policy in the House of Commons, Feb. 8, 1850 (*Hansard*, 3rd series, CVIII, col. 548).

[4] *Hansard*, 3rd series, CC, col. 1902.

own economic needs were great. Britain seemed to them infinitely better able to bear the burden of the cost of defence. Besides, the home government controlled foreign policy. Danger might threaten the colonies for the sole reason that they were parts of the empire. An immediate result of the new policy was, therefore, dissatisfaction with the mother country and a strengthening of the separatist tendencies then existing in Canada and Australia.

Several colonial statesmen, prominent among whom were Thomas D'Arcy McGee in Canada and Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia, believed in the essential unity of the empire. To these two it was absurd to make distinctions between English and colonial. The empire was one and should be treated as such. "Canada *is* itself the Empire in North America," said McGee.[1] To look upon the self-governing colonies from a profit-and-loss point of view seemed sordid. It was the philosophy of shopkeepers, not that of an imperial nation.[2] Richard, afterwards Sir Richard, Cartwright, writing in the *Canadian News* of December, 1871, expressed the opinion that Britain had no intention of defending Canada against the United States.[3] The time for recalling the troops was considered ill-chosen. Dangers threatened Canada from the United States and from the Fenians, both of which had been caused by imperial policies.[4] This dissatisfaction was one of the factors in producing, about 1870, a separatist movement of considerable strength. Among its leaders was found the later high commissioner, Sir Alexander Galt.[5]

New Zealand objected because the British troops were withdrawn while a Maori war was still undecided.[6] "Ugly talk of

[1]Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *Speeches and Addresses* (London, 1865), p. 202.

[2]"Canadian Defences" speech by McGee in the House of Assembly, Quebec, March 27, 1862; McGee, *Speeches and Addresses*, pp. 199-205; *The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe*, ed. by J. A. Chisholm (Halifax, 1909), vol. II, p. 388.

[3]Sir Richard Cartwright, *Reminiscences* (Toronto, 1912), pp. 363, 364. The evidences of colonial dissatisfaction were presented by Robert Torrens in a speech in the House of Commons, April, 26, 1870 (*Hansard*, 3rd series, CC, cols. 1817-1836).

[4]When the Canadians failed to secure compensation from the United States for losses sustained by the Fenian invasion, they claimed that the imperial government ought to indemnify them because the trouble had originated from an imperial cause. See Campbell to Young, Sept. 10, 1870 (*Sess. Papers*, 1871, V, no. 46, pp. 27, 28).

[5]Oscar Douglas Skelton, *The Life and Times of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt* (Toronto, 1920), p. 444.

[6]*Hansard*, 3rd series, CC, cols. 1827-1832. The irritating and rasping tone in some of Lord Granville's despatches was also resented by many persons in the Dominions.

separation" was heard in Victoria. Leading men, among whom were Charles, afterwards Sir Charles, Gavan Duffy and George Higinbotham, later chief justice of Victoria, favoured reducing the connection with Great Britain to a mere personal union, so that Victoria would occupy a position similar to that of Hanover under the British crown[1]. A royal commission in the colony reported in favour of guaranteed neutrality in case of war.[2] Resolutions passed the legislative assembly to the effect that communications with the home government should pass, not through the governor, but through the colonial secretary of state.[3]

In the opinion of Sir Charles Adderley, "the withdrawal of the Imperial troops from the Colonies appeared to be one main subject of dissatisfaction."[4] The situation created by the discontent was deemed serious. Faced with the possibility of separation, those favouring maintenance of the colonial connection were aroused.

On April 26, 1870, Robert Torrens moved in the House of Commons "that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the political relations and modes of official inter-communication between the self-governing Colonies and this Country, and to report whether any or what modifications are desirable, with a view to the maintenance of a common nationality cemented by cordial good understanding."[5] The motion led to an important debate on colonial policy. Opposed by the government, it was defeated 67 to 110.

Another evidence of the awakened interest in the overseas possessions was the organization in 1868 of the Colonial Society, later called the Royal Colonial Institute. Its object was to spread general knowledge of the colonies and to work for a better understanding between them and the mother country.[6] A year later this organization presented plans for the convening of a colonial conference in London. Lord Granville, then colonial secretary, forwarded the proposal to the colonies, but at the same time stated his objections to it. He was averse to anything that might

[1]See quotations from a speech by Gavan Duffy in the parliament of Victoria, Nov. 1869 (*Hansard*, 3rd series, CC, col. 1822); see also H. G. Turner, *A History of Victoria* (London, 1904), vol. II, pp. 149, 150.

[2]Keith, *Responsible Government*, vol. III, p. 1155.

[3]G. W. Rusden, *History of Australia* (Melbourne, 1897), vol. III, pp. 271, 272.

[4]*Hansard*, 3rd series, CC, col. 1864; Edward Jenkins, "Imperial Federalism", in the *Contemporary Review*, XVI, pp. 165-188, January, 1871.

[5]*Hansard*, 3rd series, CC, col. 1847.

[6]See *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. I, p. 1; vol. VIII, p. 445.

lead to a standing representation of the colonies in London. Nor was the plan well received by the colonies. Several of them resented the interference of the Royal Colonial Institute group.[1] The effort failed, but the work for unifying the empire continued. "By 1871 the early Imperial Federation Movement was in full swing."[2]

The next thirty years witnessed a gradual drawing together. Steamship lines and submarine cables linked the remote dependencies to the centre of the empire. Travel became easier and more common. The people of Great Britain and of the Dominions learned to know and appreciate each other. In a period of great pan-racial movements, it was natural that the peoples of Anglo-Saxon origin should come together, especially those who owed allegiance to the British crown. But the greatest centripetal force was the realization of mutual interests and common danger. When strong and aggressive foreign nations broke the isolation of the Dominions, these looked to Great Britain as the mother country, for protection. Great Britain, on the other hand, began to realize to what extent her imperial position depended upon retention of the colonies. The keen commercial and industrial competition enhanced their value. With the growth of military and naval rivalry among the powers and of powerful alliances, the United Kingdom began to look to her great self-governing dependencies for support in time of need. Gradually the question of organizing the empire for defence became the greatest of the problems of intra-imperial relationship.

The responsibility for maintaining internal order and security rested with the colonies. Local military establishments for this purpose existed already in several of them. As the foreign situation grew more threatening these were improved. By the end of the century Canada and the Australasian colonies could muster considerable bodies of fairly efficient troops. In the development of these forces the home government was always interested and always ready to assist by placing military experts at the disposal of the colonial governments. But no attempt was made to dictate policies. The attitude of the Liberal party

[1]The resolutions and correspondence are found in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1870, XLIX, C-24 and C-51.

[2]Hall, *The British Commonwealth of Nations*, p. 54. See also G. B. Adams, "The Origin and Results of the Imperial Federation Movement in England" in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1899), pp. 93-116; A. L. Burt, *Imperial Architects* (Toronto, 1913), pp. 115-119.

in Great Britain to this question was clearly stated by Gladstone. In answering a question on the defence of Canada in the House of Commons, on July 18, 1872, he said, "We do not think it is our function . . . to insist on this or that particular measure with respect to the defence of Canada, as we recognize the full competency and capacity of Canada . . . to perform what the Dominion Government may think to be its proper duties, and as we believe it to be the best judge of those duties."[1]

The Canadian militia was reorganized during the Civil War in the United States,[2] and Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley, who as colonel commanded two regiments of the force in the Red River expedition of 1870, testified to its excellent qualities.[3] An agreement with the imperial government of 1865 bound the colony to spend about one million dollars per year on its military establishment.[4] This agreement was later made binding upon the Dominion, and the militia system of united Canada was extended to the other provinces. However, a period of neglect followed the recall of the imperial troops.[5] Little was done until 1896, when Canada, alarmed over the prospects of an Anglo-American conflict, began to improve her defences. Provisions were made for the annual drill of the whole active militia. Only graduates of the Royal Military College could serve as officers in the artillery, and steps were taken towards the organization of cadet corps in the high schools, normal schools, and collegiate institutions of the provinces. The military budget rose from an average of $1,200,000-$1,600,000 for the period 1894-1898 to $2,500,000 in 1900. In this reorganization the needs of the empire as a whole were considered, and the reforms formed a part of a general plan for improving the defence system of the empire.[6]

[1] *Hansard*, 3rd series, CCXII, cols. 1365, 1366.

[2] The reorganization was effected by the Militia Act, 1863, and through the work of General Patrick MacDougall, who was sent over from England for that purpose. See Field-Marshall Viscount Wolseley, *The Story of a Soldier's Life* (Westminster, 1903), vol. II, pp. 145-149. For an historical study of the Canadian military defense system see C. F. Hamilton, "Defence," in *Canada and its Provinces*, edited by Adam Short and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto, 1914-17), vol. VII, pp. 379-468.

[3] Wolseley, p. 150.

[4] Cardwell to Monck, June 17, 1865 (*Sessional Papers*, 1867-68, IX, no. 63, p. 17).

[5] Although some improvements had been effected by the Militia Act of 1883 the mobilization of the force, for the purpose of suppressing the Northwest rebellion, 1885, disclosed grave defects. See *Debates*, Canadian Senate, 1886, p. 666; *Canada and its Provinces*, vol. VII, pp. 430-435.

[6] *Debates*, Can. H. of C., 1900, III, cols. 8229-8252; *Sess. Papers*, 1900, no. 19, p. 27; *Canada and its Provinces*, vol. VII, p. 442.

In New Zealand the necessity for providing protection against the Maoris brought about the development of local forces previous to the withdrawal of the British troops.[1] Australia, on the other hand, had no serious native problem. Here the interest in defence most clearly reflects the foreign situation, particularly that in the Pacific. Volunteer forces had been organized in Victoria and New South Wales during the Crimean War.[2] Some anxiety was felt in the sixties when the French relations seemed alarming,[3] but the colonies were not thoroughly aroused until 1877-1878, when the outbreak of an Anglo-Russian conflict was considered imminent. Meanwhile, the British government showed considerable interest in the Australian defence question. Two imperial officers, Lieutenant-General Sir W. T. Jervois and Colonel Scratchley, inspected and reported upon the defences of these colonies.[4] A reorganization took place in several of them. Among the more important changes was the abandonment of the volunteer system and the substitution for it of a "paid militia."[5] Gradually the Australian isolation was broken. Foreign powers invaded the South Pacific. The German occupation of New Guinea, French activities in the New Hebrides, Russian expansion in Asia, all tended to emphasize this. Lord Carnarvon, visiting the colonies in 1886, warned them of possible dangers.[6] And the later inspection and report by Major-General Edwards convinced men like Sir Henry Parkes that Australasia must unite for protection.[7] Federation became the all-important question in the nineties. The defence problem was allowed to rest until the Commonwealth had been established.

Recognizing the exposed position of the white settlements in

[1]New Zealand's defence expenditures before 1887 totalled £7,152,938, a sum larger than that expended by all the other Australianas colonies taken together (*Parliamentary Papers, 1887*, LVI, C-5091- I, pp. 291-293).

[2]*Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia* (Melbourne, 1909), vol. II, pp. 1075-1081, contains an historical survey of the military defence system.

[3]Sir Henry Parkes, *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History* (London, 1892), pp. 117-120.

[4]For the Australasian defence policy, see "Second Report of the Royal Commission on Defence," March 23, 1882 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, LVI, C-5091-I, pp. 315-328).

[5]*Official Year Book of Australia*, vol. II, p. 1078.

[6]Parkes, *Fifty Years*, pp. 528-530.

[7]Major General Edwards's report is found in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1890, XLIX, C-6188. Upon examining it, Sir Henry Parkes arrived at the conclusion "that nothing short of a Federal Executive can carry out the General's recommendation" (Parkes to Cockburn, Oct. 31, 1889, in Parkes, *Fifty Years*, p. 589).

South Africa, the imperial government did not recall the entire garrison from the Cape Colony.[1] Disturbed conditions on the sub-continent during the years 1876-1880 caused this colony to make special efforts towards improving the local defences, chief of which was the passage of the Levies Act, 1878, which established the principle of universal liability to military service,[2]

Gradually forces of considerable strength grew up in the self-governing colonies. Statements prepared for the Colonial Conference of 1887 showed that these colonies and Natal possessed wholly or partially trained forces totalling 78,000 officers and men, with large reserves.[3] At the time of the outbreak of the Boer War the military and naval forces in the colonies were estimated to number 86,486.[4] Although raised under local Acts and for local defence,[5] they protected important sections of the empire and therefore added materially to its military strength.

Naval defence continued to be a charge upon the imperial exchequer. Several efforts were made to interest the colonies in this branch of the service. It was expected that the Colonial Naval Defense Act of 1865 would lead to the creation of local naval establishments which should form a part of that of the empire.[6] But the results were disappointing.[7] Occasionally a war-ship was presented to a colony to be used for training its youths in seamanship. Some of them, like the *Charybdis*, given to Canada in 1880, were old hulks which brought the recipient

[1]Keith, *Responsible Government*, vol. III, pp. 1256, 1257.

[2]Sir Charles Dilke, *Problems of Greater Britain* (London, 1890), p. 662. Sir Thomas Upington reported at the Colonial Conference, 1887, a defence expenditure for Cape Colony equivalent to £450,000 a year "or between one-sixth and one-seventh of the whole of our resources" (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, LVI, C-5091, p. 405). See also John Martineau, *The Life of Sir Bartle Frere* (London, 1895), vol. II, pp. 368, 369.

[3]*Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, LVI, C-5091, p. X.

[4]General Sir Frederick Maurice, *History of the War in South Africa* (London, 1906-08), vol. I, pp. 93, 94.

[5]Whether forces raised under local Acts could be used outside of the colony was the subject of a spirited debate between Lord Cairns and Henry Sewell of New Zealand. See the Toronto *Weekly Globe*, June 14, 1878.

[6]29 and 29 Vict., C 14. The Act empowered the colonial legislatures to apply the public money for providing vessels of war and the raising of men and commissioning of officers. The colonial vessels might be placed at the disposal of the crown, but were not to involve any charge upon imperial revenue. The most important provisions are found in Keith, *Responsible Government*, vol. III, pp. 1271-1273.

[7]See statement by the colonial secretary, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, in the House of Commons, July 24, 1879 (*Hansard*, 3rd series, CCLVIII, col. 1171).

nothing but expense.[1] New South Wales received the *Wolverine*, and manned it occasionally on holidays and at Christmas and Easter. The *Cerberus* and the *Nelson*, owned by Victoria, were left to rot peacefully at the wharves. No youths volunteered for training.[2]

Apart from the cash contributions, which will be discussed later, the participation of the Dominions in naval defence before the end of the nineteenth century was limited to Canada's taking over the fishery protection service,[3] and to the acquisition of a few gun-boats and torpedo boats by Australasian colonies,[4] to be used only for strictly local purposes. It was made clear by the Australasian Inter-Colonial Conference at Sidney, 1881, that "the naval defence of these Colonies . . . should continue to be at the exclusive charge of the Imperial Government."[5] Still a sentiment favouring an Australian navy existed.[6] It was desired by many in Great Britain. *The Times* declared in a leading article on October 27, 1887, "The time is not far distant when an enemy in the Pacific will be called upon to reckon with colonial ships of war as well as with those of England, and when, in all probability, the mother country may even commit the defence of the Pacific to her great dependencies and reserve the Atlantic and the Mediterranean for herself." As Federation appeared within reach, this feeling grew stronger. It is significant that the naval conference at Melbourne, 1899, prepared plans for a naval reserve force to be controlled and paid by the Commonwealth. Action was considered imperative in view of the proximity of naval bases belonging to foreign powers. It was hoped that the small local naval establishments would form the nucleus for an

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, LVI, C-5091, p. 275.

[2] *Official Yearbook of Australia*, vol. II, p. 1084; Turner, *History of Victoria*, vol. II, p. 136.

[3] At the time of the Fenian raids Canada first chartered, and later bought, two steamers that were used as gun-boats on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence (*Sess. Papers*, 1867-8, VII, no. 37; 1869, VI, no. 75, p. 142; 1871, V, no. 46, pp. 31, 32). The first appropriation for the fishery protection service was made by Canada in 1856 (*Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada*, 1856, XIV, pp. 716, 717). This service was considered an imperial obligation because it was necessitated by treaties in the making of which Canada had had no share. The entire cost of this service was taken over by the Dominion about 1885 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1907, LV, C. 3523, p. 139). Provisions were made in the Militia Act of 1883 for a marine force to be raised in a way similar to that of the militia (*Statutes of Canada*, 45 & 46 Vic. c-11).

[4] *Official Yearbook of Australia*, vol. II, pp. 1084, 1085.

[5] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1887. LVI, C-5091-I, p. 213.

[6] See statement by Deakin of Victoria upon returning from the Colonial Conference, 1887 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1908, LXXI, C. 4325, pp. 23, 24).

Australian navy.[1] When the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence on January 1, 1901, the hope seemed nearer its realization. Nearly nine years were to pass, however, before any definite steps were taken.[2]

Co-operation for defence had been the dream of those who early hoped and worked for consolidation of the empire. As the colonies grew stronger, the pressure from without greater, and the dependencies showed no desire to separate themselves from the empire, plans for insuring this co-operation were eagerly discussed. The Defence Resolution of 1862 had affirmed the principle that the colonies should assist in their external defence. However, a quarter of a century passed before this was actually realized.

Joseph Howe was one of the earliest advocates of joint responsibility in defence. This was indeed a necessary corollary to his views in regard to the essential unity of the empire. Writing to Charles Adderley, afterwards Lord Norton, on December 24, 1862, he said, "I hope to live to see the day when the outlying Provinces of the empire will as freely send their contingents for the defence of these islands, as they have this year sent their treasuries to your Crystal Palace."[3] Four years later he suggested, in a letter to Earl Russell, that a tax should be levied by imperial statute, the proceeds of which should be used for the maintenance of the imperial army and navy.[4] Another colonial, Fitzherbert, treasurer of New Zealand, offered in 1869 a plan whereby the cost of the imperial fleet in the Australian waters should be shared equally by the colonies and Britain.[5] Among other representative colonial statesmen who expressed themselves in favour of co-operation for defence we find Sir Julius Vogel, of New Zealand[6] and Sir John A. Macdonald of Canada. The latter, however, advocated aid only "in any wars of defence."[7]

[1]Richard Jebb, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism* (London, 1905), pp. 103, 152, 153, 175-177.

[2]Keith, *Responsible Government*, vol. III, pp. 1283-1291.

[3]Howe, *Speeches and Public Letters*, vol. II, p. 390.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 437.

[5]*Parliamentary Papers*, 1868-69f XL, no. 307, pp. 496, 497.

[6]"If the great colonies are to continue parts of the Empire, it is utterly unreasonable that they should be free from all contribution towards national expenditure. The fleet belongs to the nation, it is essentially for the service of the nation, and nothing can justify freeing the colonies . . . from contribution towards its cost, except the intention to free them from the nation" (*The Nineteenth Century*, July, 1877, I, p. 827).

[7]A general promise made at a meeting of the Imperial Federation League (The Marquis of Lorne, "The Unity of the Empire," *The Nineteenth Century*, XVII, p. 397, March, 1885).

Nor did the question fail to engage the attention of imperial statesmen. Earl Russell favoured a cash contribution from the colonies towards military and naval expenditures.[1] Lord Eustace Cecil introduced a motion into the House of Commons, March 7, 1873, declaring that in order to relieve the British tax-payers "each Colony should be invited to contribute, in proportion to its population and wealth, such annual contingents of men and money towards the defence of the Empire as may, by arrangement between the Home and Colonial Governments, be hereafter deemed just and necessary."[2] After a debate the motion was withdrawn, but it furnished an opportunity for a statement of policy by Gladstone. "What we wish," he said, "is not that the Colonies should under pressure from this country be brought to make, probably not insignificant, but at any rate grudging, contributions towards the expenses of the Empire; what we wish is to see the growth of the true spirit of freedom in the colonial communities which would make them not only willing, but eager, to share all the responsibilities of freedom and to take a part in the common burdens."[3]

The discussion of this question brought to light the divergent views of Gladstone and Disraeli concerning the empire. To the former the relations between Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions were based on sentiment and "voluntaryism." Consciously or unconsciously, he had grasped the new orientation in colonial policy—the gradual movement towards the old Greek idea of the relationship between colony and mother country. In his opinion, the substance of this "relationship lies, not in despatches from Downing Street, but in the mutual affection, and the moral and social sympathies which can only flourish between adult communities when they are on both sides free."[4]

Disraeli, on the other hand, influenced by the prevailing ideas of the value of federations and written constitutions, put his trust in the legal formula as a connecting link. This is clearly seen in his famous Crystal Palace speech of June 24, 1872. "Self-government," he said, "when it was conceded, ought to have been conceded as part of a great policy of Imperial consolidation. It

[1] *Recollections*, p. 200.

[2] *Hansard*, 3rd series, CCXIV, col. 1520.

[3] *Ibid.*, col. 1534.

[4] "England's Mission" in *The Nineteenth Century*, IV, p. 572. Similar views were expressed in his article, "Germany, France, and England" in *The Edinburgh Review*, CXXX, p. 303.

ought to have been accompanied by an Imperial tariff, by securities for the people of England for the enjoyment of the unappropriated lands which belonged to the Sovereign as their trustee, and by a military code which should have precisely defined the means and the responsibilities by which the Colonies should have been defended, and by which, if necessary, this country should call for aid from the Colonies themselves."[1] Imperial consolidation was thus taken up as a campaign issue by the astute leader of the Conservative party. The Royal Colonial Institute groups supported these views,[2] and federation for defence was one of the chief arguments presented by those who later organized the Imperial Federation League.[3] The question was apparently widely discussed. *The Times*, in its comments upon the Crystal Palace speech, said that it contained "nothing startling."[4]

Few official actions were taken by the British government to insure colonial participation in imperial defence prior to 1887, apart from the passage of the Colonial Naval Defence Act already mentioned. During the Disraeli ministry, 1874-1880, the question was brought up at least twice for serious consideration. First, it came up in connection with the annexation of the Fiji Islands and the proposed annexation of New Guinea, both of which were urged strongly by the Australasian governments. Lord Carnarvon then attempted to secure acceptance of the principle that the colonies should share in the expense connected with the application of policies which they had advocated. It was his belief that such acceptance would demonstrate "the readiness of the great Colonies to accept their membership in the common duties of the Empire."[5] He met with little encouragement. In the opinion of the ministry of New Zealand, "there was an anomaly in contributing to the cost of the Government in which no control was to

[1] *The Times*, June 25, 1872. In 1850 both he and Gladstone voted in the affirmative on Molesworth's motion favouring that the relationship between Britain and the colonies should be clearly defined (*Hansard*, 3rd series, CX, cols. 1192, 1193). Some of the fundamental ideas contained in the Crystal Palace speech are found in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, July 25, 1862 (*Hansard*, 3rd series, CLXVIII, cols. 867, 868).

[2] *Proceedings*, 1877-1878, IX, pp. 362, 363, 405; *Papers and Addresses by Lord Brassey*, ed. by R. J. Beadon and Arthur H. Loring (London, 1895), p. 41.

[3] Jenkins, "Imperial Federalism," in *The Contemporary Review*, XVI, p. 177.

[4] Leading article, June 25.

[5] "Correspondence relating to New Guinea" in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1876, LIV, C-1566, p. 86.

be permitted to the contributors"[1]—a revival of the cry, "no taxation without representation." The question was considered a second time in connection with the investigations carried on by the Royal Commission on Defence of 1879. This commission was to study the defence of empire as a whole, and also "in what proportions the cost of . . . measures of defence should be divided between the Imperial Government and the Colonies to which they relate."[2] The colonies, it was believed, would grow relatively more rapidly in wealth and population than the mother country. And, consequently, their power to take a fair share of the defence of the empire would be constantly on the increase. The commission, in its report of July 22, 1882, recommended colonial participation in the cost of imperial defence.[3] But no definite action was taken until it had been demonstrated that the British subjects across the seas were ready to support the mother country in time of need.

Few opportunities to demonstrate attachment to the empire presented themselves until towards the end of the nineteenth century. Australians and British North Americans had indeed shown both during the Crimean War and at the time of Indian mutiny that they were willing to serve for Britain. But little aid had been called for or accepted.[4] Another opportunity for testing their loyalty came in 1877-1878. The Australian colonies, fearing for their own safety, made preparations for defence. Canada, on the other hand, had little to fear. Nevertheless a sufficient number of volunteers presented themselves to create the belief that a force of 30,000 men could be raised in the Dominion in case of war.[5]

[1]*Ibid.*, p. 81. See also Robinson to Carnarvon, Nov. 26, 1875 (*ibid.*, p. 69).

[2]*Ibid.*, 1887, LVI, C-5091-I, p. 297.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 338.

[4]The 100th Royal Canadian Rifles was raised in Canada during the Indian Mutiny. The colony furnished officers and men, and Great Britain paid the expenses (*Canada and its Provinces*, vol. VII, pp. 394, 395). A Canadian volunteer artillery corps also offered its services to the empire in this crisis. Lord Palmerston favoured acceptance of the offer, but the military authorities objected on the ground that volunteer corps would ruin the army. See Palmerston to Labouchère, Sept. 23, 1857, and the Duke of Cambridge to Panmure, Sept. 25 (*The Panmure Papers*, edited by Sir George Douglas and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, London, 1908, vol. II, pp. 433, 435). For the attitude of the Australasians see Charles E. Lyne, *Life of Sir Henry Parkes* (London, 1897), p. 105; and W. L. Rees and L. Rees, *The Life and Times of Sir George Grey* (London, 1892), pp. 255-257.

[5]Toronto *Weekly Globe*, Jan. 1, 1877, and March 29, 1878; *Proc. Royal Col. Inst.*, 1877-78, IX, p. 395.

Various problems in the foreign relation of Great Britain, in 1884-1885, deeply interested the colonies. Germany's annexation of New Guinea, the Anglo-Russian dispute over Afghanistan, and the Soudan disaster were important, especially the two former, to the Australians. The last, which could have had no serious consequences for their safety, nevertheless brought forth a remarkable demonstration of loyalty from the various parts of the empire. Victoria placed her new gun-boats at the disposal of the admiralty.[1] And the other colonies vied with one another in offering military aid.[2] Of these only the first offer, that of New South Wales, was accepted, and a small body of troops was sent to the Red Sea at colonial expense.[3] The demonstration may indeed be partly attributed to the unique position which General Gordon occupied in the hearts of all Britons, and to the sorrow evoked by the news of his tragic death. But the imperial government was doubtless right in also considering the offers a sign of loyalty to its cause. And this was the interpretation put upon them by the imperialists in England. The colonies had shown willingness to make sacrifices for the empire. They ought to be admitted into its councils. The Imperial Federation League, organized in 1884, was active, and counted among its supporters leading men from both parties. James Anthony Froude, the historian, made a tour of the colonies in 1885, and in his *Oceana*, published in 1886, he wrote enthusiastically about them, and called attention to the need for making secure the extremities of the empire. The time seemed, indeed, propitious for a step towards imperial consolidation.

Apart from the conviction that the colonies were now willing to share the burden of imperial defence, and the necessity for striking while the iron was hot—factors that would naturally appeal to the party of Disraeli and Carnarvon—there were other elements that made it desirable to attempt a consolidation of the empire. The foreign situation was far from reassuring.[4] The investigations of the royal commission to inquire into the de-

[1] *Hansard*, 3rd series, CCLXXXIV, col. 1335.

[2] Even native princes in India offered aid (*ibid.*, CCXCIV, cols. 902, 903; CCXCVII, col. 1647; Froude, *Oceana*, pp. 165, 170, 171; Parkes, *Fifty Years*, pp. 419-422).

[3] The Soudan contingent cost the colony £121,835 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, LVI, C-5091-I, p. 291).

[4] Sir Charles W. Dilke claims that the calling of the conference was closely connected with the French activities in the New Hebrides ("The Present Position of European Politics" in *Fortnightly Review*, XLVII, pp. 825, 826, June, 1887).

pression of trade and industry revealed that Britain's hold, even on the colonial markets, was slipping. Germany in particular was proving a dangerous competitor.[1]

A favourable opportunity for bringing representatives of the colonies together offered itself in connection with the Queen's Jubilee, 1887. In issuing the call for this, the first, Colonial Conference, it was stipulated that defence was the primary question to be considered. The time had now arrived, in the opinion of the government, "when an attempt may fairly be made to attain to a better understanding as to the system of defence which may be established throughout the Empire."[2] At the conference at least two plans for insuring military co-operation were discussed. Sir H. T. Holland, the colonial secretary, attempted to secure the acceptance of an agreement by which the colonial forces, with the consent of their respective governments and at their expense, should "aid Her Majesty in any wars in which she may be engaged,"[3] and Jan Hofmeyr of the Cape Colony suggested the imposition of an imperial customs tariff, the proceeds of which were to be used for the protection of the empire.[4] To the former plan Canada's representatives objected on the ground that the Dominion had expended annually on its defences more than was required by the agreement of 1865. In addition, it had constructed at its own expense a transcontinental railway which had added materially to the defensive strength of the empire.[5] The second plan does not seem to have secured much attention. An Australasian naval agreement was, however, an important step towards imperial consolidation for defence.

Ever since the intercolonial naval conference of 1881 the Australians had been urging upon the admiralty the necessity of

[1]Richard Jebb, *The Imperial Conference* (London, 1911), vol. I, pp. 114, 115.

[2]Circular Despatch of Nov. 25, 1886 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, LVI, C-5091, p. vii).

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 529.

[4]*Ibid.*, pp. 463-465. This plan was later taken up in Canada by Mr. Alex. McNeill in a resolution presented in the Canadian House of Commons, 1896 (see *Debates*, Can. H. of C., 1900, III, Cols. 8932, 8933).

[5]*Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, LVI, C-5091, pp. 271-275. "I hope Her Majesty's Government will, for a long time to come, consider that we have efficiently discharged our duty and made a very great contribution to the defence of the Empire by the construction of a great transcontinental railway, which is a very great Imperial as well as colonial importance."—Sir Charles Tupper in the Can. H. of C., June 3, 1887 (*Debates*, 1887, II, p. 764). See also his article, "Federating the Empire," in *The Nineteenth Century*, XXX, pp. 515-517.

strengthening the squadron stationed in their waters. But the British government demanded that the colonies concerned should pay the cost of any additional ships. They, on the other hand, requested that such a squadron should always be stationed in their waters and should not be moved without their consent. This would virtually have introduced a system of dual control. Admiral Tryon presented, in 1885, a report on the naval defence situation in Australia, based on investigations on the spot. He recommended the development of a sea-going fleet at the joint expense of the colonies. They, however, raised several objections to the plan, the chief of which were based upon unwillingness to consolidate the local vessels with the imperial fleet and to divest themselves of authority over local harbour defences. The agreement of 1887 embodied a compromise. The colonies agreed to contribute £126,000 a year for ten years towards the cost of the Australian squadron on the condition that this should be maintained at a certain strength, and that it should not be used outside the limits of the Australian station without the consent of the colonies concerned. An opening wedge had thus been entered. Overseas dependencies were now bound by a definite agreement to contribute to the external defe nce of the empire.[1]

The succeeding ten years witnessed friction over the partition of Africa and the beginning of the scramble for Asiatic possessions. With the foreign situation at times threatening, the British government continued to consider defence the most important question of intra-imperial interest.[2] It was claimed that the policies of the dominions were the cause of strained relations between the empire and foreign powers, and that these made the maintenance of a large and expensive naval establishment necessary. Danger threatened, not so much Great Britain, as the colonies.[3] The defences were in a disorganized state and the question of colonial contributions engaged the serious attention of the imperial authorities. Chamberlain, as colonial secretary, adopted a purposeful energetic policy which had for its aim

[1]Documents connected with the preliminary negotiations as well as the final agreement are found in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1887, LVI, C-5091-I, pp. 213-262. See also *Hansard*, 3rd series, CCCIII, cols. 1482, 1483.

[2]*Parliamentary Papers*, 1897, LIX, C-8596, p. 7; Jebb, *Imperial Conference*, vol. I, p. 302.

[3]*Parliamentary Papers*, 1897, LIX, C-8596, pp. 7, 8: Chamberlain's speech at the opening of the Colonial Conference, 1897.

imperial consolidation.[1] Nor was he without encouragement from the colonies themselves.

When the Venezuela boundary dispute threatened to disrupt the friendly relations with the United States, the Canadian parliament declared, in no uncertain terms, in a resolution of February 5, 1896, its loyalty and firm determination to maintain unimpaired the integrity of the empire.[2] A year previously Sir Charles Tupper had advocated fast Atlantic steamers with the plea that they would be a means to carry Canadian volunteers to any part of the world "where the honour and interests of the Empire were threatened."[3] Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the prime minister in 1897, declared, "If England at any time were engaged in a struggle for life and death, the moment the bugle was sounded or the fire was lit on the hills, the colonies would rush to the aid of the mother country."[4]

At the Colonial Conference of 1897 Chamberlain confessed openly his belief in the desirability of consolidating the empire both for trade and for defence, explained the foreign situation, and made a plea for schemes for common defense.[5] Little was accomplished. The Australasian naval agreement was renewed. But Canada refused to make a similar arrangement. The only important gain was an offer by the Cape Colony of an unconditional contribution of the cost of a first class battle-ship. Natal also agreed to give yearly £12,000 to naval defence.[6] Since both these gifts were unconditional, they mark an important step toward accepting joint responsibility with Great Britain for the protection of the empire.

The sentiment of imperial loyalty was clearly revealed in the attitude of the Dominion governments during the Boer War. This war was not connected with any threat to the safety of a colony outside of South Africa. The readiness with which the Dominions came forward to assist the empire is therefore astound-

[1]Louis Creswick, *The Life of the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain* (London, 1904), vol. III, p. 35.

[2]*Debates*, Can. H. of C., 1896, I, cols. 1186, 1187.

[3]From a speech delivered at the Tyneside Geographical Society, Nov. 21, 1895, quoted by himself in the Can. H. of C., Feb. 5, 1900 (*Debates*, 1900, I, col. 38).

[4]From a speech delivered in 1897 quoted by himself in the Canadian H. of C., Feb. 5, 1900 (*Debates*, I, col. 64). In 1896 the Princess Louise Hussars under Lieut.-Col. James Domville offered their services for the Soudan (*ibid.*, 1896, II, cols. 4786, 4787).

[5]*Parliamentary Papers*, 1897, LIX, C-8596, pp. 5, 8, 9.

[6]Cape Colony's offer was later changed to an annual contribution of £30,000 (Keith, *Responsible Government*, III, p. 1472).

ing. Britain had hardly begun to move troops before offers of aid began to pour in and resolutions expressing sympathy with the British cause were passed by the colonial parliaments. At the time hostilities actually opened nearly all self-governing colonies had promised support.[1] Chamberlain seized eagerly this opportunity for a practical consolidation of the empire. Regulations concerning the equipment of colonial contingents and the proportion of the cost to be borne by the imperial and the colonial governments were drawn up.[2] Under these the colonies and volunteers outside of South Africa contributed 30,328 officers and men at a total expense of £859,218.[3] In addition to bearing the cost of raising and equipping the troops and paying for their transportation to South Africa, the colonies also paid their men the difference between the imperial and the colonial rates.[4]

The aid contributed during the Boer War was doubtless more of a manifestation on the part of colonists of British descent of an emotional attachment to the land of their fathers than a tacit acceptance of a new principle in imperial relationships. It is true, Seddon, the prime minister of New Zealand, advocated participation in the struggle, "because we are an integral part of one great empire."[5] But the Canadian statesmen avoided any reference to this question. Sir Charles Tupper, leader of the Conservative party, urged Canada to "aid the mother country to whom she owes so much, and from whom she expects so much."[6] The prime minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, appealed to the French Canadians "to do from a sense of duty what the English Canadians were doing from enthusiasm."[7] The attitude toward the war of the people in the colonies with a large non-English population seems generally to have been determined by their racial affilia-

[1]The first movement of troops took place July 6 and the Boer ultimatum was dated Oct. 9, 1899. The colonial offers of aid, in chronological order, were as follows: Queensland, July 11; Victoria, July 12; New South Wales, July 18; New Zealand, Sept. 22; West Australia, Oct. 5; Tasmania, Oct. 9; South Australia, Oct. 13; and Canada, Oct. 14 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1900, LVI, C. 18).

[2]Circular Despatch of Oct. 3, 1899 (*ibid.*, p. 6).

[3]*Ibid.*, 1902, LVIII, C-990; *The International Year Book*, 1902, p. 672.

[4]*Parliamentary Papers*, 1902, LXVI, C-1299, p. 63; *Sess. Papers* 1901, no. 35a, p. 12. A strong group in Canada urged that the Dominion should pay all the expenses (*Debates*, Can. H. of C., 1900, I, cols. 46, 48, 49).

[5]James Drummond, *Life of Seddon* (London, 1907), p. 314.

[6]Speech at Yarmouth, Oct. 4, 1899, quoted by himself in the Can. H. of C., Feb. 5, 1900 (*Debates*, 1900, I, col. 28).

[7]Jebb, *Colonial Nationalism*, p. 18.

tions. Boers in the British South African colonies joined their kinsmen in the republics in very large numbers; and the French Canadians were almost a unit in opposing contributions to the imperial cause. A statement in *La Patrie* of Montreal, on October 10, 1899, doubtless reflected the opinion of a majority among the French-Canadians: "What have we to do with the affairs of South Africa? What interests have we in the Transvaal? Why should we take the money and the blood of the taxpayers of this country to squander them in these far-away regions?"[1]

Sir Wilfrid Laurier carefully stipulated that the enrollment of Canadian volunteers for imperial service in South Africa was not to be a binding precedent for the future. Speaking in the Canadian House of Commons, on February 5, 1900, he said, "I claim for Canada this, that, in the future, Canada shall be at liberty to act or not to act, to interfere or not to interfere, to do just as she pleases, and that she shall reserve to herself the right to judge whether or not there is cause for her to act."[2] The British government nevertheless considered the colonial aid an evidence of the growth of the feeling of imperial unity. Chamberlain, discussing this topic said, that he considered the sending of colonial troops to South Africa "an expression of that growing feeling of the unity and solidarity of the Empire which has marked the relation of the Mother Country with the Colonies during the recent years."[3] In his opinion, imperial federation was now within reach, and increased efforts were made to secure its realization.[4]

Defence and the questions connected therewith served to keep continuously before the colonies the fact that they were connected with and dependent upon Britain. Military stores were purchased in the United Kingdom; the commander of the Canadian militia was an imperial officer; high imperial officers were used

[1]Quoted in the Canadian House of Commons, Feb. 5, 1900 (*Debates*, I, col. 31). See also *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1901, pp. 304, 305; 1902, p. 140; André Siegfried, *The Race Question in Canada* (London, 1907), pp. 281-284.

[2]*Debates*, 1900, I, col. 72. In this speech Laurier quoted with approval Kipling's

"Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own;
The gates are mine to open,
The gates are mine to close."

[3]Chamberlain to Minto, Nov. 15, 1899 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1900, LVI, C-18, p. 28).

[4]See Chamberlain's speech on the South African War, H. of C., Feb. 5, 1900 (*Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches*, ed. by Charles W. Boyd, London, 1914, vol. II, p. 67).

to inspect, report upon, and assist the colonial governments in improving their defence systems; members of the Canadian militia who had distinguished themselves in the service received medals from the home government; the instructors in the Royal Military College at Kingston were imperial officers; and a number of graduates of that institution secured commissions in the British imperial army.[1]

In 1885 the Colonial Defence Committee was created. Ten years later this body became a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. To the latter was entrusted the duty of collecting information concerning defence and of giving advice and directions for defensive measures in every part of the empire,[2] an important step towards union for military purposes. The colonies, particularly those of Australasia, realized that while "the Law of the Jungle" prevail in international relations, "the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack." An appreciation of this fact gave vitality to the agitation for imperial federation, and aided in bringing the Colonial Conference into existence, thereby establishing a deliberative body for the entire empire that has proved of great importance.

Confronted with so many evidences of loyalty and willingness to sacrifice for the cause of the empire, the question remains, why were the Dominions so reluctant to make binding defensive agreements? In some of them local conditions were indeed unfavourable to a closer imperial connection. Canada had few foreign complications and little fear of invasion from the United States, and therefore lacked the primary incentive. Likewise, the presence of a large non-English element in the Dominion gave compactness to any opposition to a closer union with Great Britain.[3] But there were other more far-reaching factors which made even colonies with an almost pure English population hesitate. In America, Australasia, and South Africa, small groups of people were confronted with gigantic tasks in their attempts to develop the resources of continents. Although possessing great

[1] *Debates*, Can. H. of C., 1879, II, p. 1631; 1883, I, p. 529; 1884, II, p. 1161; 1896, II, col. 6918; 1886, I, p. 1304; 1900, III, cols. 8232, 8233. On April 1, 1900, 102 graduates of the Royal Military College in the imperial army were serving in South Africa (*Can. Ann. Rev.*, 1901, p. 295).

[2] For the power and duties of these committees see *Parliamentary Papers*, 1904, LXXIX, C-2200; 1907, LV, C-3524, pp. 16, 17.

[3] See Siegfried, *The Race Question in Canada*, *passim*.

potential wealth the demand for capital in frontier communities must necessarily be greater than the available supply. They can ill afford to put their resources into non-productive military and naval establishments. The Canadian representatives made this the basis for their refusal to make contributions for imperial defence in 1887 and later. And in doing so they doubtless presented faithfully the point of view of a large percentage of the population both in Canada and in the other Dominions.

Another serious obstacle to co-operation for defence was of a constitutional character. Enjoying practically legislative independence, the colonies hesitated to tax themselves for imperial defence because they had no voice in controlling foreign policy. And it was admitted that the two were almost inseparable. Urged already in the sixties, when the colonies were urged to assume responsibility for their local defence, the argument had greater force against the demand for contributions to the defence of the empire.[1] Realizing this, Chamberlain promised voice in the empire's councils if the colonies shared its burdens. He hoped and worked for the consolidation of which Joseph Howe and other imperialists had dreamed, and for which the Imperial Federation League and other organizations had agitated. He failed. And the attempts to secure substantial co-operation for defence failed, because the Dominions across the seas had gradually developed a self-consciousness, a particularism, that made them unwilling to give up a portion of their autonomy for a voice in the councils of the empire. The thousands of miles of ocean which separate the most important colonies from the centre of the empire has aided in developing this particularism. Each colony or group of colonies had to meet its own problems. Failure to solve these in the way that seemed best, might indeed prove disastrous to the colonies concerned. But this also fostered the spirit of independence, and developed a "colonial nationalism" which militated against the closer organization of the empire even for defence.

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[1]See *Hansard*, 3rd series, CLXXXV, col. 1191, debate of Feb. 28, 1867; *ibid.*, 4th series, CLXIX, col. 468; Hall, *British Commonwealth of Nations*, pp. 122-124.

THE EARLY DAYS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

FAR removed from the settled portions of British North America and separated from them by the Rocky Mountains and the great plains, two British colonies grew up on the North West Pacific coast during the middle years of the nineteenth century—Vancouver Island and British Columbia. At first sight their story would seem to have but little connection with that of the rest of Canada. Their problems were different, and their isolation was all but complete. Even as late as 1871, when the united colony of British Columbia became a province of the Dominion of Canada, there was considerable heart-searching both in Ottawa and Victoria as to whether or not it was wise to try to link up with the four original provinces of the newly-formed Dominion a territory so remote. In fact, as is clearly evidenced by a perusal of the debate on Confederation in the Legislative Council of British Columbia in March and April, 1870, and especially of the speech of the Hon. Mr. Trutch, it was only the incorporation of the North West Territory with the Dominion in 1870 that made the entrance of British Columbia into the federation a possibility.[1] And even yet, fifty years after Confederation, British Columbia still retains its individual characteristics and its peculiar problems. It faces the Orient and has, geographically, turned its back on the rest of Canada. It is, as an eastern Canadian has called it, the "West beyond the West". But it is now intensely Canadian in feeling, and has long since ceased its agitation for "Better Terms".

Although in their early days the two colonies which now form the province of British Columbia were entirely shut off from the rest of British North America, their political and constitutional development had many points of similarity with that of the older provinces. It is true that before 1871 responsible government, in its usual sense, had not been set up in any part

[1] *Confederation Debates*, p. 17.

of British Columbia; though representative government had been tried, and had proved to be no more successful, without responsible government, in Vancouver Island, and British Columbia than it had been in eastern Canada. It is true also that full powers of self-government were granted to British Columbia after 1871 only as a province of Canada and not as a separate colony. None the less, the story of the early attempts at popular government in British Columbia is well worth chronicling, and it should not be forgotten that the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island which met in 1856 was the first of its kind to be set up in British North America west of the Great Lakes.

In the older Canadian provinces representative government was granted as a result of a considerable popular demand. In Vancouver Island it was set up on account of the expressed wish of the Colonial Office, while the Act which in 1858 created the crown colony of British Columbia provided for the establishment in that colony of a legislature containing a representative assembly as soon as conditions would permit. As a matter of fact, no Legislative Assembly was ever created for the crown colony of British Columbia, but five representative members sat in the Legislative Council.

Before, however, we can discuss the constitutions of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, it will be necessary to sketch briefly the events which in each case led to the creation of these British settlements on the North West Pacific coast. The origins of the two colonies were quite dissimilar. The older colony, Vancouver Island, was brought into being in 1849 by the Royal Grant made in that year by the imperial authorities to the Hudson's Bay Company. By the terms of this grant the Hudson's Bay Company was given control of the island, provided that it accepted certain conditions imposed by the imperial government. These conditions included the acceptance of a royal governor and the settlement by the Company, within a period of five years, of resident colonists to whom lands were to be sold "at a reasonable price". At the same time the Hudson's Bay Company had possessed since 1821[1] the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians on the Mainland of British Columbia. Coupled with the rights of sovereignty over Rupert's Land, conferred by the original charter of 1670, and

[1] This grant of 1821 was reaffirmed in 1838 for a period of twenty-one years.

reaffirmed by the grant or license of 1821,[1] this Royal Grant of 1849 made the Hudson's Bay Company supreme in all western Canada, including Vancouver Island. From Fort William on the east to Fort Victoria on the west, and from the international boundary to the Arctic Ocean, no one was in a position, at that moment, seriously to question the authority of the Great Company.

None the less, the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay" knew that their position in western Canada was none too secure for the future. The 1838, in itself a renewal of the grant of 1821, had been grant of expressly limited to a period of twenty-one years and would automatically expire in 1859. It might be further renewed, but further renewal was very doubtful. That grant, in 1849, had therefore only ten years to run, and it behooved the Great Company to utilize its time to the best advantage. Now the Company was a fur-trading monopoly, and as such did not desire any extensive colonization of its territories. It knew too well that the advent of the colonist meant the doom of the fur-trade. But it did not object to colonies which it could control, especially when it was evident that the British Colonial Office was considering plans for the colonization of Vancouver Island.[2] In June, 1847, James Edward Fitzgerald had submitted to the Colonial Office an elaborate scheme for the formation of a joint stock company which would establish a colony upon Vancouver Island.[3] This colony would be independent of the Hudson's Bay Company. As an offset to such schemes as this, the Great Company obtained the Royal Grant of 1849, and passed resolutions outlining conditions of settlement on the island.[4] These conditions were sufficiently stringent to bar any large influx of settlers. Among them were included the following:

(1) That no grant of land shall contain less than twenty acres.

(2) That the purchasers of land shall pay to the Hudson's Bay Company at their House in London, the sum of one pound per acre for the land sold to them, to be held in free and common soccage.

[1] This grant of 1838 is printed *in extenso* in Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, vol. I., app. XI, pp. 672-5.

[2] See *B.C. Provincial Archives Report for 1913*, pp. V, 54-62.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. V, 73-74.

[4] From the "Papers Relating to the Colonization of Vancouver Island" (*B.C. Provincial Archives Report for 1913*, pp. V, 49-79), it is evident that the British Government was paying a great deal of attention to the subject of Vancouver Island. There were many schemes for settlement, including a possible Mormon colony.

(3) The purchasers of land shall provide a passage to Vancouver's Island for themselves and their families; if they have any; or be provided with a passage (if they prefer it) on paying for the same a reasonable rate.

(4) That purchasers of larger quantities of land shall pay the same price per acre, namely, one pound, and shall take out with them five single men, or three married couples, for every hundred acres.

The above conditions hardly need comment. They show too clearly the policy of the Great Company regarding the settlement of Vancouver Island. They have been quoted at length as they have a direct bearing upon the history of representative government in Vancouver Island. Only freeholders, as we shall see, were allowed to vote. In fact, the whole scheme for settlement was a sham. It is well summed up in the following sentence from Fitzgerald's letter to Herman Merivale, dated June 2, 1848: "The Hudson's Bay Company want to get the island into their own hands in order that they may *prevent* any colony there, except of their servants and dependents."[1]

Such was the origin of the colony of Vancouver Island. It was the creation of the fur-trading monopoly for the furtherance of its own interests. And in the early years of the colony the Great Company was able to maintain its hold on Vancouver Island without much difficulty. The royal governor, Richard Blanchard, after about two years' tenure of an office which carried with it little honour and less power retired to England, leaving as his successor James Douglas, the chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Victoria, and the real ruler of all the Company's territories west of the Rocky Mountains.

But the easy-going calm of the fur-traders was rudely disturbed by the discovery of gold within British territory north of the forty-ninth parallel. The gold discoveries in California in 1848 and 1849 had somewhat stirred the Hudson's Bay posts, but that was nothing compared to the reports of gold in the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1852, and the gold rush to the Fraser in 1858. It was this last event which sealed the fate of the trading monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company on the mainland of British Columbia. Governor Douglas on May 8, 1858, issued his famous proclamation "warning all persons" that the Hudson's Bay Company was "legally entitled to trade with Indians in the

[1] *B.C. Provincial Archives Report, 1913*, p. V, 65.

British Possessions on the north-west coast of America, to the exclusion of all other persons, whether British or Foreign," and threatening to seize "all ships, boats and vessels, together with the goods laden on board, found in Fraser's River, or in any of the bays, rivers, or creeks of the said British Possessions on the northwest coast of America, not having a license fee from the Hudson's Bay Company, and a suffrance from the proper officer of the Customs at Victoria."[1] This proclamation was, in July, 1858, disallowed by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, the colonial secretary,[2] but it shows how heroically the Hudson's Bay Company held on to its trading monopoly in New Caledonia, as the mainland of British Columbia was then called.

The result of this gold rush to the Fraser was the formation of the crown colony of British Columbia. This was done by Act of the imperial parliament on August 2, 1858, and also by the "Instrument under the Royal Sign Manual, revoking so much of the Crown Grant of 30 May, 1836, to the Hudson's Bay Company, for exclusive trading with the Indians, as relates to the territories comprised within the Colony of British Columbia, dated 2nd September, 1858."[3] The crown colony of British Columbia was to be absolutely free from Hudson's Bay Company control and was to be under the Colonial Office entirely. The first governor was James Douglas, who was allowed to hold office as governor of the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, provided that he severed all official connection with the Hudson's Bay Company.[4]

Thus were the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia brought into being. Their origins were very unlike, though their future was closely bound up together. It has been necessary to go into this discussion of the foundation of the two colonies before it was possible to deal with their constitutional problems, and especially the attempts at the setting up of representative government. Since the two colonies, although under

[1] Text in *Papers Relating to British Columbia*, Part I., p. 12.

[2] *Cf.* Lytton to Douglas, July 16, 1858 (*B.C. Papers*, Part I, p. 42).

[3] The texts of these two important documents are to be found in B.C. Papers, Pt., I, pp. 1-2, and pp. 9-10. The boundaries of the crown colony of British Columbia were smaller than those of the present province. Vancouver Island was excluded and the northern boundary of the colony was to be the Finlay Branch of the Peace River and the Naso River.

[4] In this connection reference may be made to Lytton to Douglas, July 16, 1858, (Confidential), B.C. Papers, Pt. I, p. 43, and Douglas's reply, Douglas to Lytton, Oct. 4, 1858, (Private), B.C. Papers, Pt. II, p. 1.

one governor for several years, from 1858 to 1863 in the case of Vancouver Island, and till 1864 in the case of British Columbia, were administered as distinct political units until their union in 1866, it is essential that their constitutional problems be now discussed separately.

The constitution of Vancouver Island was provided for in the commission and instructions issued in 1849 to Richard Blanchard on the occasion of his appointment as first governor of that island. This commission and these instructions provide for the setting up of a council and an assembly in the new colony—in a word, by the introduction of representative institutions. It was the object of the Colonial Office that the infant colony should enjoy the blessings of popular government from the start, but it was not purposed to give the colony complete control of its own affairs. It is to be noted that the governor was to exercise his functions with the advice of the council. He was not in any way intended to be an unconstitutional monarch.

It will be well here to examine the text of the commission, since it sets forth more accurately than any paraphrase could the actual powers and duties of the governor, council, and general assembly. Regarding the formation of the council the terms of the commission read as follows:[1]

> We do hereby grant, appoint and ordain that you and such other persons as are hereinafter designated, shall constitute and be a Council for the said Island. And we do hereby direct and appoint that in addition to yourself the said Council shall be composed of such other persons within the same, as shall from time to time be named or designated for that purpose for Us, by any instructions, or warrant or warrants to be by Us for that purpose issued under Our Signet and Sign Manual, and with the advice of Our Privy Council, all of which Councillors shall hold their places in the said Council at our pleasure. And we do hereby grant and ordain that you with the advice of the said Council shall have full power and authority to make and enact all such Laws and Ordinances as may from time to time be required for the peace, order and good Government of the said Colony, and that in the making all such Laws and Ordinances you shall exercise all such powers and authorities, and that the said Council shall conform to and observe all such Rules and Regulations, as shall be given and prescribed in

[1] *Archives of British Columbia, Memoir II*, "Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island", preface, p. 6.

> and by such instructions as We with the advice of Our Privy Council shall from time to time make for their and your good guidance therein, Provided, nevertheless, and We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our Heirs and Successors, Our and their right and authority to disallow all such Ordinances in the whole or in part, and to make and establish from time to time with the advice and consent of Parliament or with the advice of Our or their Privy Council all such Laws, as may to Us or them appear necessary for the order, peace and good Government of Our said Island and its dependencies, as fully as if these presents had not been made.

From the foregoing it is evident that the powers of the governor and council were by no means absolute. The Colonial Office was prepared to keep a close check upon the laws and ordinances issued by them. The royal right of disallowance was carefully maintained, and the imperial parliament was free to legislate as it liked for the colony and its dependencies. Nevertheless the governor and council were given considerable scope in issuing laws and ordinances dealing with purely local matters.

The instructions issued to Governor Blanchard empowered him to "constitute and appoint seven persons" resident in the colony "to be Members of the said Council" during royal pleasure.[1] Three members were to form a quorum, and the governor was to be empowered to fill vacancies subject to royal approval or disallowance. Freedom of debate was to be allowed in all sessions of the Council, and members of the Council were to be "men of good life, well affected to our Government, of good estates and abilities suitable to their employments."[2] It was evident from the above that the Council was to be an aristocratic body representative of the landed interests in the colony.

The terms of the commission are equally explicit regarding the formation of the General Assembly of the colony—

> And we do hereby give and grant unto you full power with the advice and consent of Our said Council from time to time as need shall require, to summon and call General Assemblies of the Inhabitants owning twenty or more acres of freehold land within the said Island and its Dependencies under your Government in such manner and form, and according to such powers, instructions, and authorities as are granted or appointed by your General Instructions accompanying this your Commission, or according to

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

such further powers, instructions and authorities as shall be at any time hereafter granted or appointed under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or by Our Order in Our Privy Council, or by Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, And Our will and pleasure is that the persons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the said Freeholders and so returned shall before their sitting take the Oath of Allegiance, which oath you shall commission fit persons under the Public Seal of Our said Island and its Dependencies to tender and administer unto them, and until the same shall be taken shall be incapable of sitting though elected. And we do hereby declare that the persons so elected and qualified shall be called and deemed the General Asssembly of Our said Island of Vancouver, And you, said Richard Blanchard, by and with the consent and advice of Our said Council and Assembly or the major part of them respectively, shall have full power and authority to make, constitute and ordain Laws, Statutes and Ordinances for the public peace and welfare and good Government of our said Island and its dependencies, and the people and inhabitants thereof, and such others as shall resort thereto, and for the benefit of Us, Our heirs and successors, which said Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances are not to be repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws and Statutes of this Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, provided that all such Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of what nature or duration whatsoever, be transmitted to Us in the manner specified in your said Instructions under the Public Seal of Our said Island and its Dependencies for Our approbation or disallowance of the same, as also duplicates thereof by the next conveyance.

In the accompanying instructions, Blanchard was empowered "to issue a Proclamation declaring the number of Representatives to be chosen by such Freeholders to serve in the said General Assembly."[1] He could also, if he saw fit, divide the island into electoral districts and appoint returning officers. All laws were to be styled as enacted "by the Governor, Council and Assembly" of the "Island and its Dependencies."[2]

Such, on paper, was to be the constitution of Vancouver Island. It has been given in some detail as illustrating the policy of the Colonial Office. The commission and instructions to Blanchard were framed in the evident expectations that the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[2] *Ibid.*

colony of Vancouver Island would rapidly grow and be capable of a fairly elaborate system of representative government. The Hudson's Bay Company were making plans for the transportation of emigrants to the island, and it was anticipated that almost as soon as the governor arrived he could select his council, and soon after make plans for the election of the first General Assembly. The real condition of affairs on Vancouver Island was evidently unknown in England.

What Blanchard actually found on his arrival is best set forth in his own words. The following is from his despatch, dated April 18, 1850, to Earl Grey, who was then the colonial secretary:

> As no settlers have at present arrived, I have considered that it is unnecessary as yet to nominate a Council as my instructions direct; for a Council chosen at present must be composed entirely of Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, few, if any, of whom possess the qualification of landed property which is required to vote for Members of the Assembly, and they would moreover be completely under the control of their superior Officers; but as no immediate arrival of settlers is likely to take place and my instructions direct me to form a Council on my arrival, I should wish for further direction on this point before I proceed to its formation.[1]

In fact, as Blanchard stated in his evidence before the select committee of the imperial parliament on the subject of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1857, there was practically nothing for him to do in the colony "except to regulate the disputes between the Hudson's Bay Company's officers and their servants."[2] When Mr. Roebuck, one of the chief members of the committee, suggested to Blanchard that there was no colony at all, the former governor could truthfully state, "It was nothing more than a fur-trading post, or very little more."[3] In such a community, controlled by a fur-trading monopoly, it is hard to see the place for any system of representative government. During Blanchard's régime of about two years, therefore, popular institutions were impossible.

Blanchard resigned in 1851, and retired to England, a much disillusioned man. Before he left, however, he set up the first Council of Vancouver Island. This council was primarily formed to carry on the government of the colony until a new governor

[1] Blanchard to Grey, April 18, 1850, quoted in *B.C. Archives, Memoir, II*, p. 9.

[2] *Report of Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857*, question 5183, p. 289.

[3] *Ibid.*, question 5192, p. 290.

could be appointed. It was, therefore, by nature both an executive and legislative council. Since, according to his original instructions, three members constituted a quorum, Blanchard made no attempt to appoint more than that number. The three selected were James Douglas, John Tod, and James Cooper, all of whom had been connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. To James Douglas, chief factor of the Great Company, was given the title of senior member.

The first meeting of the Council of Vancouver Island was held on August 30, 1851. On this occasion Blanchard constituted his council by provisionally admitting the new members; then he announced his resignation, and left a printed copy of his instructions for the guidance of the new senior member and his associates. The next meeting was not held until April 28, 1852. Before this time James Douglas had received his formal commission from England, and had been sworn in as governor of Vancouver Island.[1]

From 1851 to 1858 Douglas held the two offices of chief factor and governor. His dual position made him practically the dictator of the colony. The Company had triumphed and, to quote Bancroft, had "obtained not only a crown grant, but a crown government."[2] What little colonial administration was necessary was, until 1856, carried on by Douglas and his Council. Practically all that the Council had to do was to discuss the measures submitted to it by the governor. According to the Royal Grant of 1849 the lands and public works of the colony were controlled by the Hudson's Bay Company, and so those most important subjects were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Council.

The actual business transacted during these years is faithfully recorded in the old minute book of the Council, preserved in the Provincial Archives at Victoria.[3] It is chiefly a routine record, dealing with liquor licenses, the appointment of magistrates, and the question of public instruction. On the important subject of the tariff the members of Council were opposed to the imposition of any customs duties, especially since there were not "above twenty settlers on the whole island."[4] It is interesting to note

[1] This commission arrived in November, 1851. Douglas had been appointed in September. See Begg, *British Columbia*, p. 199, and Bancroft, *British Columbia*, p. 283.

[2] Bancroft, *British Columbia*, p. 284.

[3] This minute book was published in 1918 as *Memoir No. II* of the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. It was edited by the late Mr. E. O. S. Scholefield, who was then Librarian and Archivist.

[4] *B.C. Provincial Archives, Memoir No. II*, p. 16. This is a most liberal estimate.

that on this occasion the Council opposed the will of the governor. Douglas had submitted a plan "for the consideration of Council, for raising a permanent revenue by imposing a duty of five per cent. on all imports of British and Foreign goods," but the Council did not approve. Free trade feeling was already prevalent in the infant colony.

Although on occasion the Council went against the opinion of the governor, the two seem, on the whole, to have worked together very harmoniously. Meetings were quite infrequent: only five were held in 1852 and six in 1853, and these were summoned only when the governor found that he needed the assistance of the Council. For the rest of the time, he ruled unaided.

It should not be thought, however, that the Council of Vancouver Island was a powerless body. It could and did pass important legislation. Magistrates and justices of the peace were set up in March, 1853, and in September of that year a "Court of Common Pleas" was established, with power and jurisdiction in all civil cases "wherein the damages claimed shall not exceed the sum of £2,000 sterling money."[1] At the same time the duties of the judge were outlined, and a salary of one hundred pounds sterling a year was voted to him from the revenue derived from liquor licences. It is interesting to note that the judge appointed on this occasion was David Cameron, a brother-in-law of Governor Douglas. Cameron, who had been a clerk in the Hudson's Bay service, does not seem at first to have been very learned in the law, but he filled the office of judge and later that of chief justice to the comparative satisfaction of the inhabitants of the island. None the less such appointments as this gave colour to the charge of Amor De Cosmos, the editor of the *British Colonist*, that Vancouver Island was ruled by "a Family-Company-Compact."

The subject of education was one which attracted much of the Council's attention. In March, 1853, it was decided by the Council to erect two schools, one at Victoria and the other at Maple Point "near the Puget Sound Company's establishment."[2] The sum of £500 was appropriated on this occasion "for the erection of a school-house at Victoria, to contain a dwelling for the teacher, and school-rooms, and several bedrooms."[3] The first school-master was Robert Barr, who received the title of "Colonial

[1] *Memoir No. II*, p. 21.
[2] *Memoir No. II*, p. 19.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Teacher." The important question of fees was discussed, and it was resolved at the meeting of Council on December 2, 1852, that Mr. Barr should be permitted to make the following charges for the board of pupils:

> For the children of Colonists, residents of Vancouver Island, and of servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.....18 guineas per annum.
>
> For the children of non-residents, not being servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.....Any sum that may be agreed upon with the parties.

It might be noticed in this connection that Mr. Barr's original schedule presented to the meeting had allowed the children of officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company to be received for a payment of sixteen guineas per annum. The Council, although composed of men who had been, or still were, in close connection with the Great Company, would not sanction this preferential rate. At the same meeting a committee was appointed "to enquire into, and report upon, the state of the Colonial School, and to hold quarterly examinations to ascertain the progress made by the pupils." In 1856 the Rev. Edward Cridge, colonial chaplain at Victoria, was appointed a member of this committee and was empowered to hold examination and "to report on the progress and conduct of the pupils, on the system of management, and on all other matters connected with the District Schools which may appear deserving of attention."[1] Mr. Cridge thus became the first school inspector on Vancouver Island.

The liquor question, then as ever, occupied much of the attention of the government of the colony. Apparently there was much need for regulation since we learn from a private diary of the period that "it would almost take a line of packet ships running between here and San Francisco to supply this Island with grog, so great a thirst prevails among its inhabitants."[2] At the meeting of Council on March 29, 1853, it was decided that one hundred pounds be charged for each wholesale licence, and one hundred and twenty pounds for each retail licence on the island. These licence fees were to be "under the management of the Governor and Council."[3] The gift or sale of liquor to the

[1] *Memoir No. II*, p. 28.

[2] Quoted, Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, vol. I, p. 531, from MS. in Provincial Archives.

[3] *Memoir No. II*, p. 18.

Indians was forbidden by an Act of the Council dated August 3, 1854.[1]

The Council had but little control over revenue, since according to the Royal Grant of 1849 all proceeds from land sales, royalties, and timber duties were remitted to England and placed there in a reserve fund, with the exception of the ten per cent. allowed to the Hudson's Bay Company.[2] The revenue derived from liquor licences was the only fund absolutely at the disposal of the governor and council. The amounts derived from this source increased from £220 in 1853 to £460 in 1854, and decreased to £340 in 1855. From this money the judge's salary was paid. Some other items, chiefly those connected with the Colonial School, were paid from the Vancouver Island's Trust Fund. But the bulk of the expenses of the colony were defrayed by the Hudson's Bay Company.[3] This was, of course, in fulfilment of the terms of the Royal Grant of 1849, whereby the company was required to pay "all civil and military expenses" of the colony. That the company lived up to its obligations is apparent from a financial statement submitted in 1856 by Douglas to the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company in London. For the year ending November 1, 1855, the public expenditure of the colony was £4,107 2s. 3d. and the income from licence fees, land sales and sundry credits was £693 2s. 10d., leaving a balance unpaid of £3,413 19s. 5d.[4] The chief expenditures recorded were for construction of roads and bridges, and for the surveyor's department. Other items included monies paid out to the Victoria church for the chaplain's salary, and also to the public schools. About eighty pounds was spent upon the maintenance of the local militia. Since the control of finance was still in the hands of the fur-trading monopoly, it may be seen that representative institutions in Vancouver's Island had not progressed far by 1856.

But that year, 1856, is memorable in the history of the island colony since it saw the creation of the first Legislative Assembly. This body was brought into being at the expressed wish of the colonial secretary, Mr. Labouchère. In a despatch dated February 28th, 1856, Labouchère wrote to Douglas instructing him to call

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[2] *Cf.* Douglas to Helmcken, *Memoir No. IV*, p. 16; see also *Report of Select Committee on Hudson's Bay Company, 1857*, appendix 19, p. 462.

[3] *Cf. Report of Select Committee on Hudson's Bay Company, 1857*, Blanchard's evidence, question 5156, p. 288.

[4] *Ibid.*, appendix 19, pp. 460-1.

together an Assembly at once.[1] The colonial secretary's language on this occasion admitted of no alternative interpretation:

> It appears to Her Majesty's Government, therefore, that steps should be taken at once for the establishment of the only legislature authorized by the present constitution of the island. I have, accordingly, to instruct you to call together an Assembly in the terms of your Commission and Instructions.

Douglas was, therefore, to carry out the instructions already issued to him and to fix the number of representatives, and if he thought it advisable to divide the colony into districts and to establish separate polling places. It was pointed out to him that it would be possible for him, if he saw fit, after constituting the assembly to bring before it the advisability of setting up some more simple form of government than that of governor, council, and assembly. A single chamber might be created of which at least one third of the members should be appointed by the Crown. But this latter course of procedure was not followed by Douglas in the case of Vancouver Island. None the less this policy, advocated by Labouchère, was later partially followed when the Legislative Council of the crown colony of British Columbia was constituted.

As might be expected, Douglas and his Council were completely taken by surprise on receiving the despatch of the colonial secretary. Even before discussing the despatch with the Council, which he did on June 4, 1856, Douglas had written his mind pretty freely to Labouchère. Since the governor's letter clearly shows his attitude in regard to representative government, several sentences from it will bear quotation here:

> It is, I confess, not without a feeling of dismay that I contemplate the nature and amount of labour and responsibility which will be imposed upon me, in the process of carrying out the instructions conveyed in your despatch. Possessing a very slender knowledge of legislation, without legal advice or intelligent assistance of any kind, I approach the subject with diffidence; feeling, however, all the encouragement which the kindly-promised assistance and support of Her Majesty's Government is calculated to inspire.
>
> Under those circumstances, I beg to assure you that every exertion on my part shall be made to give effect to your said instructions at as early a period as possible.

[1] Full text of this despatch is given in *Report of Select Committee on Hudson's Bay Company*, appendix 19, no. 1, pp. 451-2.

> .....I observe that the terms of my commission only empower me "to summon and call general assemblies of the inhabitants owning 20 or more acres of freehold land within the said island", apparently restricting the elective franchise to the holders of 20 acres of land and upwards, to the exclusion of holders of houses and other descriptions of town property, a class more numerous than the former. I am utterly averse to universal suffrage, or making the population the basis of representation; but I think it expedient to extend the franchise to all persons holding a fixed property stake, whether houses or lands, in the colony; the whole of that class having interests to serve, and a distinct motive for seeking to improve the moral and material condition of the colony.[1]

Long before his despatch of May 22 could reach Downing Street, Douglas had acted upon his instructions and made plans for calling together the first General Assembly of Vancouver Island. In the meeting of Council of June 9 the property qualifications of members of the Assembly and also those of voters had been fixed, the former at "the ownership of £300 of freehold property or immovable estate," and the latter at "the ownership of 20 acres of freehold land or upwards, as required by the instructions from the Crown."[2] At the same time, it was decided that "absentee proprietors shall be permitted to vote through their agents or attorneys." The Venetian Oligarchy of the eighteenth century in England was no closer a corporation than that which was to be in control of Vancouver Island. Four electoral districts were set up, and provision was made for the election of seven members to the Assembly.

All preparations having been duly completed, the elections were held and the first Assembly met on August 12, 1856. After the opening ceremonies, to which reference will be made later, Dr. John Sebastian Helmcken, that grand old man of British Columbia politics, whose death, at the age of ninety-six, occurred in September, 1920, was elected speaker. He was a son-in-law of Governor Douglas, and held the position of physician to the Company. Of the other six members, four had been connected with the Hudson's Bay Company. The fur-trading monopoly was still in control of affairs on the island, although representative government was now a reality.

At the formal ceremony of the opening of the Assembly,

[1] Douglas to Labouchère, May 22, 1856 (*Report*, appendix 19, no. 7, p. 453).
[2] *Memoir*, II, p. 29.

Governor Douglas made a notable speech.[1] He congratulated the members on the "memorable occasion," and reminded them that this was "the first instance of representative institutions being granted in the infancy of a British Colony." He then outlined at some length the condition of affairs in the colony and claimed that "like the native pines of its storm-beaten promontories it has acquired a slow but hardy growth." He went on to advocate reciprocity with the United States, and the adoption of the policy of free trade. The necessity for adequate military and naval protection was pointed out, and the danger from the Northern Indians cited. Douglas then called the attention of the Assembly to the fact that with it lay the origination of all money bills, and that one of its duties was "to consider the ways and means of defraying the ordinary expenses of the Government, either by levying a customs duty or by a system of direct taxation." In conclusion, the governor stated that he had authorized Chief Justice Cameron to administer the oaths of allegiance to the members of the Assembly, and that the members should choose their speaker and proceed with their organization.

That all the inhabitants of Vancouver Island did not share the rather grandiloquent views of the governor may be ascertained from the following sentences from a letter of John Work, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and a member of Council of Vancouver Island, to his friend Edward Ermatinger, who was an ex-employee of the Company:

> Our Colony is not increasing in population. I have already told you of the advantages of soil, climate, etc., which experience fully realizes. The home Government, except in the article of dispatches, leaves us to ourselves to get on as best we may. We have had an election lately of Members of a House of Assembly, to assemble in a few days. It is to consist of 7 Members chosen by about 40 Voters, the qualification of a Member is fixed property to the amount of £300 and of an elector to own 20 acres of land, hitherto affairs were managed by the Governor and his Council consisting of four members, Capt. Cooper, Mr. Tod, Finlayson & myself. I have always considered such a Colony & such a government when there are so few people to govern as little better than a farce and this last scene of a house of representatives the most absurd of the whole. It is putting the plough before the horses.

[1] Full text in *B.C. Archives, Memoir No. III*, "Minutes of the House of Assembly of Vancouver Island," pp. 13-15, and in *Report*, appendix 19, pp. 457-8.

> The principle of representation is good, but there are too few people and nobody to pay taxes to cover expenses. We shall see how the affair will work. Roads are opened in different directions and many improvements made, but we labour under great disadvantage, owing to the bungling of our Government at home not having included us in the reciprocity Treaty with your Yankee neighbors. We have no market but California to go to where we have no chance to compete having to pay high duty when our American neighbors have none either there or here.....[1]

Thus with much pomp and ceremony, but with some misgivings, was the General Assembly of Vancouver Island launched. The problem next arose, what was there for it to do? That problem was never completely solved so long as the Hudson's Bay Company retained control of the island. But the Assembly went gaily to work endeavouring to find a sphere of action for itself. Its first task was to investigate the qualification of its members. This resulted in the disqualification of one member, Edward E. Langford, who lacked the required £300 minimum.[2] The Assembly next called for a statement of the colonial accounts, and requested information as to "what funds are subject to the control of this Assembly, if any: what is the amount, and from what source does it come, and what fund is the royalty on coal paid into." To this request for information Governor Douglas replied showing that the only funds which could be controlled by the Assembly were those arising from the liquor licences and that all other monies were sent to England, to be placed in the reserve fund. It later developed that funds arising from licences had also been paid into the coffers of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The first vote of supply by the Assembly was passed in December, 1856, and it amounted to £130, of which fifty pounds was to be paid to the governor to defray the cost of furnishing the Assembly with copies of public documents.[3] This money was to be paid out of the licence fund. The vote of supply was, accordingly, sent up to the Council and was passed by that body in February, 1857. Several slight amendments were made by the Council, however, the most important being that the Council changed the wording of the vote of the Assembly "that the above items be paid out of the revenue derived from the licences of July

[1] Work to Ermatinger, Aug. 8, 1856, MS. letter in Provincial Archives, quoted in Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, vol. I, p. 555.

[2] *Memoir No. III*, p. 22.

[3] *Memoir No. III*, p. 27.

16th, 1856" so to read "out of the revenue derived from the duty charged on licenced houses." The Assembly objected to the change on the ground that the funds derived from the 1856 licences were under its control. It looked for a moment as if a constitutional issue had been raised. The governor, however, intervened, and in a letter dated April 21, 1857, stated that the reason for the Council's amendment was that the "duties raised on licensed houses for the year 1856 were paid into the General Colonial Fund and expended, with other proceeds of revenue, in the service of the colony, prior to the convention of the House of Assembly in August last, and for that reason are not at our disposal,"[1] and that "the Council, in amending the Bill, by charging the sums thereby granted to the revenue derivable from the same source in 1857, were influenced solely by the knowledge of that fact, and not from any desire to interfere with the arrangements of the House of Assembly."[2] The Assembly thereupon accepted the amendments of the Council, and the incident closed.

Various other subjects of interest to the colony were from time to time discussed by the Assembly. In almost all cases information relative to the matter under discussion was sought from the governor. Enquiries were made concerning the last census of the island and also the postal arrangements. Douglas at once furnished full data concerning the census and advocated that "no time be lost in providing means for initiating a postal system."[3] At the same time he suggested to the Assembly that it should vote supplies "for the improvement and opening of public roads."[4] He thereupon furnished estimates amounting to £1,400, of which £500 was for postal expenses and £900 for roads.

The Assembly at once raised the constitutional point of "no taxation without representation." In an address to the governor it put itself on record in these terms:

> The House is humbly of opinion that it would be unconstitutional to levy taxes until the Legislature be more complete and the towns represented as well as the districts, and the House further conceives that before such a step were taken, as that of raising taxes, the entire revenue ought to be placed under the control of the Legislature of this Island, to be by them appropriated as might be deemed most expedient to the welfare of the Colony.

[1] *Memoir No. IV: House of Assembly Correspondence Book*, pp. 22-23.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Memoir No. IV*, p. 23.
[4] *Ibid.*

Upon these grounds the Assembly rejected the proposed appropriations for postal facilities and roads.

On the same occasion, May 5, 1857, one of the members of the Assembly, Mr. McKay, moved:

> That requisition be respectfully made to His Excellency the Governor for an Abstract of the Annual Income and Expenditures of the Colony from its commencement until the end of 1856. Also, if possible, to know what sums have been expended in England by the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company and for what purposes. If the Colony be in debt, to know to whom such debt is owing; or if liquidated, to show how and by whom, and whether any interest is or has been paid or charged upon such sum lent to pay the debt; and, if so, the rate of interest per annum and the amount paid.[1]

Apparently no information on this subject was forthcoming from the governor, since there is no further mention of Mr. McKay's motion except its transmission to Douglas, either in the "Minutes of the Assembly" or in the "House of Assembly Correspondence Book."

Information was further sought from the governor on the subject of laws enacted by the Council and thereby enforced in the colony. This was freely but incompletely given, and the governor received the thanks of the assembly. The question of the proposed reciprocity treaty with the United States was discussed, and disappointment expressed that negotiations had been brought to "an abrupt termination."[2] A somewhat lengthy correspondence occurred between governor and Assembly on the subject of the "non-receipt of royalties upon coal from Nanaimo for the year 1856." Information was also sought relative to the Inferior Court of Justice, "the constitution of the same, and by whose authority" it had been constituted. A reply was received from the governor transmitting a letter from Chief Justice Cameron defending the existing constitution of the court.[3]

Enough has been cited to show how the Assembly during the first year of its existence gradually widened the scope of its activities by the well-recognized process of asking for information. It was by no means a sovereign body, but it was steadily making its influence felt. The relations between governor and Assembly were usually very cordial indeed, and information, when obtain-

[1] *Memoir III*, p. 34.
[2] *Memoir No. III*, p. 42.
[3] *Memoir No. IV*, "*House of Assembly Correspondence Book*", p. 28.

able, was freely given by Douglas. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Council almost completely dropped out of sight during the early months of the Assembly's activities. Very few meetings were held and but little business transacted. There is no record of any meeting of Council from February 17, 1857, till October 11, 1858. The governor was dealing direct with the Assembly without the advice or assistance of the Council.

The Assembly during this period passed several important bills. The most important of these was the "Bill for the Enfranchisement of Victoria Town," introduced on May 6, 1857, and finally passed on June 1 of that year. It granted to Victoria Town the privilege of returning two members to the Assembly, and fixing the qualifications of members at the £300 property minimum required for the members for the districts. After much discussion the qualification of voters was placed at the possession of "freehold property consisting of houses or buildings of the value of £50 (fifty) sterling and upwards in the aforesaid Town of Victoria"[1] and also to those persons "who shall have occupied such house property for twelve months previous to exercising the said right at a rental of £10 sterling per annum for the entire building so occupied."[2] Two noteworthy clauses in the bill disqualified from voting civil servants and members of Council.

The subsequent fate of this bill is very enlightening to the student of representative institutions upon Vancouver Island. The bill was sent to Governor Douglas on June 1, 1857. On December 19 of the same year the governor, after enquiry from the Assembly as to the fate of the bill, replied that he had received the bill and that it would be discussed by the Council. Nearly a year later, on November 8, 1858, Douglas reported that the subject was "still under consideration."[3] On January 11, 1859, Mr. Yates, a member of the Assembly for Victoria district, moved "That this House be informed by the Executive if the bill for the Extension of the Franchise to the Town of Victoria, which passed this House, on the first of June, 1857, is likely to be passed or rejected by the Executive."[4] This evoked a reply from Douglas that "the consideration of the Act for the Enfranchising of the Town of Victoria has been necessarily delayed in consequence of the condition of the country and the great pressure of public

[1] *Memoir No. III*, p. 35.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[3] *Memoir No. IV*, p. 42.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

business; it will, however, be brought forward to the consideration of the Council on the first convenient occasion." The bill was finally placed before the Council on March 23, 1859. Objection to the bill was then raised, especially to the qualification of £10 rental as being too low. On April 11, 1859, the bill was sent to the crown solicitor for remodelling. It was finally agreed to on April 16, 1859, nearly two years after it had first been introduced into the Assembly. It is not to be wondered at that in face of such political conditions there was a growing demand for reform in Vancouver Island.

This demand for reform coincided with the foundation of the crown colony of British Columbia. The gold rush to the Fraser brought in a large number of settlers to Victoria, which became the port of call on the way to the new El Dorado. The leader of this reform movement was Amor De Cosmos, the founder and first editor of the *British Colonist*. In the first number of the *Colonist*, issued on December 11, 1858, De Cosmos announced his intention to support the cause of reform and "to advocate such changes as will tend to establish self-government." He put his case well in the following sentences:

> We shall counsel the introduction of responsible government—a system long established in British America, by which the people will have the whole and sole control over the local affairs of the colony. In short we shall advocate a Constitution modelled after the British, and similar to that of Canada.[1]

To the welfare of the newly established colony of British Columbia De Cosmos claimed he would be as devoted as he was to that of Vancouver Island. His attitude towards British Columbia is stated in the following sentences:

> In everything that concerns British Columbia we shall take a deep and permanent interest. The interests of the two colonies, we believe, are identical, and shall receive an equal share of consideration at our hands. To foster the settlement of British Columbia, chronicle its progress and assist in the establishment of necessary political and commercial reforms, are duties which we cheerfully impose on ourself. Our columns will ever be open to publish their grievances, and used to demand redress at the hands of the proper authorities.[2]

De Cosmos was as good as his word. There was no more

[1] *British Colonist*, vol. I, no. 1, p. 2.
[2] *Daily Colonist*, vol. 1, no. 1.

consistent advocate of the setting up of popular government in both colonies than he.

The Imperial Act of 1858 which established the crown colony of British Columbia provided for the setting up of a "Legislature to make laws for the peace, order and good government of British Columbia, such Legislature to consist of the Governor and a Council, or Council and Assembly, to be composed of such and so many persons, and to be appointed or elected in such manner and for such periods, and subject to such regulations as to Her Majesty may seem expedient." Until such a legislature was set up, the governor was empowered by the letters patent, issued to him as his commission, to legislate by proclamation.[1] His instructions limited his powers in this matter to some extent by listing certain subjects as beyond his sphere of legislation, but the fact remained that James Douglas, became by virtue of the Act of 1858, the real dictator of British Columbia, and also that he ruled the Gold Colony from his residence in Victoria, Vancouver Island.

At the moment it was probably necessary for the new colony to be controlled by a strong hand, but soon a demand arose for representative institutions.

Governor Douglas, who was, as always, an adept at living up to the letter, if not the spirit, of the law, in March, 1859, appointed Colonel Moody and Judge Begbie as members of his executive council. These appointments were duly reported to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton for his confirmation. Lytton accepted them as merely temporary, and replied to Douglas as follows:

> Regarding these appointments as a mere voluntary committee of advice, I approve of your proceedings. Whenever you consider that the time has arrived for the formation of a regular Executive Council, and that it is expedient to make the necessary appointments, proper steps shall, on your recommendation, be taken for the purpose.[2]

Douglas, however, took no further steps to create "a regular Executive Council" and ruled British Columbia autocratically with the assistance of Colonel Moody, who was not only the commander of the Royal Engineers, but was chief commissioner of lands and works, and held a "dominant commission as Lieu-

[1] See *B.C. Papers*, Pt. I, p. 6.

[2] Lytton to Douglas, April 11, 1859, quoted Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, vol. II, p. 161.

tenant-Governor of the Province," and also of Judge Begbie, who was, in addition to his judicial functions, empowered to act as attorney-general. In a sense, Douglas was carrying out the letter of his instructions, and he was able to plead the unsettled conditions then prevailing in the colony, the scanty and widely dispersed population, and the general need for strong government in defence of his actions, in not setting up a colonial legislature or at least a legislative council. In the meantime, Douglas governed the country as he saw fit, and, from time to time, issued proclamations, "having the force of law," on various subjects ranging from customs duties, land sales and regulations for gold mining, to forms to be used for the naturalization of aliens and affirmations which were to be taken in courts of law by persons who had conscientious scruples against taking the prescribed oaths. Douglas was determined that British Columbia should not suffer from any lack of governance. None the less, he was not ready to permit the introduction of representative institutions in the Gold Colony.

The settlers, as might be expected, had other views. As early as May, 1860, "a petition was forwarded to the Duke of Newcastle, asking for a resident Governor and officials and for representative institutions."[1] This petition seems to have been without effect since in April, 1861, Douglas was presented with a memorial advocating that a resident governor be appointed and that a representative assembly be set up in British Columbia. The delegation on this occasion was headed by J. A. Homer and contained eight members representing Hope, Douglas, and New Westminster. Governor Douglas forwarded the petition to the Duke of Newcastle on April 22, 1861, with an accompanying despatch which set forth at great length his objections to granting representative institutions to British Columbia. Several paragraphs from the despatch follow:

> The first prayer of the inhabitants is for a resident governor in British Columbia, entirely unconnected with Vancouver Island. Your Grace will, perhaps pardon me from hazarding an opinion on a subject which so nearly concerns my own official position. I may, however, at least remark, that I have spared no exertion to promote the interests of both colonies, and am not conscious of having neglected any opportunity of adding to their prosperity. The memorial then proceeds to the subject of Representative

[1] Howay and Scholefield, *British Columbia*, vol. II, p. 163.

Institutions, asking for a form of government similar to that existing in Australia and the eastern British North American Provinces. This application should, perhaps, be considered to apply more to the future well-being of the colony than to the views and wishes of the existing population. Without pretending to question the talent or experience of the petitioners, or their capacity for legislation and self-government, I am decidedly of opinion that there is not as yet, a sufficient basis of population or property in the colony to institute a sound system of self-government. The British element is small, and there is absolutely neither a manufacturing nor farmer class; there are no landed proprietors, except holders of building lots in towns; no producers, except miners, and the general population is essentially migratory—the only fixed population, apart from New Westminster, being the Traders settled in the several inland towns, from which the miners obtain their supplies. It would, I conceive, be unwise to commit the work of legislation to persons so situated, having nothing at stake, and no real vested interest in the colony. Such a course, it is hardly unfair to say, could be scarcely expected to promote either the happiness of the people or the prosperity of the colony; and it would unquestionably be setting up a power that might materially hinder and embarrass the Government in the great work of developing the resources of this country: a power not representing large bodies of landed proprietors, nor of responsible settlers, having their homes, their property, their sympathies, their dearest interest irrevocably identified with the country; but from the fact before stated, of there being no fixed population, except in the Towns. Judging from the ordinary motives which influence men, it may be assumed that local interests would weigh more with a legislature so formed, than the advancement of the great and permanent interests of the colony.

I have no reason to believe that the memorial does not express the sentiments of the great body of the people of British Columbia, nor that I would, for a moment, assume that Englishmen are, under any circumstances, unmindful of their political birthright, but I believe that the majority of the working and reflective classes would, for many reasons, infinitely prefer the government of the Queen, as now established, to the rule of a party, and would think it prudent to postpone the establishment of representative institutions until the permanent population of the country is greatly increased and capable of moral influence, by maintaining the peace of the country, and making representative institutions a blessing and a reality, and not a by-word and a curse.

> The total population of British Columbia and from the colonies in North America, in the three towns supposed to be represented by the memorialists is as follows: New Westminster, 164 male adults; Hope, 108 adults; Douglas, 33 adults; in all 305; which supposing all perfect in their views respecting representative institutions, is a mere fraction of the population. Neither the people of Yale, Lytton, or Cayoosh, Rock Creek, Alexandria, or Similkameen appear to have taken any interest in the proceeding, or to have joined in the movement.[1]

After alluding to the successful establishment of municipal institutions in New Westminster, where a town council had been set up in the summer of 1860, Douglas went on to show that the formation of similar bodies at Hope, Yale, Cayoosh, and other British Columbia towns would ultimately lead to the introduction of a representative House of Assembly. He then proceeds to summarize the "existing causes of disaffection as alleged in the memorial,"[2] under the following heads:

> (1) That the Governor, Colonial Secretary and Attorney General do not reside permanently in British Columbia.
>
> (2) That the taxes on goods are excessive as compared with the population, and in part levied on boatmen, who derive no benefit from them, and that there is no land tax.
>
> (3) That the progress of Victoria is stimulated at the expense of British Columbia, and that no encouragement is given to shipbuilding or to the foreign trade of the colony.
>
> (4) That money has been injudiciously squandered on public works and contracts given without any public notice, which subsequently have been sub-let to the contractors at a much lower rate.
>
> (5) That faulty administration has been made of public lands, and that lands have been declared public reserves, which have been afterwards claimed by parties connected with the Colonial Government.
>
> (6) The want of a registry office, for the record of transfers and mortgages.[3]

To these charges, which well illustrate the need for representative government in British Columbia, Douglas made answers as best he might. He dealt with the first complaint, that of the absence of the governor and the chief officials from British Columbia, as follows:

[1] Douglas to Newcastle, April 22, 1861, quoted in Begg, *British Columbia*, pp. 352-4.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 354.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

> Your Grace is aware that I have a divided duty to perform; and that if under the present circumstances the Colonial Secretary and Attorney-General resided permanently in British Columbia, these offices would be little better than a sinecure,—the public service would be retarded and a real and just complaint would exist. Although the treasury is now established at New Westminster and the Treasurer resides permanently there, I have no hesitation in saying that it would be more to the benefit of the public service if that department were still in Victoria.

One further quotation from a later portion of the despatch will well illustrate the governor's ability to juggle with figures, and to make out the best possible case for himself and his autocratic rule:

> And here I would beg to correct an error in the memorial with respect to the population of British Columbia, which is therein given at 7,000, exclusive of Indians, making an annual average rate of taxation of £7 10s per head. The actual population, Chinamen included, is about 10,000, besides an Indian population exceeding 20,000, making a total of 30,000, which reduces the taxation to £2 per head instead of the rate given in the memorial. It must be remembered that all the white population are adults, and tax-paying —there being no proportionate number of women or children; and it is a great mistake to suppose that the native Indians pay no taxes. They have, especially in the gold districts, for the most part, abandoned their former pursuits, and no longer provide their own stores of food. All the money they make by their labor, either by hire or by gold-digging is expended in the country; so that the Indians have now become extensive consumers of foreign articles.[1]

In conclusion, Douglas contrasted the financial systems and natural resources of the two colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. He wrote:

> The public revenue of Vancouver Island is almost wholly derived from taxes levied on persons and professions, on trades and real estate; on the other hand it is by means of duties and imports, and on goods carried inland, that the public revenue of British Columbia is chiefly raised. No other plan has been suggested by which a public revenue could be raised, that is so perfectly adapted to the circumstances of both colonies, or that could be substituted or applied interchangeably with advantage to the sister Colony.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 355.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 356.

Douglas then went on to show that Vancouver Island by reason of its resources and geographical position was bound to be a free trade colony, while British Columbia for similar reasons had, of necessity, to embrace protection. His concluding remarks contained a protest that his measures and policies "have ever been calculated to promote, to the fullest extent, the substantial interests of both colonies."[1]

But no matter how much Governor Douglas might protest that both colonies received equal justice at his hands, the inhabitants of British Columbia continued to hold meetings and draw up memorials favouring a resident governor and representative institutions. Finally, in July, 1862, a new memorial, the fourth, was prepared. This document stated that taxation without representation existed in the colony; that the sums thus raised, amounting to £10 10s. per head of the population, excluding native Indians, were not carefully spent; and that the governor was an absentee who was practically never in the colony. In conclusion, the memorialists prayed for "A Governor who shall reside permanently in this colony, free from any private interests in the colony of Vancouver Island, or connected directly or indirectly with the Hudson's Bay Company; a system of responsible government similar to that possessed by eastern British North American and Australian colonies."[2]

Still another petition, the fifth, was sent home to England by the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, who had been paying a visit to the Gold Colony. This time the petition was heard, mainly, apparently, through the influence of Mr. Cameron. The Act for the Government of British Columbia passed in 1858 was to expire at the end of the session of parliament following December 31, 1862, and further legislation for the Gold Colony was necessary. Douglas's appointment as governor of British Columbia was to last until 1864, but his term in Vancouver Island expired in 1863. Thus the appointment of separate governors was a distinct possibility. The time was also opportune for the Imperial authorities to grant some form of representative government to British Columbia.

The Duke of Newcastle, who was then colonial secretary, in his despatch of May 26, 1863,[3] informed Douglas that he was

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

[2] Howay and Scholefield, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-5, quoted from *British Columbian*, July 19, 1862.

[3] Newcastle to Douglas, in "Papers Relating to Union", No. 1, p. 1.

about to "submit to Her Majesty an Order in Council constituting a Legislative Council in British Columbia," and that he desired Douglas "to constitute a partially representative body, capable of making the wishes of the community felt, and calculated to pave the way for a more formal, if not a larger, introduction of the representative element." In a further despatch on June 15, 1863, Newcastle expressed his position as regards representative government even more clearly:

> I should have wished to establish there the same representative institutions which already exist in Vancouver Island; and it is not without reluctance that I have come to the conclusion that this is at present impossible.
>
> It is, however, plain that the fixed population of British Columbia is not yet large enough to form a sufficient and sound basis of representation, while the migratory element far exceeds the fixed, and the Indian far outnumbers both together.
>
> Gold is the only produce of the Colony, extracted in a great measure by an annual influx of foreigners. Of landed proprietors there are next to none, of tradesmen not very many, and these are occupied in their own pursuits at a distance from the centre of Government, and from each other. Under the circumstances I see no mode of establishing a purely representative Legislature, which would not be open to one of two objections. Either it must place the Government of the Colony under the exclusive control of a small circle of persons naturally occupied with their own local, personal, or class interests, or it must confide a large amount of political power to immigrant, or rather transient foreigners, who have no permanent interest in the prosperity of the Colony.
>
> For these reasons I think it is necessary that the Government should retain for the present a preponderating influence in the Legislature. From the best information I can obtain, I am disposed to think that about one-third of the Council should consist of the Colonial Secretary and other officers who generally compose the Executive Council, about one-third of magistrates from different parts of the Colony, and about one-third of persons elected by the residents of the different electoral districts.[1]

In the same despatch Newcastle enumerated the powers of the Council. It was to have at its disposal the proceeds of crown lands, and it could "pass laws for the regulation and management of these sources of revenue, subject of course to disallowance in

[1] Newcastle to Douglas, in "Union Papers", No. 2, p. 2.

this country, and subject to the qualification which I have mentioned as indispensible in Vancouver Island, viz., that the Crown must retain such legal powers over the lands as are necessary for the disposing of all questions (if any) which remain to be settled with the Hudson's Bay Company—questions which, without such uncontrolled power, might still be productive of embarrassment."[1]

The attitude of Her Majesty's government towards representative institutions in British Columbia was thus clear. The Home authorities wished some form of representation at once introduced whereby it would be possible "to ascertain with some certainty the character, wants, and disposition of the community with a view to the more formal and complete establishment of a representative system as circumstances shall admit of it."[2]

In an accompanying order-in-council, dated June 11, the maximum number of members for the Legislative Council was fixed at fifteen, divided into the three classes already mentioned. Further particulars for the guidance of the governor were also given.

Armed with these instructions Douglas proceeded forthwith to hold an election of the representative members of the Legislative Council. He divided the colony into five districts: New Westminster, Hope, Yale and Lytton, Douglas and Lillooet, Cariboo East, and Cariboo West. Members were duly elected for these districts, and the first Legislative Council of the colony of British Columbia was formally constituted by the governor's proclamation of December 28, 1863. The first meeting of the Council was on January 21, 1864. As on the occasion of the first meeting of the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island, Governor Douglas made a long speech reviewing the state of the colony. This was one of Douglas's last official acts in British Columbia. In April, 1864, he retired from office and was succeeded by Governor Seymour. British Columbia had obtained the first rudiments of representative government, but that was all.

It will now be necessary rapidly to review the closing years of Douglas's administration on Vancouver Island and to trace the rising demand for responsible government. In 1859 the Hudson's Bay Company's licence of trade expired, and at the same time the Imperial government exercised its right of repurchasing Vancouver Island and the island passed directly under the control

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[2] *Ibid.*

of Downing Street. Crown lands and public works now became a vital local issue in which the Legislative Assembly might take part. But although the Great Company had lost its power, the ex-chief factor, Douglas, was reluctant to part with any of his prerogatives. He could now cite the authority of the Colonial Office for his actions, and was by no means loath to do so.

One of the methods of legislation still open to the governor was by proclamation, and on January 18, 1860, Douglas issued a proclamation declaring the "Port of Victoria, including Esquimalt Harbour" a free port, at which no customs duties could be levied. Another proclamation fixed the price of land, which had formerly been at one pound an acre, at four shillings and two pence (or one dollar) an acre. Responsible government in Vancouver Island was some distance off yet.

But demand for it was growing. Amor De Cosmos, in the *British Colonist*, was pouring out the vials of his righteous wrath against Douglas and the "Family-Company-Compact." De Cosmos was an able man, and made out a remarkably strong case for responsible government. In a series of strong editorials in the *Colonist*, he explained to the people the necessity for having an executive council made up of ministers of state, or "Heads of Departments," "responsible to the representatives of the people in the Assembly for the manner in which their departments were conducted."[1] He denounced voting by proxy, and advocated an overhauling of the whole franchise question. He favoured giving the right to vote to "all British householders six months in the country, whether owners, tenants or joint tenants for three or six months prior to the election," and to "all British owners of real estate to the value of eight dollars a year."[2]

Nor did De Cosmos spare the members of the Legislative Assembly. He admitted the difficulties under which they laboured, but he advocated a new election as soon as possible. The following quotations from his editorials make clear De Cosmos's views on the Assembly:

> The members of the Legislature appear to have got disheartened. Nor can we wonder at it. They have passed several important bills, and they have nearly all expired in the arms of the Executive. The most important bill, the extension of the Franchise to the Town

[1] *British Colonist*, Feb. 5, 1859, vol. I, no. 9.
[2] *British Colonist*, January 22, 1859, vol. I, no. 7.

of Victoria, has lain prostrate now twenty months, and I am afraid it is all but dead.[1]

The following is taken from the editorial on the Family-Company-Compact:

> With all its sins of omission and commission our House of Assembly today is the best served department of the colony; and in saying this perhaps no very great compliment is paid to it. Latterly, however—though with a few exceptions, chiefly under Compact influence—it has shown a disposition to meet the wants of the people,—and answer the end of its institution. The majority of its members in a new house, with an addition raising the number to about twenty, would tend to the harmony and prosperity of the colony; but to allow the present house to exist longer, public feeling would be misrepresented and our new, varied, and important interests would suffer from not receiving due and timely consideration. The sooner it is dissolved and a new house ordered, the sooner will the Family-Company-Compact cease to monopolize the government for individual aggrandizement to the cost of the country.[2]

When a new franchise bill was introduced into the Assembly, however, it was assailed by De Cosmos as being an attempt to maintain the Compact in office for three years longer. The new bill would have increased the number of representatives to eleven, giving two to the town of Victoria, and distributing the others among various districts, including several "rotten boroughs." Nanaimo, with one qualified voter, was to return one member. The qualifications for voting remained unchanged. De Cosmos had apparently still a long fight before him.

The first Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island expired in 1859. In its concluding sessions, it had debated the relations of church and state. The colonial chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Cridge, had since 1854 been a paid official of the colony.[3] His original appointment, dating from that year, had been for a term of five years, but it was understood that, at the end of that time, the contract could be renewed. Mr. Cridge's original agreement had been with the Hudson's Bay Company, but the question of his re-appointment was brought by Governor Douglas to the atten-

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *British Colonist*, vol. 1, no. 10.

[3] Three quarters of his salary of £400 per annum was paid, "with the permission of the Colonial Office", from a fund arising from land sales. The other £100 was paid by the Hudson's Bay Co. See Begg, *British Columbia*, p. 329.

tion of the Legislative Assembly. In the discussion before the House, Speaker Helmcken "maintained that the appointment of Mr. Cridge was a permanent one, and that he was entitled to a salary until such time as the connection between Church and State was abolished."[1] The House, however, refused to support the speaker, and passed the following resloution on the subject:

> *Resolved*,—this House is of opinion that by the memorandum of agreement dated 12th August, 1854, the Rev. Mr. Cridge was evidently led to expect a renewal of his engagement on faithful service; but the House would recommend the propriety of deferring the consideration of State and Church connection until the House is enlarged, and the sentiments of the people can be better understood.[2]

The Clergy Reserve question at once occupied public attention. The Congregationalist missionary, the Rev. W. F. Clark, wrote to the *British Colonist* protesting against the "embryo State Church," and claiming that in Victoria District alone "a Clergy Reserve of two thousand, one hundred and eighteen acres"[3] had been set apart. Charges were brought forward that Clergy Reserves were also planned for British Columbia, and the editor of the *British Colonist* quoted a sentence from Governor Douglas's despatch of December 14, 1858, which runs as follows: "I propose building a small church and parsonage, a courthouse and jail, immediately at Langley, and to defray the expense out of the proceeds arising from the sale of town lands there."[4]

This outcry against a state church was sufficiently great to cause the abandoning of the Clergy Reserves proposals. In 1860 when Bishop Hills, first Anglican bishop of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, arrived, the Victoria glebe, which was to have been granted to Mr. Cridge, was reduced from one hundred to thirty acres and was "transferred under trustees to the Church."[5] Mr. Cridge's colonial appointment was terminated at the same time, and he was licenced by the new bishop to preach in the Victoria district. His salary was paid, thenceforth, by the congregation, supplemented by missionary grants from England. The separation between church and state on Vancouver Island was now complete.

[1] Begg, *British Columbia*, p. 330.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 331.
[4] Douglas to Lytton, *B.C. Papers*, Pt. II, p. 45.
[5] Begg, *British Columbia*, p. 332.

While this momentous issue was being thus peaceably settled, Vancouver Island was in the throes of its second general election. This took place in January, 1860, and thirteen members were elected. It was on this occasion that the single Nanaimo voter elected Captain Swanson of the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer *Labouchère* as member for Nanaimo by the majority of one. De Cosmos had, apparently, never heard of the famous Bute election in pre-Reform days in Great Britain, since he wrote in the *Colonist*, with more heat than accuracy, "This caps the climax of all elections that were ever heard of where the Anglo-Saxon language is spoken."

It was also on the occasion of the election of 1860 that Edward E. Langford offered himself as a candidate for the town of Victoria, but was defeated. During the campaign an anonymous placard appeared on the streets of Victoria purporting to be the copy of an election address by Langford. Langford had a few days previous published an address which he claimed to be explanatory of his opinion on the affairs of the colony, founded on the experience of nearly nine years' residence therein, he having been nearly the whole of that time a magistrate, and chairman of the sessions."[1] The anonymous placard was really an exceedingly pointed bit of satire on Langford and his record in Vancouver Island. Its authorship is generally conceded to Judge Begbie of British Columbia, who was thus, anonymously, amusing himself at Langford's expense. It was, no doubt, intended to cause amusement among the Victoria electorate, but it was none the less uncalled for, especially when it was, apparently, taken to the printer by Governor Douglas's private secretary, Mr. Good.

As this handbill played quite a part, not only in the election of 1860, but also in the libel suit brought by Langford against Edward Hammond King, the printer of the document, a large part of it may be reproduced here. After stating that "some injudicious person assuming my name has put forward, in answer to your requisition, a long-winded and spiteful address containing many things which I, of course, should not like to have repeated," the handbill proceeds:

> The easiest way for you, gentlemen, to judge of my merits is to make a short statement of what I am and what I have done.
>
> I came here about eight years ago, the hired servant of the Puget Sound Company, for the wages of about six dollars a week, and my

[1] *Papers relating to Vancouver Island*, 1863, p. 8.

board and lodging; the privileges of board and lodging were also extended to my wife and family, in consideration of the Company having the benefit of their labour on the farm, of which I was to have the charge.

I was brought out here at the expense of the Company; I was placed on the farm I now occupy, bought by the Company, stocked by the Company, improved by labour supplied by the Company entirely. In fact, I have not been put to a penny expense since my arrival in the Colony. The boots I wear and the mutton I and my family and guests eat have been wholly supplied at the expense of the Company; and I flatter myself that the Colonial reputation for hospitality, as displayed by me at the expense of the Company has not been allowed to fall into disrepute. I have given large entertainments, kept riding horses and other means of amusement for myself and my guests; in fact, I may say that I and they have eaten, driven and ridden the Company for several years, and a wiry animal it has proved, though its ears, gentlemen, are rather long.

All this time I was and am the farm bailiff of the Puget Sound Company, at wages of £60 ($300) per annum and board, a position I value much too highly to vacate until I shall be kicked out of it. I have refused to render any account, any intelligible account of my stewardship; in fact, I had kept no accounts that I or anybody else could make head or tail of. When requested to give satisfactory explanations, I told my owners pretty squarely that they should have no satisfaction except that usual among gentlemen; and as I knew nobody would call me out and pistol me, I commenced a system of abuse with which you are doubtless tolerably well acquainted, at the same time currying popularity with my farm servants by letting them eat and drink, play or work, just as they liked, which I could do cheap, as the Company pays for all.

I am sorry to say, however, gentlemen, that although pretty jolly just now, I have not been careful enough to keep a qualification for myself for the House of Assembly, although I have run my owners many thousands of pounds in debt. However, I hope to bully them out of their property entirely; "improve" them out of their land. How I propose to do this, seeing that all the land, capital, stock, and labour has been provided by them, is a secret. In the meantime, if I should not be fortunate enough to nail a qualification before the election, I shall do as I did before, hand in a protest against the grinding despotic tyranny which requires a qualification t all, notwithstanding Runnymead and Rule Britannia. The

> House, I doubt not, will allow me to sit, and I shall be too happy to serve you as I have served my present employers.[1]

Need one wonder that Langford brought a charge of libel against the printer and endeavoured to ascertain the author's identity! But the libel suit merely landed Langford in further difficulties. When questioned in court concerning certain of his account books at Colwood Farm, Langford declined to answer, and was committed to prison for contempt of court. In his letter of June 18, 1861, to the Duke of Newcastle, Langford stated his opinion of the trial in the following terms:

> The proceedings in court at the trial were of an improper, illegal and vexatious character; and, on my refusing to answer a question which was irrelevant to the statement contained in the declaration, inquisitorial and harsh in its tendency, and which affected the interests of society at large, I was removed from court in the custody of the sheriff; the examination for the defence was carried on in my absence, evidence that I had given on oath was struck out by the direction of the Judge, and a nonsuit recorded; I was then brought into court, was sentenced to be imprisoned in the common gaol, and to pay a fine of £10. I was taken to prison and locked up with felons, Indians and maniacs.[2]

While in prison Langford received a bill of costs sent in by the attorney-general, who had acted both as attorney and counsel for the defence, amounting to £90 9s. 2d. This Langford declined to pay, although the court had decreed that the plaintiff should pay all costs of the action. Judgment was accordingly given against him for the amount of the attorney-general's bill, and his "furniture and other effects were seized under an execution."[3] Fortunately for Langford, a subscription on his behalf was raised by the inhabitants of Vancouver Island and the sum of $500 collected. He was thus enabled to pay his bill of costs, and he did so on July 14, 1860.

Langford also states in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle that Captain King, the printer of the placard, had informed him in October, 1860, that Judge Begbie was the author of the document and that Governor Douglas's secretary, Mr. Good, had "brought the libel, in manuscript, to the printing office." He goes on to relate that Captain King told him "that Mr. Good

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

gave him £20. to pay to the Attorney-General, stating that he was to defend the action."

Langford's case has been dealt with at some length, not only on account of its notoriety at the time, which was sufficiently great to warrant the publication of the correspondence connected with it in a British "White Paper" in 1863, but more especially as illustrating political conditions on Vancouver Island. To be sure, Langford was one of those charming persons who can make the most of any grievance, and whose obstinacy and lack of humour generally lead them into further difficulties, but none the less he was on very bad terms with the Douglas administration. He had already run foul of the colonial surveyor, Joseph Despard Pemberton, on the subject of a certain tract of land, which he had tried to buy, but which Pemberton declared had been already disposed of to Mr. Dallas, the agent for the Puget Sound Company, who was also the son-in-law of Governor Douglas. In addition, Langford had launched an attack upon Chief Justice Cameron, and had charged him with being an insolvent debtor, both in Scotland and in Demerara. He had also declared him to be so biassed and inefficient that "the proceedings in the law courts of the Colony are the theme of scorn and derision among the colonists," and that "life and liberty had been illegally sacrificed and jeopardised, and the ends of justice defeated."[1] It is not to be wondered at that in government circles Langford was an exceedingly unpopular candidate, and that Judge Begbie's satirical pen was brought into the fray against him.

Soon after his release from prison, Langford retired to England, and proceeded to bombard the Colonial Office with a series of letters voicing his grievances. On the whole, these letters met with rather a chilly reception from the Duke of Newcastle, and at length, in 1863, Langford ceased sending them. After that this stormy petrel of Vancouver Island seems to have dropped out of public view.

In the meantime, the second Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island was still sitting, but it cannot be said to have accomplished very much of importance. One reason for this has already been given, when it was stated that Douglas could, on his own initiative, ssue proclamations which possessed the force of law. Another reason was the comparatively small population of the island, which hardly exceeded three thousand persons,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

exclusive of native Indians. The members of the Assembly, although most of them represented outside districts, lived in the town of Victoria, and cannot have kept in any too close touch with their constituents. The town of Victoria, according to figures given by D. G. F. Macdonald, in his book *British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, published in 1863, contained almost four-fifths of the white population of the entire island.[1] None the less the Assembly still kept on with its work, drew up some land legislation, passed naturalization bills, and increased the number of members from Victoria city from two to three.

The third Legislative Assembly succeeded the second in 1863. This was the last Assembly with which Douglas had any official connection. His term of office expired in 1863, and although his successor, Governor Arthur E. Kennedy, did not arrive until 1864, Douglas confined his attentions entirely to the mainland during the remaining months of his term of office as governor of British Columbia.

With the retirement of Sir James Douglas (he was knighted in 1863 in reward for his services), the early days of representative government in Vancouver Island and British Columbia may be said to have ended. Separate governors were appointed, and new problems soon arose chiefly concerned with the inter-relation of the two colonies. The first phase in the history of self-government in British Columbia was over.

It had been a peculiar phase in which the two colonies had endured their earliest political education. On the whole, it must be confessed that representative government had not worked well on Vancouver Island, and had hardly been tried at all in the mainland colony. The vested interests on the island were too

[1] Macdonald's figures are as follows:

Victoria Town	2350
Victoria District	254
Sooke District	24
Lake District	65
Nanaimo	165
Saanich	24
	2884

These figures were taken from the latest census. No returns were given for Esquimault, Metchosin, or Salt Spring Island. These three constituencies Macdonald reckons at 150, bringing the total up to 3,034. It will thus be seen that for nearly all practical purposes Victoria was Vancouver Island.

strong to allow any great measure of popular control. Above all, Douglas was by nature an autocrat. As Judge Howay has well put it: "He loved power. He must rule; he could not reign."[1] None the less he was too loyal a British subject, and too well-disciplined an official, not to try to give representative institutions a fair showing. The early attempts and failures of the Legislative Assembly of Vancouver Island and of the Legislative Council of British Columbia, as subsequent events have clearly shown, paved the way to complete self-government.

W. N. SAGE

[1] Howay and Scholefield, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 175.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Canadian Constitutional Studies. By the Right Hon. Sir ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN. (The Marfleet Lectures, University of Toronto, October, 1921.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1922. Pp. 163.

THE lectures contained in this volume were delivered under the Marfleet foundation at the University of Toronto. The occasion was auspicious. The lectureship had been suspended for several years while Canada was rounding off and making more definitive its national group-life under the most compelling formative forces in its history. During this period Sir Robert Borden, as prime minister of the Dominion, had guided Canada through its grim development, and there was something of a happy coincidence in the fact that he should have been chosen to revive the lectureship by a series of papers on Canadian constitutional progress.

The lectures—three in number—deal with the history of Canada under three divisions: (a) from the cession to federation; (b) from federation to the World War; (c) during the World War and afterwards. The author is careful to disarm criticism, and it is essential to keep his purpose in view. He has aimed at giving a general view of "the beginnings and gradual development of our present system of government," and he is careful to point out the difficulties of covering in any adequate manner more than two centuries of history. His appeal is to the average citizen, and this fact must not be forgotten. At once let it be said that, within his self-imposed limitations and those imposed by the Trust, his volume is of distinct value. In no other book is it possible to find such a concise and, on the whole, accurate survey of Canadian constitutional progress. It is a triumph of compression and of clearness, and within its limits it will hold a distinct place in historical literature. Nowhere else will the audience for whom Sir Robert writes find a more useful volume. It is, perhaps, a matter of debate whether or not public lectures should be given the permanence of print. But the University of Toronto has decided, apparently, to publish the lectures delivered under the Marfleet foundation, and to give them the academic and public distinction belonging to similar foundations at Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. Sir Robert Borden's book therefore must be examined as much as possible in relation to its origins, even while the ordinary standards of historical criticism are applied to it.

In the first two lectures the general impression left on the reader is that of a *tour de force*. The distinguished author is a newcomer in the field of historical writing, and appears to have been overwhelmed by the possibilities of his subject. As a consequence, the first two lectures are rather overburdened with facts. They are informative, rather than interpretative. What we should have preferred to have was the relation of facts to movements, their discussion not as past events, but as permanent and living forces. Even as a chronicler, Sir Robert is not always impeccable. For example, the demand for an Assembly before the advent of the Loyalists goes almost unnoticed, though it was perfectly logical under the terms of the Proclamation of 1763. The British merchants in the province of Quebec may have been narrow-minded and arrogant—even bigots. Much ink has been spilled to point out their offensive presumption. On the other hand, they came to the province relying on the British promise of representative institutions, and the Loyalists merely accentuated a perfectly constitutional and just claim. Again, the origin of the Quebec Act is attributed almost exclusively to the internal difficulties (p. 19). Even a popular audience needs warnings and directions here. Carleton's dispatches alone would prove that his eye was on Boston rather than on Quebec, and North himself linked the enactment with the coming colonial troubles. The Constitutional Act of 1791 was a perfectly logical outcome of the Revolution. At the moment when it was passed even Burke himself was singing the praises of the venerable British constitution, and Pitt's speeches during the progress of the bill disclose the fact that he firmly believed that British rule had failed in the colonies because there had been in them no complete application of the British constitution. His proposals were meant to aid the deliberate reproduction in the Canadas of the only system which he knew. There is nothing derogatory in Pitt's purpose. He drove his political theory to the full length of its logic. It is also inconsistent to blame Durham for reserving in his proposals the control of trade and commerce to the Mother Country, when on the opposite page the author lauds without qualification Howe's political insight. Howe used exactly the same terms and proposed the reservation of exactly the same subjects as Durham. Once again, it is obvious that both men could not see beyond the generally accepted theory of imperial commercial control and of the Navigation Laws, and that Galt's magnificent protest only came when both had disappeared. In dealing with the Colonial Office Sir Robert is not entirely just. The most judicial approach would not be in terms of believing that the Colonial Office guarded, as a sacred treasure, responsible government, and were unwilling that Canadians would share in it. Men like Russell—and even

Stanley—were tied down to the Austinian theory of sovereignty and could not see beyond it. It is the merit of Earl Grey that he was the first colonial secretary who began to doubt it, and out of his doubts came the by-product of Elgin's experiment. It is necessary to emphasize this point, as it will appear later in another connection.

The second lecture is a careful summary of developments, especially in respect of the negotiation of treaties. A rather serious defect in the lecture is perhaps the want of any adequate statement of British opinions. The lecture discloses, too, certain indecisions of phraseology, certain light touches to cover real difficulties. For example, we are told that Canada negotiates its commercial treaties free from any imperial control "except of a formal character" (p. 94). As between his Majesty's imperial government and his Majesty's Canadian government this may be quite true, but the real point is that these formalities are the very essence of the international worth of such treaties, and give them their political validity between the contracting parties. Again, surely it is darkening counsel with words to say (p. 71) that "the legal powers of the Parliament of the United Kingdom have been utilized as a convenient means of effecting constitutional amendments." "Convenient means" is an extraordinary phrase to describe the *only* possible constitutional means available at the present moment. It is just as well to point out, when proposals are abroad for a newer synthesis of Empire, that Canadian local autonomy is vitally curtailed. Canada cannot change its own constitution apart from the imperial parliament, and the limitation is made all the more important by the fact that the possibilities of the power being granted to Canada are severely handicapped by Canadian opinion. The imperial government has definitely laid it down that 1867 was a covenanted occasion, and that the placing of Canada upon the same level in this matter as the other Dominions depends on the unanimous consent of the Canadian provinces.

In the third lecture Sir Robert is quite at home, and the narrative moves with the ease which comes from intimate knowledge. The lecture is the best available short sketch of the development since 1914. The history of the Imperial War Cabinets, of the War Conferences, of the Peace Conference, and of the League of Nations, is outlined in relation to Canada with clearness and precision. On the other hand, we do not think that Sir Robert lays sufficient stress on the difficulties created by the present conception of international law and the generally accepted theory of political sovereignty. Its very position in the Empire is in itself a direct proof that Austinianism will not square with facts. As long, however, as theories of independent sovereignties remain as they are, Canada must be limited. The problem of Empire is not that of

reconciling Canadian autonomy with developments within the Empire, but of relating it adequately to international life. The Empire can, as Sir Robert points out, make any internal constitutional changes which it likes; but the difficulties lie in the fact that, however satisfactorily Canada's life within the Empire might be arranged, Canada would not possess, outside the Empire, those political adjuncts which, according to prevailing theory, constitute statehood. Were the internal constitutional life of the Empire so effectively organized as to produce the most perfect executive responsibility, Canada could not escape from being in a state of war when Great Britain was at war. Canada, under the most regularized of constitutions for the Empire, might refuse to accept a foreign policy out of which a war might arise, or might proclaim most carefully that a possible war was against its wishes. The enemy of Great Britain or of the Empire would be perfectly justified in taking no notice of such circumstances. The most fruitful field for progress lies in recognizing that the dead hand of Austin must be lifted from the affairs of the Empire and of the world at large and that theories must not blight imperial or international advance. The greatest guarantee for development will be the abandonment of any attempts to resolve domestic or international antinomies through the means of effete political principles. We thoroughly agree with Sir Robert's noble words on the League of Nations. The Covenant is based on the fact of interdependence, and if that fact is made the beginning of the end of Austinianism we shall have gone far to remove constitutional irregularities within the Empire and to crush down for ever the threatening clash of worn-out sovereignties.

Finally, it is well to note that Sir Robert, in looking at domestic constitutional life, is afraid of "group" government. There is much that is valid in his criticism, and it is important that such criticism should be made. He fears deadlock and intrigue, economic forces replacing political, racial, or religious strife. His political instincts appear to favour party government. It is not unimportant to point out that there is just as much danger of perpetuating the past in domestic as in imperial or international politics. Institutions of any kind acquire their validity from social consent, and it is as unnecessary to fear change in domestic constitutional life as in the wider world of affairs. There can be little doubt that the old party system is discredited largely because of the tyranny of the cabinet, and because its representative character has taken on the colour of delegation. We cannot stay change, and we cannot magnify the past, however successful, into a position of permanent and inviolate sanctity. Perhaps Canada is destined to work out in domestic politics newer modes of political activity as it has done

in other spheres. We share something of Sir Robert's gloom over the Peace, but faith will prevail if only we can be prepared to take risks—the great guarantee of progress.

As a new edition of this volume will doubtless be called for shortly, we should like to point out some places where changes appear desirable. It ought to be made perfectly clear that the stipulation in the Capitulations of Montreal that the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion "should subsist entire" was a French stipulation, and that Amherst did not use the term, but only the general concession of the Capitulation of Quebec (p. 15). The appeal to the Privy Council under the Proclamation of 1763 was only in civil cases (p. 16). "Four" (p. 32, l. 7) ought to be "five." The quotation on pages 59-60 is incomplete, and all of the Dominions except Canada did *not* approve of Lyttelton's proposals in 1905 (p. 59). New Zealand did not reply and Newfoundland explicitly disagreed. The discussion (pp. 63-64) over attempts by the imperial government to disallow provincial acts ought to be widened by a reference to Macdonald's attempt in 1888 to bring imperial influence to bear against a Quebec statute (*Correspondence*, pp. 417-18). Secretary Bayard's letter to Tupper (p. 76) ought not to be isolated from the previous diplomatic correspondence, which places Canada's development in a very strong position. Great Britain made it perfectly clear, as against the position taken up by the United States, that Canada had a perfect right to deal with the matters of treaty rights. The date "1866" (p. 144, n. 18) ought to be "1766." In a new edition an index ought to be provided.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

The Founding of New England. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. [1921.] Pp. xi, 482; illustrations.

THE direct bearing of this book on Canadian history is slight. It contains some pages which deal with the early connection between New England and Acadia; and there is an interesting account of Phips's expedition against Quebec in 1690. There are also some admirable chapters on American geography and ethnology, on the early voyages of discovery, and on the early colonial policy of Great Britain, all of which have an interest for the student of early Canadian history, if only by reason of the fact that they serve to set it in its proper *milieu*. But the history of one part of North America, even when told with the sweep and comprehensiveness of Mr. Adams's book, would have but a secondary and incidental interest for the historians of other parts of North America, were it not that it exhibited features of an exceptional and revolutionary character.

These features Mr. Adams's book possesses. Rarely has there appeared a book which illustrates more signally the services which the New History can render. Mr. Adams has chosen as his theme a story which has been told over and over again, a story which has been told so often that one would have thought there was nothing more to be said. But by utilizing the evidence which modern historical research has brought to light, in many diverse fields, and by assembling this evidence in a fresh and thoroughly scientific manner, he has succeeded in furnishing a new version of the beginnings of New England history, in which a body blow is dealt to many a hoary myth. "New material brought to light within the past decade or two," he says in his preface, "has necessitated a revaluation of many former judgments, as well as changes in selection and emphasis. . . . It is true that many points—such as land-tenure, in spite of all that has been written upon it—yet remain to be cleared up before we can be quite sure that we understand a number of matters connected with colonial institutions. Nevertheless, so much work of this character has already been done, which has only in part found its way into popular accounts, that it seems as if the time had come for a serious attempt to recast the story of early New England, and to combine these results of recent research with the more modern spirit, in a new presentation of the period."

Mrs. Felicia Hemans, in her famous verses on "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers," asked and answered the question:

> What sought they thus afar?
> The treasures of the mine,
> The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?
> They sought a faith's pure shrine.

Mr. Adams shows conclusively that Mrs. Hemans's answer was wrong. Although the religious element was not entirely absent in what may be called the Puritan migration to America, it was distinctly subordinate to the economic. "The wealth of seas," indeed, was much more the lure that brought the Pilgrim Fathers to New England than any desire for "a faith's pure shrine," which those of them who had been in Holland had enjoyed there. The fact is, it appears, that of the passengers on the *Mayflower*, only about one-third were of the Leyden congregation. "The other sixty-seven were evidently a very mixed lot, comprising undesirable characters, as well as some excellent ones"; and it is interesting to know that the famous *Mayflower* compact had its origin in a desire to keep the undesirable element in subjection. In regard to what Mr. Adams calls "the great migration"—the general movement of population from England to America between 1606 and 1640—the point is made that, out of a total of sixty-five thousand emigrants, the Puritan

element, in the sense of New England church-membership, amounted to only about four thousand persons; and one of the most interesting passages of the book is that in which the author traces the migration, in great part, to the eastern and southeastern counties of England, in which "the enclosures, which were of such far-reaching economic influence, had taken place earlier than elsewhere, while wages there showed a lower ratio to subsistence than in the north."

Another noteworthy feature of the book is the evidence which Mr. Adams brings forward to show that the Puritans in New England constituted a persecuting minority, and the account which he gives of the defeat of what he calls "the Massachusetts theocracy." Of the savage barbarity of Puritan persecution in New England he gives many illustrations, beside which the excesses of the Spanish Inquisition seem pale and insignificant; and he rightly pays a tribute to the memory of those non-Puritans who in the end succeeded in breaking the power of the persecutors:

> The debt which, in other ways, America owes to the largest of the Puritan colonies is too great to require that aught but the truth be told. It is not necessary to exalt erring and fallible men to the rank of saints in order to show our gratitude to them or our loyalty to our country. But the leaders and citizens of Rhode Island, the martyred Quakers, and the men and women of Massachusetts and the other colonies, who so lived and wrought and died that the glory of an heritage of intellectual freedom might be ours, are the Americans whom, in the struggle we have been reciting, it should be our duty to honour (p. 277).

It might perhaps be suspected that, in his exposure of the unlovely features of seventeenth-century Puritanism, Mr. Adams is guilty of making an oblique attack on some of the features of twentieth-century Puritanism; and there can be no doubt that certain tendencies in modern American society have given to his comments a zest and pungency which might otherwise have been lacking. But he is too sound an historian to allow his sympathies to run away with him. His book is far from being a tract for the times. Where he finds anything to admire in the Puritan régime, he praises it; and his tribute to Robinson, the pastor of the Leyden congregation (pp. 95-96), is an eloquent proof of his appreciation of the better fruits of the Puritan spirit. But this appreciation does not make him blind to many aspects of New England Puritanism which were productive of much evil and misery, nor does it lessen his arraignment of the features of Puritanism at the bar of history.

In a brief notice of this sort, it is impossible to review adequately many admirable features of Mr. Adams's book. To a knowledge of the sources and authorities that appears to be almost encyclopedic, he has

added a philosophical grasp of principles and a piquant mastery of style which makes his book one of the most remarkable contributions to American history during recent years. He has, in fact, revised and enlarged a chapter of North American history.

Is it audacious to suggest that other chapters of North American history await a similar revision, at the hand of an historian with similar qualifications?

W. S. WALLACE

Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1920-1921. Quebec: Ls-A. Proulx, Imprimeur De Sa Majesté Le Roi. [1921.] Pp. vii, 437.

M. PIERRE-GEORGES ROY, the archivist of Quebec, is to be congratulated upon the appearance and form of this, his first report. It makes an attractive volume, much to the credit of the provincial government, which has not begrudged, obviously, a generous appropriation to publish historical documents of French Canada in befitting style.

A feature of the report is a collection of wills. The list begins with a note upon the last testament of Champlain, and continues with the text of the will of De Mézy. Then follow photographic facsimiles, together with the printed text, of the wills of Frontenac, Callières, Vaudreuil, and La Jonquière. That of Vaudreuil has been taken from the original in the Dominion Archives.

Two pieces would fall into the category of descriptive surveys of French Canada at different periods. The first, entitled "Etat Présent du Canada," refers to the year 1754. Boucault, its author, was concerned primarily with the geography and the commerce of the colony. The text of Boucault is taken from the original in the Dominion Parliamentary Library. A second exposes the "troubles" in Quebec in 1727 and 1728 consequent upon the death of Mgr de Saint-Vallier. It is from the pen of the Intendant Dupuy, and is printed from a transcript in the Quebec Archives taken from the original in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.

For the epoch of the Seven Years War and the fall of Quebec readers will agree heartily with M. Aegidius Fauteux that the "Journal of the Siege of Quebec," which is printed here with his own editorial annotations, is "une contribution précieuse." The journal begins with May 10, and ends with September 18, 1759. M. Fauteux is content to let the journal remain anonymous, without labouring the point of his own surmise as to its authorship. The document is enhanced by a most careful and exhaustive set of references to other contemporary accounts of the operations around Quebec. These references M. Fauteux adds

as notes. Much interest will attach also to another document: a reprint of the register of the General Hospital of Quebec, giving the burial lists of those who died in the hospital from wounds sustained in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham and the Battle of Sainte Foye. It is entitled "Les Héros De 1759 Et 1760 Inhumés Au Cimetière De l'Hôpital-Général De Québec." In one entry will be found the expression "natif de l'ancienne France" (p. 265), an unusual term to meet with. The presence of a Huguenot in the colony is attested by the notice of the burial of one Lacoste, as follows:

> L'an mil sept cent cinquante-neuf, le trois décembre, a été inhumé dans le cimetière de cet hôpital, le corps du nommé Lacoste, sergent au régiment de Lassarre, compagnie de Villard, décédé hier après avoir fait abjuration des hérésies de Calvin entre les mains de M. Jacrau, ptre, commis à cet effet de Mr. le grand vicaire, et reçut ensuite les sacrements de l'église; en foy de quoy nous avons signé. JACRAU; RIGAUVILLE.

Another Calvinist, who died the following January (p. 264), abjured his heresy and was given absolution.

Among other pieces mention should be made of an authoritative list of the colonists who left France for Montreal in 1653. This list with its annotations comes from M. E.-Z. Massicotte. The entire procès of a case at law involving a *mariage à la gaumine* is given in reprints from court records. It pertains to a very specialized field, and does not call for comment.

Readers who imagine that the Archives are of little practical use to the province will do well to notice the variety and extent of the inquiries deferred to the Archivist during the current year of the Report. The inquiries are principally upon biographical and genealogical points, and come from all sections of the public. It was a good plan to print these inquiries in full so as to exhibit the multifarious questions which M. Roy and his assistants are expected to answer.

C. E. FRYER

The Life of General the Hon. James Murray, a builder of Canada; with a biographical sketch of the family of Murray of Elibank. By his descendant, Major-Gen. R. H. MAHON. London: John Murray. 1921. Pp. lx, 457; illustrations.

EACH of the four principal officers who shared in the attack on Quebec under Wolfe is receiving adequate attention. The incident itself has become one of the classics of modern history. Wolfe's name is known everywhere. A life of Townshend was written some years ago by his descendant, whom all the world knows as Sir Charles Townshend, the defender of Kut. The papers of Monckton, one of the trio of brigadiers with Wolfe—Townshend, Monckton, and Murray—have recently been

sold to Sir Leicester Harmsworth, and will soon be available to historians. And now we have the life of Murray, by his descendant, Major-General Mahon, himself an officer of distinction. The period is thus not neglected. Old issues are revived and discussed over again, and if the Muse of History has gone wrong in the past she is assuredly being given a chance to mend her ways.

Hitherto Murray has not seemed a figure of first importance, and some effort to give him his rightful place is justifiable. There is, however, always danger when a descendant tells the story of an ancestor. The tendency to rehabilitate and vindicate is in such a case almost irresistible. General Mahon has not avoided this pitfall. He speaks constantly of Murray as his "hero," and we know what hero-worship involves. General Mahon claims that Murray was a chief builder of Canada, a claim which will rather startle the students of Canadian history. His career was, at any rate, eventful. He was born in 1721, at the time of the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, and he lived on to 1794, the days of the Terror during the French Revolution. His descendant is thankful that the early life without luxury in Scotland hardened Murray for a strenuous career. Certainly the picture of the brutal military system, as it appears in the abortive expedition against Carthagena in 1721, makes us wonder that any one should have survived. Murray was tough enough to do so. He and Wolfe were frequent companions in arms. They served together in Flanders in 1745; from 1750 they were in command of home battalions; in 1757 they were in the expedition against Rochefort; in 1758 they fought together at Louisburg, and in 1759 at Quebec.

The significance of Murray's career begins with his connection with Canada. He was in the fight of September 13, 1759, which resulted in the fall of Quebec. He remained in command at Quebec during the winter. In the spring he fought a battle before the walls, exactly as Montcalm had fought one some seven months earlier, and like Montcalm he was defeated. There the parallel ends. Murray held out in Quebec until a British fleet arrived in May, 1760. He took part in the advance which led to the surrender of Montreal in September, 1760. After this he remained in command at Quebec, and in 1764 was made civil governor of Canada, but without military authority over the officer commanding at Montreal. It fell to Murray to set up civil rule in Canada, a very difficult task. As a result of disputes he was summoned to England in 1766 and he never again saw Canada. He defended Minorca unsuccessfully in the next war with France and died in 1794 full of years. His memory of Canada is seen in the name which he gave to his seat in England—Beauport, after a village near Quebec.

General Mahon is not lacking in boldness in his claims for Murray as against Wolfe in 1759. Wolfe, he thinks, lacked both tact in dealing with his officers and a mind for the wider strategy. He had failed in a frontal attack at Beauport where Montcalm lay. The best officer with Montcalm, Bougainville, was on guard above Quebec and, with reasonable skill, could have prevented a landing between Cap Rouge and the fortress. In view of all this the brigadiers advised a landing some thirty miles above Quebec at Pointe sux Trembles. Here they could have cut off communications between Quebec and Montreal, on which Amherst was advancing by way of Lake Champlain. This plan Wolfe was considering, as the brigadiers thought, with sympathy, when he suddenly abandoned it for the one which cost his life. It was, General Mahon thinks, a bad plan, since the fall of Quebec did not prevent the reunion of the two sections of the French army, with the result that it was able to hold out for another year.

General Mahon asks why did Wolfe suddenly change his mind. For answer he builds up what must be called a rather fantastic theory. He suggests that there was treachery in the French camp on the part of the two rascally civilians—Bigot and Cadet—and that Vaudreuil was their dupe. It is hinted that Major Barré was the British officer who carried on the negotiations. Here is the author's summary of the plot:

> An attack is planned on the 10th to take place on the night of the 12th; on the morning of that very day Cadet asks for a convoy "this night." Information of the same is conveyed by a deserter to Wolfe in the evening; the posts are warned to expect a convoy, but no convoy actually starts, nor does De Bougainville say a word about it in any subsequent letter (p. 176).

The implication is that the supposed convoy is to be the British force and that treacherous steps are taken by some French traitors to make the British success easy. The comment upon this theory is that there is really no evidence in its support. Presumably the traitors were to be paid, but we have no suggestion as to what or how they were paid. Later the men were tried in France for defrauding the government. Elaborate records of the trial exist, but no accusation appears to have been made of any treason, other than that of plunder.

The suggested treason is thus, our author thinks, to be taken as the reason for Wolfe's adopting unsound for sound strategy. He yielded to the temptation to have Quebec when good strategy required the final severance of the two divisions of the French army. Quebec fell, but the defending army got away to Montreal. Quite clearly General Mahon thinks that the wider view of streatgy was due to Murray. During the winter Murray was left at Quebec without the fleet. This too was, our author thinks, an error, for it left the British without means to check the use by the French of the great river. One wonders whether General

Mahon realizes the rigour of the Canadian winter and the uselessness then of ships. The British fleet came up the river in the spring of 1760 just as soon as it could get through the ice. A fleet at Quebec could not have done much at any earlier time in the season.

Eleven of the twenty chapters of the book are occupied with these matters. The remaining nine relate chiefly to Murray's rule in Canada. His tasks were trying. At first he had the Quebec district alone under his authority, with no control over the officers commanding at Three Rivers and Montreal. With these officers naturally and inevitably he quarrelled. In 1764 he was made civil governor of the province of Quebec with frontiers extending to a point slightly west of Montreal. But still the military command at Montreal was not under his control, and he could not soften the friction then between soldier and civilian which resulted in the famous Walker case. At Quebec itself he had difficulties enough. The English-speaking traders wished to rule the country and to make helots of the French. These in turn looked to Murray as their champion. There was doubt as to whether English or French law was in force in the conquered country. In England George III was working for control of parliament, and ministers came and went with very little thought of an abscure and troublesome colony. To say that in such circumstances Murray acquitted himself as a man of fine honour is the simple truth. He was the chivalrous protector of the weak. But he had a hot temper, and his denunciations were beyond all reason. Some of the traders were men of education and integrity, but he describes them all as corrupt rascals. Murray, the descendant of John of Gaunt, had a more than regal scorn of trade. The traders had their revenge in forcing his recall.

General Mahon has discharged his task with superfilial devotion. A soldier interprets a soldier. The result is sometimes amusing. Murray ruled at Quebec in the days of the Stamp Act. General Mahon thinks that, had Murray's desire to make Canada a military colony been granted, he might have prevented the American Revolution:

> In Canada a weapon ready fashioned lay at hand—maintained as a military colony, following the tradition sanctioned by the system of its late masters, and guided by the sure hand of so experienced a commander as Murray, there is scarcely room to doubt that a powerful lever would have been available to force the colonies, if in the last resort, as a result of unwise measures, force should be necessary (p. 306).

The truth, of course, is that the Revolution could not have been checked by military force. Burgoyne and Cornwallis surely found that out.

The book has a goodly number of errors. The author criticizes the Proclamation of 1763 in terms which seem to imply that it was drawn

up to meet only Canadian conditions. He makes errors in names; *e.g.* "Lake Francis" for St. Francis and "Long Rapids" for Long Sault (p. 262). He commits frequently the common error of calling Point Levi "Point Levis." Lévis himself is always "de Levis". Justin Winsor is "Windsor" (p. 281). The volumes of *Constitutional Documents* edited by Messrs. Shortt and Doughty are cited in such a variety of ways as to seem so many different works. None the less the book is the product of intelligent industry, and is useful as bringing together the important things in Murray's career. And what a fine gentleman he is seen to be! He is devoted to his friends and to his duty, and chivalrously loyal to the Hanoverian king against whose line his Jacobite ancestors had fought. He bought great quantities of land in Canada and, since he seemed poor, the source of the purchase money was not clear. We now find that Lord Elibank lent his brother some fifteen thousand pounds for this purpose. Murray became, indeed, a rich man, partly through a rich wife. The arrogant, peppery, impulsive, generous old soldier ended his days as an English country gentleman, at his seat at Beauport in Sussex. He lies in the old church at Ore, nearby, and Canadian pilgrims ought sometimes to find their way to the tomb of the first British governor of Canada.

GEORGE M. WRONG

The Empire at War. Edited for the Royal Colonial Institute by Sir Charles Lucas. Volume I, by the Editor. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. vii, 324.

THE appearance at this time of a five volume work on the war record of the overseas Empire needs to be justified by a very high standard of excellence. It would seem to be much too early, or just too late. Publication, Sir Charles Lucas points out, has been delayed by a chapter of accidents, and this may easily prove fatal to the value of the work as a whole, without detracting from the value and merit of this brief historical retrospect that acts as herald. The libraries are flooded with general histories of the British forces and contemporary records of Dominion valour. We have come to the middle period. The eyewitness has laid aside his energetic pen; the war historian is sorting documents.

The Colonial Institute's scheme is "to trace the growth of Imperial co-operation in war-time prior to the late war, to give side by side a complete record of the effort made in the late war by every unit of the overseas Empire from the greatest to the smallest, and also to tell in what particular ways and to what extent the fortunes and the development of each part were affected by the war." The title is a misnomer, for *The Empire at War* takes the British war effort entirely for granted.

The Institute may by this scheme unwittingly lend colour to such provincial ideas (and they still exist) as that the Second Battle of Ypres was a Canadian, and Gallipoli an Australian, operation. It is also liable to leave some English people with the general impression (expressly repudiated by Sir Charles Lucas on p. 299) that overseas co-operation was a "rally to the old flag" *tout simple*. It should surely be particularly the Institute's part to steer all British people away from this anachronistic conception of the Commonwealth.

There is to be a volume for each continent, "an American volume devoted to Canada, Newfoundland, West Indies, Bermuda, and Falkland Islands," and three for Australia, Africa, and the East and Mediterranean. There is an excellent case for collecting the evidences of *colonial* co-operation. The comparatively short records should by this time be in good shape, and too little is known of West Indian and other forces whose efforts escaped the booming of the London press. Native Indian troops, too, have hardly received proper recognition. But is there, at present, anything new to say about the self-governing Dominions? Their war correspondents have gone back and forth over Flanders, Vimy, Egypt, German East Africa. Professor Keith has given us the facts about the immediate repercussions of overseas war on their domestic developments. And what immense difficulties are there in this territorial arrangement when it comes to explaining the military operations in France! The Newfoundlanders fought in British brigades, and one cannot separate the battalion from the brigade. The South African Brigade fought in British divisions, and one cannot separate the brigade from the division. The Canadian and Australian Corps jumped off side by side at the beginning of the Hundred Days under almost identical conditions. Is the strategy of the battle of Amiens to be told twice over,—or not at all?

The resolving of these doubts is left to Mr. C. T. Atkinson, the distinguished supervisor of the military part of the scheme. Sir Charles Lucas's introductory volume shows that the work is popular in conception and intended primarily for home consumption. His retrospect is well documented, but expects little or no historical knowledge from the reader. The style and method of treatment, while by no means commonplace or unpleasing, may not unfairly be called didactic. It may perhaps be suggested that so far as Canada is concerned Sir Wilfrid Laurier is a little too much the villain, Sir Robert Borden a little too much the hero, of the piece (pp. 212, *et seq.*); and that if there was a difficulty in finding money for the absolutely essential good maps for the later volumes, it might have been well to omit from the present

volume some of the twenty-six handsomely produced illustrations, very few of which are at all unfamiliar.

The whole of Imperial war history to the battle of Waterloo is covered in thirty pages. The Canadian part in the war of 1812 receives a page and a half, and in the Boer War three pages. There are three chapters on the Indian Army, two outlining the growth of colonial forces from 1816 to 1902, and two more on the effect of the Imperial Conferences upon the problems of defence between 1903 and 1914. The final section summarizing the situation in 1914 is the longest in the book. It is doubtless because such subjects as "Germany and The Day" were rehearsed *ad nauseam* in the days of propaganda by all sorts and conditions of speakers and writers that even Sir Charles Lucas cannot avoid making his treatment of them seem a little banal in 1922.

R. HODDER WILLIAMS

The Province of Quebec: Geographical and Social Studies. By J. C. SUTHERLAND. Montreal: Renouf Publishing Co. [1922]. Pp. 157; illustrations.

THERE has been a great change in the treatment of geographical subjects of recent years. The authors no longer worry their readers with a mere description of the country or area of which they treat. but recognizing that evolution is a great law of nature they look below the present surface and endeavour to trace the causes which gave rise to the present geography of the country, and to explain how this in its turn has influenced the course of life, of human history and the march of civilization.

In this little book Mr. Sutherland, while writing for the general eader, claims that he may be considered as breaking a new trail in Canada. His book, he says, "is the first which has made any connected attempt to describe the Canadian Province in accordance with the scientific principles of modern regional geography."

Mr. Sutherland, who is inspector-general of the Protestant schools of the province of Quebec, knows his province thoroughly from end to end. In this book he gives a general conspectus of the geography of the province, and the more or less direct influence of this geography on the life and institutions of the province.

The book is divided into nine chapters, of which the first five are essentially physiographical and geological, as indicated by their respective titles: "Above Sea Level"; "Plateau, Plain and Mountain"; "The Story of the Rocks"; "The Great Ice Age"; and "The Great River." The sixth chapter deals with "Economic Geography of the Province," and is followed by three other chapters treating respectively

of "Civic Government," "Educational System," and "Geography and Human Culture."

The author points out that the majority of the population of eastern Canada, settled as they are on the St. Lawrence lowland plain, which lies between the southern margin of the Laurentian plateau and the United States boundary, while far distant from the ocean, live at an elevation but little above sea level. The low water level of the St. Lawrence at Montreal is 20.72 above sea level, while the surrounding plain is considerably less than 100 feet higher. The low water level of Lake Ontario at Kingston is 245 feet above sea level, while the plain here is also but little higher. A ship passing from Montreal to Lake Ontario must be raised about 225 feet.

To the north of this plain is the great Laurentian plateau, or Canadian shield, the south-eastern part of which forms northern Quebec. This is a somewhat uneven plateau, or "peneplain," and represents the earliest portion of the primitive continent of North America dating back to the very beginning of geological history. It cannot be considered as a farming country, being too rough and stony, but it is everywhere well watered, its lakes and streams forming an almost continuous network over its whole extent. A geological survey of this area to the west in the Haliburton region, shows that over an area of 4,200 square miles there is a lake for every eight square miles of territory. This Laurentian plateau is a great forest area and abounds in water-powers. It supplies most of the timber and pulpwood in the province of Quebec and can be made resources of great permanent value to the country if the plans for reforestration which are now being inaugurated are developed on a sufficiently large scale. An interesting incident in the development of this water-power system is the construction of the Gouin dam at the headwaters of the St. Maurice, which was carried out by the Quebec government a few years ago. This is the third largest dam in the world and has re-established a great lake which existed in this region in the glacial period but which was drained by the river cutting down in its outlet in post glacial times. The importance of this dam was shown during last summer, which was a season of very low water, by the fact that while the water-powers of other rivers were very seriously impaired during the dry season, by spilling during the dry season the waters accumulated by the Gouin dam during the time of highwater, the flow of the River St. Maurice to be maintained unimpaired throughout the summer, so that the great water-power developments which make this one of the great centres of power distribution in the Dominion were maintained at their full head.

The geological history of each of the physiographical divisions into

which the province falls is treated in a pleasing manner, and the description is illustrated by a number of plates showing the salient and typical features of the region.

In the chapter on civic government Mr. Sutherland gives details of the provincial system and its relation to the federal system of the Dominion as a whole. He describes in some detail the duties of the various provincial officers and heads of departments at Quebec, and concludes with a few pages on municipal government in the province.

The educational system of the province is a subject on which Mr. Sutherland writes with especial authority. Under the B.N.A. Act the control of education is vested in the individual provinces. But owing to the presence of the two races in Quebec at the time of Confederation, the educational system of the province differs from that of the other provinces and presents many points of interest to the people of the other parts of Canada which are now beginning to present analogous problems owing to the influx of races other than those which formed the earlier settlements in the Dominion. A clear presentation of the arrangements to secure a free development for the English Protestant portion of the population while giving equal rights to their French Catholic brethren is clearly set forth and constitutes one of the most interesting chapters of the book.

In the final chapter the influence of the geography of the province upon its inhabitants and upon its political and historical development is described. The concentration of the population on the Lowland plain, the sparse population of the Gaspé peninsula and of the Laurentian plateau, have their geological reasons, and Mr. Sutherland points out that the diminishing English-speaking population of the Eastern Townships represents a movement which is parallel in its main features with that which is now taking place in the New England states where the older Puritan population is migrating either to the cities or to the states of the middle west, its place being taken not by French Canadians but by emigrants from the south of Ireland or from Western and Southern Europe.

F. D. ADAMS

The Challenge of Agriculture: The Story of the United Farmers of Ontario. Edited by MELVIN H. STAPLES. Toronto: George N. Morang. 1921. Pp. vii, 191.

THIS timely volume is an addition to a lengthening list of books on the farmers' movement. Moorehouse's *Deep Furrows*, Good's *Production and Taxation*, and Irvine's *The Farmer in Politics* have all borne witness to the widening recognition of the significance of that movement. Each

has contributed a part to the understanding of a not easily understood social phenomenon, and to that understanding Mr. Staples and his co-workers have now added a substantial share in presenting the brief but important history of the farmers' movement in Ontario.

In the preparation of his book Mr. Staples, who is educational secretary of the U.F.O., has had the assistance of Mr. W. L. Smith, the Hon. E. C. Drury, Mr. W. C. Good, Col. J. Z. Fraser, Mrs. G. A. Brodie, and Mr. J. J. Morrison, persons who can write with authority of the movement of which they have been so great a part. What share each has had in the writing of the book is left to the reader to conjecture, as the contributions are not signed. The editor contributes a final chapter, "Stock-taking," presenting a general view of the movement and to some extent pointing the moral.

The writers wisely explain that "agricultural organization is no new thing in Ontario," and, they might have added, it is a familiar development in the history of every country. One inclined to cynicism might even say that peoples are subject to agrarian movements as children are subject to measles. Confident that the U.F.O. has in it the elements of permanence, the authors do not distinguish those elements. They point out that the West gave much to the new movement since 1911; they fail to point out that the West, with its abundant opportunities, drained the vitality of the organizations of the eighties and nineties. There is no assurance that the U.F.O. will be permanent, but with diminished opportunity on the frontier it is safe to prophesy that agricultural organization, in some form, will grow and endure.

There is no need to summarize the development since 1911, excellently set forth in this volume. For the important events arising out of the changing conditions of Ontario agriculture, the falling off of the Western migration, the demoralization of party government, and the extreme pressure put upon production in a community already on the verge of agricultural reform, the reader must turn to the book itself. One cannot help regretting that the editor did not give more acute analysis to the economic background of the movement. Significant points are frequently passed over, and sometimes a superficial explanation is given. The fundamental question of principle raised by Mr. Good in regard to the co-operative company, involving the whole question of the European federations of local societies, *versus* the American (continental) centralized companies, is disappointingly dismissed with the assurance that "in North America, a large company centrally managed, seems to carry a stronger appeal than does a federation of local societies." The truth is that successful co-operation must be adapted to the business facts of its community, and the success of

Canadian ventures has been due as much to the ignoring of the principles of European or American practice as to their adoption. There are other deficiencies, but the editor has fortunately not indulged in sermons on the "co-operative spirit," which mar many such books. Farmers' movements, to make substantial progress, must be far sighted rather than idealistic, and their programmes, or at least the essential parts of them, must be as practical as plumbing.

As a contribution to the history of agriculture the book is especially welcome. Canadian historians have too long ignored the prosaic facts of rural life. When the earlier chapters of the reorganization of Ontario agriculture have been written, telling how the Kingdom of Wheat migrated to the American West, and the cheese factories of Lanark, Hastings and Oxford, and the fruit farms of Niagara became significant facts, clearer light will be shed upon the importance of present-day developments in rural Ontario. In the meantime, Mr. Staples's book fulfills a need, includes much primary material, and is welcome to the student and general reader alike.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

A Recent Journey to Northern Labrador. By G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY (Geographical Journal, Vol. LIX, no. 3, pp. 153-169).

MR. GATHORNE-HARDY visited northern Labrador in 1920, apparently travelling by the *Harmony*, the slow supply ship which provides for the needs of the Moravian missions of the region. He gives some good pictures of coast and interior scenes, and makes a number of observations on the geology and people of Labrador. His reference to the absence of glaciers in the region gives a wrong impression, as may be seen from a Canadian Geological Survey Memoir published some months ago, which reported no less than fourteen small glaciers on the mountains along the coast or within twenty-five miles of the shore. His statement that the Labrador coast is still rising is probably wrong also, since the post-glacial elevation of northeastern America seems to have ceased long ago.

Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's main object in visiting Labrador was, however, not geological but ethnological or archaeological. He wished to study the work of the "Tunnits," a race of men, reputed to be larger than the Eskimo, who were perhaps Norsemen, migrants from Greenland. These are reported by the Eskimo to have occupied certain islands off the coast near Nain, and finally to have disappeared in the far north. The physical evidence that they once lived in Labrador appears to be the finding of a few polished stone weapons and certain low walls of loose stones of a somewhat different kind from those made by the Eskimos.

The evidence in favour of the theory of a Norse occupation of the Labrador shore, as given by Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, is extremely vague, and his preference for it is expressed in very guarded language. His account of Labrador closes with the words: "I have tried to show that an interesting problem exists, and to give some results of a preliminary investigation. But I venture to hope that it will not be allowed to rest where it is, but that some one with more time, better opportunities, and a greater special knowledge may be tempted to pursue it further." It is clear that the problem of a Norse invasion of Labrador is by no means solved by Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's researches.

A. P. COLEMAN

The Canada Year Book, 1920. Published by authority of the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER, Minister of Trade and Commerce. (Canada: Dominion Bureau of Statistics.) Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1921. Pp. xviii, 768.

UNDER the guidance of Mr. R. H. Coats, the Dominion Statistician, and the editorship of Mr. S. A. Cudmore, of the Bureau of Statistics, the *Canada Year Book* grows more useful every year. The extension of the activities of the Bureau of Statistics has made possible this year several additions and improvements in the *Year Book*. Among these there is the addition of a statistical summary of education in Canada (pp. 130-133); an increase in agricultural statistics, more particularly in regard to the analysis of prices; an improvement in the classification of trade statistics; the addition of an analysis of railway statistics (p. 468); and the addition of a valuable summary of the financial statistics of cities of 10,000 and over. "More especially," says Mr. Coats, "must attention be drawn to the re-organization and expansion of two sections, namely the climate and meteorology section, made possible by the generous co-operation of the Dominion Meteorological Service, and the labour and prices section, to which a sub-section on wages has now been added" (p. iii).

Apart from these changes and addenda, the usual features of the *Year Book* are continued. The special article for the year is a paper by Mr. S. A. Cudman on "Reconstruction in Canada," under the three headings of (1) "War-time Activities of Government and People," (2) "Re-establishment of Returned Soldiers," and (3) "Reconstruction among the General Population." This paper, based as it is on official sources, is a very valuable contribution to the recent history of Canada. One section of the *Year Book*, however, with which, we venture to think, the editor of the *Year Book* might perhaps dispense is that dealing with "The Chronological History of Canada, 1497 to 1921." Chrono-

logical tables of this sort inevitably contain much that is trivial, and omit much that is significant; nor do they contribute to satisfy an historical curiosity higher than that possessed by the readers of early Victorian almanacs.

CORRECTION

In a review of the Rev. R. G. MacBeth's *Policing the Plains* (Toronto: Hodder and Soughton, 1921), in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for March, 1922, the statement was made that Mr. MacBeth's book "can hardly be said to supersede the semi-official history of the force, entitled *The Riders of the Plains*, published by Mr. A. L. Haydon in 1910, to which, indeed, it seems to be indebted in no small measure, and without acknowledgment" (p. 14). Mr. MacBeth now writes to say that, as a matter of fact, he made no use of Mr. Haydon's book, and that any similarity between the two books is due to their being based on the same sources. This assurance of Mr. MacBeth's we are glad to accept, and we wish at the same time to express our regret that we should have, in the sentence quoted, done Mr. MacBeth an injustice.

W. S. W.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended notice later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

ADAMS, JAMES TRUSLOW. *On the term "British Empire"* (American Historical Review, April, 1922, pp. 485-489).

A brief paper controverting the contention of Professor C. H. Firth that the term "British Empire" was not used until after 1763 to include Great Britain's overseas possessions.

ANON. *A programme for the British Commonwealth* (The Round Table, March, 1922, pp. 229-252).

"A survey of the changes which have come about in the imperial and international situation since 1914, and . . . certain conclusions as to the general objective which the policy of the British Commonwealth should now pursue."

AMERY, Lt.-Col. L. S. *Migration within the Empire* (United Empire, April, 1922, pp. 206-218).

A discussion of the problem of "a better distribution of the British population of the Empire."

COUPLAND, R. *The study of the British Commonwealth.* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. 32. (2*s.*)

An inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on November 19, 1921, by the newly appointed Beit Professor of Colonial History.

DONALD, ROBERT. *The imperial press conference in Canada.* London and Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton. [1921.] Pp. xvi, 296; illustrations.

An account, by the chairman of the Empire Press Union, of the conference of delegates from newspapers in all parts of the British Empire, which met in Canada in the summer of 1920.

EASTWOOD, R. A. *The organisation of a Britannic partnership.* Manchester: At the University Press. [1922.] Pp. 148. (7*s.* 6*d.*)

To be reviewed later.

GREAME, Sir PHILIP LLOYD. *Empire trade development* (United Empire, April, 1922, pp. 223-230).

A sketch of the history of intra-imperial trade since 1800.

MORRIS, Rt. Hon. Lord. *The birth of the overseas empire* (United Empire, February, 1922, pp. 77-82).

A public lecture dealing mainly with the early colonization of Newfoundland.

MORSE, CHARLES. *Dominions, old and new* (Dalhousie Review, April, 1922, pp. 53-58).

A brief survey of the origin and history of the word "Dominion" as applied to a self-governing colony of the British Empire.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

CHAPAIS, THOMAS. *Cours d'histoire du Canada.* Tome III: 1815-1833. Québec: Librairie Garneau. 1921. Pp. 334.

To be reviewed later.

CLARK, J. MURRAY. *The relations between the British Dominion of Virginia and the Dominion of Canada.* A paper read at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, August 31, 1921. (Reprinted from the Virginia Law Register, vol. vii, n.s., no. 9, Jan. 1922.) Pp. 16.

Traces the influence of Virginia on Canadian history.

ROY, P.-G. *Les sources imprimées de l'histoire du Canada français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 1, pp. 20-23; no. 2, pp. 45-49; no. 3, pp. 90-91).

Lists of articles on Canadian history contained in the following early periodicals: Journal de l'instruction publique (1857-1879), L'echo du cabinet de lecture paroissial de Montréal (1859-1873), Les soirées canadiennes (1861-1865), and Le foyer canadien (1863-1866). There is no indication of the value of the articles listed.

(2) The History of New France

BUFFINTON, ARTHUR H. *The policy of Albany and English westward expansion* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March, 1922, pp. 327-366).

A piece of research into the policy of the Albany traders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which contains much material of interest to the historian of New France.

GANONG, W. F. *The stone medallion of Lake Utopia* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, section ii, pp. 83-102).

A critical examination of a stone medallion which was found in 1863 beside Lake Utopia in south-western New Brunswick, and which Professor Ganong believes to be "an attempt at a portrait, possibly of De Monts or Champlain," carved by one of the French colony on St. Croix Island in 1604-1605.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *La justice seigneuriale de Boucherville* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 3, pp. 75-77).

A note on seigniorial justice.

———— *Les testaments de Mlle. de Roybon d' Aloune* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 3, pp. 94-96).

Two French-Canadian wills of 1717 and 1718 respectively.

———— *Pierre Prudhomme* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 1, pp. 28-30).

A biographical sketch of one of the companions of La Salle.

MORIN, la soeur (ed.). *Annales de l'Hotel-Dieu de Montréal.* Collationées et annotées par MM. FAUTEUX, MASSICOTTE, et BERTRAND. (Mémoires et documents historiques publiés par la Société historique de Montréal, vol. 12.) Montréal. 1921. Pp. 252. ($3.00.)

To be reviewed later.

ROY, P.-G. *Charles Legardeur de Tilly, conseiller au Conseil Souverain* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 3, pp. 65-70).

A biographical sketch of one of the original members of the Sovereign Council of New France in 1663.

———— *Joseph-Pierre Bernier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 1, pp. 3-7).

A sketch of the life of a French officer who came out to Canada with Dieskau in 1755.

———— *Madeleine de Verchères, plaideuse* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, section i, pp. 63-71).

Notes on the life of Madeleine de Verchères after her marriage in 1706, with special reference to the remarkable number of litigations in which her husband and herself took part.

———— *Ou residait l'intendant Talon à Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 2, pp. 33-36).

An inquiry into the question where the intendant Talon lived in Québec from 1665 to 1772.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Guerres des Iroquois, 1670-1673* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, section i, pp. 85-95).

A study of the wars waged by the Iroquois against some of the Indian allies of the French, after the conclusion of peace between the Iroquois and the French in 1670.

———— *Le régiment de Carignan.* (Mélanges historiques, vol. 8. Etudes éparses et inédites, compilées; annotées et publiées par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE.) Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1922. Pp. 144.

To be reviewed later.

———— and MALCHELOSSE GÉRARD. *Le Fort de Chambly.* (Mélanges Historiques, vol. 9.) Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1922. Pp. 74.

To be reviewed later.

(3) The History of British North America before 1867

BEMIS, SAMUEL FLAGG. *Jay's treaty and the northwest boundary gap* (American Historical Review, April, 1922, pp. 465-484).

An interesting and valuable chapter in the history of the boundary disputes between Canada and the United States.

CARON, abbé IVANHOE. *Les Canadiens au lendemain de la capitulation de Montréal* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, section i, pp. 73-83).

A well-documented study of the lot of the French-Canadians during the period of military rule, 1760-1763.

CRANE, VERNER W. (ed.). *Hints relative to the division and government of the conquered and newly acquired countries in America* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March, 1922, pp. 367-373).

A transcript of a document, preserved in the Public Record Office in London, on which, apparently, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 was based.

DE LA BRUÈRE, MONTARVILLE BOUCHER. *A propos d'une lettre de M. de Salaberry* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 1, pp. 14-19).

Letters of the Salaberry family dealing with events in the war of 1812.

GIPSON, LAWRENCE HENRY. *Jared Ingersoll, a study of American loyalism in relation to British colonial government.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1920. Pp. 432.

A prize essay which throws light on the history of the United Empire Loyalists in the American revolution.

HASENCLEVER, A. (ed.). *Peter Hasenclever aus Remscheid-Ehringhausen, ein deutscher Kaufmann des 18. Jahrhunderts: seine Biographie, Briefe, und Denkschriften.* Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes & Co. 1922.

A biography of a German merchant of the eighteenth century who owned iron-mines in America. There is incidental mention of the St. Maurice iron-works; and there are some letters dealing with trade conditions in Canada *circa* 1781.

The editor calls attention to the fact (pp. 5-7) that what was probably the last known copy of *The Remarkable Case of Peter Hasenclever* (London, 1773), one of the rarest documents dealing with American trade history, was destroyed when the Albany library was burnt in 1911.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Jean Dumas Saint-Martin, négociant et magistrat* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 3, pp. 86-89).

An account of the career of a French Protestant who settled in Montreal about 1763.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

CANADIAN BANK OF COMMERCE. *Letters from the front, being a record of the part played by officers of the bank in the great war, 1914-1919. Vol. II.* [Toronto. 1922.] Pp. xxxvii, 498; map.

A volume containing biographies of the officers of the Canadian Bank of Commerce who took part in the Great War, together with a sketch of the part played by the Canadian forces in the war.

CHARTIER, Chanoine E. *Le Canada francais: L'avenir du Canada et du Canada français* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, décembre, 1921, pp. 370-389).

Prognostications of a French-Canadian nationalist.

CHICANOT, E. L. *The Canadian soldier on the land* (United Empire, April, 1922, pp. 200-202).

A brief account of the work of the Soldiers' Land Settlement Board in Canada.

FRASER, T. M. *The new government in action* (Canadian Magazine, May, 1922, pp. 1-13).

A series of brief pen-pictures of the members of the Mackenzie King cabinet.

WILLIAMS, R. HODDER. *Canadian opinion on foreign affairs* (Journal of International Relations, January, 1922, pp. 331-349).

An acute and well-informed discussion of the rise of Canadian interest in international affairs, and of the position of Canada with regard to current international questions.

WILLISON, Sir JOHN. *The correspondence of Sir John A. Macdonald* (Dalhousie Review, April, 1922, pp. 5-25).

An extended review of Sir Joseph Pope's edition of Sir John A. Macdonald's correspondence.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

MACMECHAN, A. *The Nova Scotia-ness of Nova Scotia.* (Nova Scotia Chap-Books, no. 2.) Halifax: H. H. Marshall. [1921.] Pp. 13.

A charming, but discursive, essay on the history of Nova Scotia.

———— *The orchards of Ultima Thule.* (Nova Scotia Chap-Books, no. 5.) Halifax: H. H. Marshall. [1921.] Pp. 13.

A description of the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia.

(2) The Province of Quebec

DEVINE, E. J., S. J. *Historic Caughnawaga.* Montreal: The Messenger Press. 1922. Pp. iv, 443.

A study, based on original materials, of the local history of the old Indian village of Caughnawaga, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence near Montreal.

MAGNAN, HORMISDAS. *La paroisse canadienne* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 3, pp. 78-85).

An essay on the influence of the parochial organization on the social history of French Canada.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Un recensement inédit de Montréal, en 1741* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, section 1, pp. 1-61).

An abstract of a document preserved in the court-house at Montreal, containing a complete census of the householders of Montreal in 1741.

ROY, REGIS. *Les armes de la famille Taschereau* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 1, pp. 24-27).

A genealogical and armorial inquiry.

SUTHERLAND, J. C. *The province of Quebec: geographical and social studies.* Montreal: Renouf Publishing Company. [1922.] Pp. xv, 157.

Reviewed on page 201.

(3) The Province of Ontario

ESSEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Papers and addresses.* Volume III. [Windsor, Ont- 1921.] Pp. 105.

Contains the following papers: "History of the Windsor and Detroit ferries," by F. J. Holton, D. H. Bedford, and Francis Cleary; "Windsor St. Andrew's Society," by Andrew Braid; "How Windsor got its name," by George F. Macdonald; "Some historical notes concerning Fighting Island in Detroit River," by Alfred J. Stevens; "Passing of Moy Hall," by Francis Cleary; "The new settlement on Lake Erie," by George F. Macdonald; "History of the Essex frontier," by F. Neal; and "Windsor Collegiate Institute," by F. P. Gavin.

MEREDITH, ALDEN GRIFFIN. *A little journey on By's Canal* (Canadian Magazine, April, 1922, pp. 505-510).

An account of some of the engineering feats of Colonel By, the founder of Ottawa.

RIDDELL, Hon. W. R. *Some marriages in old Detroit* (Michigan History Magazine, vol. vi., no. 1, pp. 111-130).

Some notes on marriage laws and practices in one of "the western lake-posts" during the early days of British rule.

STAPLES, MELVIN H. (ed.). *The challenge of agriculture: The story of the United Farmers of Ontario.* Toronto: George N. Morang. 1921. Pp. vii, 191.

Reviewed on page 203.

VOORHIS, Rev. ERNEST. *The ancestry of Archibald Lampman, poet* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, section ii, pp. 103-121).

A genealogical study of two United Empire Loyalist families, the Lampmans and the Gesners.

WATERLOO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Ninth annual report.* Kitchener, Ont.: published by the society. 1921. Pp. 149-194.

Contains the following papers: "Waterloo county newspapers," by W. H. Breithaupt; "Historical sketch of the Clemens family," by D. N. Panabaker; "Preston reminiscences," by Otto Klotz; and obituary notices of E. W. B. Snider and James Livingston.

(4) The Western Provinces

HENDERSON, ISABEL ELIZABETH. *Donald Gunn on the Red River Settlement.* (Canadan Magazine, April, 1922, pp. 487-495).

An account of the life and work of one of the early historians of the Canadian west.

HOWAY, Judge F. W. *Governor Musgrave and Confederation* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, section ii, pp. 15-31).

A chapter in the history of British Columbia before Confederation.

THORNHILL, J. B. *The settlement of the coastal belt of British Columbia* (United Empire, March, 1922, pp. 130-135).

An immigration programme for British Columbia.

WADE, FREDERICK COATE. *British Columbia: The awakening of the Pacific.* Paper read before the Dominions and Colonies section of the Royal Society of Arts, London, on the 6th December, 1921. (Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts.) Hastings: F. J. Parsons, Ltd. [1922.] Pp. 8.

A discussion of the economic future of British Columbia, by the agent-general of British Columbia in Great Britain.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

BRYCE, Viscount. *The scenery of North America* (National Geographic Magazine, April, 1922, pp. 339-389).

A sumptuously illustrated paper by the late Lord Bryce, in which occasional reference is made to the outstanding features of Canadian scenery and environment.

CANADA: DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS. *The Canada Year Book, 1920.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1921. Pp. xviii, 768.

Contains, in addition to the usual materials, an account of "Reconstruction in Canada," by S. A. Cudmore, dealing with (1) the war-time activities of the Canadian government and people, (2) the re-establishment of returned soldiers, and (3) reconstruction among the general population.

GATHORNE-HARDY, G. M. *A recent journey to northern Labrador* (Geographical Journal, March, 1922, pp. 153-168).

Reviewed on page 205.

LAPOINTE, Mgr. EUGÈNE. *L'organisation syndicaliste catholique au Canada* (L'Action Française, février, 1922, pp. 98-116).

An account of the foundation of Roman Catholic labour unions in the province of Quebec.

MARMER, H. A. *Tides in the bay of Fundy* (Geographical Review, April, 1922, pp. 195-205).

A discussion of a well-known peculiarity of the geography of the maritime provinces, the unparalleled rise and fall of the tide in the Bay of Fundy.

MUNN, HENRY TOKE. *The economic life of the Baffin Island Eskimo* (Geographical Journal, April, 1922, pp. 269-273).

A study, based on personal observation, of the food supply of the Eskimos of Baffin Island.

RAYMOND, Ven. Archdeacon W. O. *Earliest route of travel between Canada and Acadia: Olden-time celebrities who used it* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xv, section ii, pp. 33-46).

A description of the overland route of travel from Acadia to Canada used originally by the Indians, and an account of the journeys made by some of the first white men to traverse it.

SALIN, EDGAR. *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung von Alaska und Yukon Territory: ein Beitrag zu Geschichte und Theorie der Konzentrationsbewegung.* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, ergänzungsheft xii.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 1914. Pp. viii, 226; map.

A German treatise on the economic history of Alaska and the Yukon, published in 1914, to which our attention has only now been directed.

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *Some erroneous ideas of Arctic geography* (Geographical Review, April, 1922, pp. 264-277).

An article exposing certain current popular misconceptions with regard to the Arctic regions—such as that "it is dreadfully cold there at all times of the year," that the Arctic lands are "nearly everywhere devoid of vegetation," and of animal life, and that "there is a peculiar deathlike stillness at most or all times."

TREMBLAY, ALFRED. *Cruise of the Minnie Maud: Arctic seas and Hudson Bay, 1910-11 and 1912-13*. Compiled and translated by A. B. READER. Quebec: The Arctic Exchange and Publishing Co. 1921. Pp. xviii, 573; illustrations and maps.

To be reviewed later.

V. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Fondation d'une communauté de frères instituteurs à Montréal en 1686* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 2, pp. 37-42).

A chapter in the early educational history of the province of Quebec.

———— *Les marionettes au Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 1, pp. 8-13).

An account of a marionette theatre in French Canada in the eighteenth century.

The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. III. TORONTO, SEPTEMBER, 1922 No. 3

NOTES AND COMMENTS

IT is a pleasure to be able to publish in this number of the REVIEW an official account of the launching in Ottawa last May of the Canadian Historical Association, together with a list of the officers elected for 1922-23 and a copy of the constitution adopted. The desirability of the formation of a national historical society in Canada has been apparent for some time. The difficulties connected with the establishment of such a society have, however, been far from negligible; and one can only say that the reorganization of the Historic Landmarks Association as the Canadian Historical Association has been a happy solution of some at least of these difficulties. The Historic Landmarks Association has already, since its formation in 1907, won for itself an established position; and its long and honourable record of service will entitle its successor to a degree of support which a wholly new society could not perhaps have expected. There still remain, however, some difficulties to be surmounted. In a country such as Canada, with its great distances and its geographical and other divisions, the task of maintaining in full vigour a society of nation-wide scope is likely to be formidable; and we trust therefore that it will not be regarded as a mere pious aspiration if we venture to express the hope that every reader of this REVIEW who has the interests of historical study in Canada at heart will give to the Canadian Historical Association his unqualified support and adhesion.

It is clear that the study of Canadian history is still far from having come into its own. In 1920 there was founded in England, through the generosity of Sir George Watson, Bart., the Watson Chair of American History, Literature, and Institutions; and there has now come from the press the inaugural lecture delivered by the first incumbent of the chair, the late Lord Bryce, in 1921. The distinguished lecturer took as his subject "The Study of American History". On it he lavished the wealth of his wide and profound learning; and the student of Canadian history will find in his lecture many a passage full of suggestion and stimulus. But it is a remarkable fact—and one significant of the minor place which the history of Canada still occupies in the mind of the world at large—that there is in the lecture no reference even to the existence of Canada. One would never guess from a perusal of the lecturer's printed words that there had been on the soil of North America two experiments in democracy, the one no less interesting and significant than the other. One would never guess that north of the Great Lakes and the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, the problem of colonial government had been solved, not by revolution, but by evolution—not by a cataclysm that rent the Anglo-Saxon race in twain, but by a development which has conferred on the people of Canada practically all the advantages which the American Revolution conferred on the people of the United States, without any of the disadvantages which flowed in the train of that tragic event. If, of course, the term "American History" is used to connote only the history of the United States (and it would appear that this was the sense in which Lord Bryce used it), one can only deplore the ambiguity of the term. At the same time, we hope we shall not be thought self-assertive if we suggest that the wider connotation of the term is the more accurate, and if we venture to urge on those who control the Watson Chair of American History, Literature, and Institutions that no narrow interpretation should be given to the scope of this admirable endowment.

An event of good omen occurs on August 30 of this year. On the shores of Lake Windermere, in British Columbia, there takes place on this date a memorial celebration in honour of David Thompson, the man to whom, more than to anyone else, we owe the map of the Canadian North-West. Until quite recently the name of David Thompson was unknown and unhonoured. It was only in 1888 that Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, the Cana-

dian explorer and scholar, first called attention to David Thompson's achievement; and it was not until 1916 that Thompson's own *Narrative*, edited for the Champlain Society by Mr. Tyrrell, first saw the light. It is therefore a matter of congratulation that at last a popular tribute is being paid to the man whom Mr. Tyrrell describes as "one of the greatest geographers of the world". Through the combined generosity of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson's Bay Company, there has been erected on the shores of Lake Windermere, on the site where David Thompson commenced building the first fort across the Rockies, the replica of a fur-trading post of a century ago; and here the memorial celebration is to take place. It is a welcome sign that the two great companies which have played the most influential part in the history of Canada have combined thus to pay tribute to the memory of a great Canadian to whom both of them owe so much.

In this number of the REVIEW, we are glad to be able to present several articles of first-rate importance. To the account given by Mr. Kenney, of the Canadian Archives, of the formation of the Canadian Historical Association, we have already referred. The paper on *The Noblesse of Canada*, by Capt. C. E. Lart, is the work of an investigator in the Public Record Office in London and in the national and provincial archives in France, some of whose work is already familiar to readers of the REVIEW. The article by Professor A. L. Burt, of the University of Alberta, on *The Mystery of Walker's Ear*, provides a convincing solution of a problem that has baffled every Canadian historian up to the present; and the paper by Professor G. E. Jackson, on *Wheat and the Trade Cycle*, is a contribution to the recent economic history of Canada, the value of which, even from a practical standpoint, will be apparent to everyone who reads it. The Marquess of Sligo's *Notes on the Death of Wolfe*, though they deal with a point of minor significance, nevertheless clear up an error which has long been current with regard to those of the Marquess's ancestors who were present at the battle of the Plains of Abraham.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

AT the sixteenth annual meeting of the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada, held in the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa. on the afternoon of Thursday, May 18, 1922, the most important item of business was the adoption of a draft of a new constitution, prepared in consequence of a resolution passed at the preceding annual meeting, as a result of which the Association has been reorganized as "The Canadian Historical Association."

The Historic Landmarks Association was established in 1907, at a joint meeting of Sections I and II of the Royal Society of Canada, the immediate object being to further in every possible way the celebration of the tercentenary of Quebec, and the more general purpose the marking and preservation of all Canadian historic landmarks. By quiet and persistent work in all parts of the Dominion, the Association has achieved a very great success both in directing public attention to the sites, buildings, and monuments of local and national historic interest, and in the practical outcome thereof, the more appropriate marking and more efficient protection of these landmarks. To it is due also a considerable part of the credit for the establishment of the Quebec Battlefields Commission, the Dominion Sites and Monuments Board, and the recently created Quebec Historic Monuments Commission. As the President of the Association pointed out, "the public sentiment aroused by this Association for the preservation and marking of historic sites made the creation of these organizations possible, for governments seldom act in matters of this kind except in response to public pressure, or because they feel that there is a definite public demand for them."

To a certain extent, however, the establishment of these bodies has relieved the Landmarks Association of the most urgent of its obligations. On the other hand, historians both inside and outside Canada have been feeling more and more acutely the need of something to fill that very obvious gap in the organization of our intellectual resources, the absence of

any national historical society. One of the speakers at the meeting, who has been a member of the executive of the American Historical Association, stated that it is now several years since the officers of that Association urged on him that it was time that Canadians should undertake the duty of forming a Canadian historical society. It was in view of these considerations that the Council of the Landmarks Association, to whom had been referred the task of drafting a constitution and considering suggestions for broadening the scope of that body, presented its report embracing a draft of a constitution by which the Historic Landmarks Association would be merged in the new Canadian Historical Association.

The proposal was discussed at considerable length. Among those present and taking part in the business of the meeting were, besides the President, Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, and the Secretary, Mr. C. M. Barbeau, the following: Professor G. M. Wrong, of the University of Toronto; President Murray, of the University of Saskatchewan; Mr. Pemberton Smith, of Montreal, former President of the Landmarks Association; M. Æ. Fauteux, of Montreal; Mr. W. D. Lighthall, of Montreal; Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, of Ottawa; Mr. F. J. Audet, of Ottawa; Major A. Pinard, of Ottawa; Dr. George Bryce, of Winnipeg; Dr. E. H. Oliver, of the Presbyterian Theological College, Saskatoon; Professor D. C. Harvey, of the University of Manitoba; Dr. J. H. Coyne, of St. Thomas.

It was urged that the scope of the proposed society should not be narrowly nationalist, but should be sufficiently broad to include all Canadian students of history, as well as all students of Canadian history, and the constitution was so amended as to leave no doubt of the more catholic interpretation. Other questions which led to discussion were whether the provisions for affiliated organizations might wound the susceptibilities of other historical societies, and whether the final adoption of the constitution should take place immediately, or be postponed for another year. It was decided to drop all references to affiliated societies, and the constitution, as amended, was adopted. The Canadian Historical Association was thus launched on its career. *Quod bonum faustum felix fortunatumque sit pro populo Canadensi!*

The first officers of the new association were then elected, as also the members of its first standing committee, the Landmarks Committee, to which is more particularly entrusted the continuation of the work of the Historic Landmarks Association.

During the meeting a telegram was received from the American Historical Association, wishing the new Canadian body all success.

Lists of the officers of the Canadian Historical Association, and a copy of its constitution, are appended.

JAMES F. KENNEY

OFFICERS OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1922-23.

President, Lawrence J. Burpee, Ottawa.
Vice-President, W. D. Lighthall, Montreal.
Secretary-Treasurer, C. M. Barbeau, Ottawa.
Editor, James F. Kenney, Ottawa.
Council (in addition to the above-named officers), Arthur G. Doughty, Ottawa; Pierre Georges Roy, Quebec; George M. Wrong, Toronto; Chester Martin, Winnipeg; Archibald MacMechan, Halifax; F. W. Howay, New Westminster.
Landmarks Committee: Pemberton Smith, Montreal, chairman; Æ. Fauteux, Montreal; J. B. Harkin, Ottawa; Mrs. J. R. Simpson, Ottawa; W. R. Riddell, Toronto.

CONSTITUTION

I: *Name*—This society shall be known as The Canadian Historical Association.

II: *Objects*—The objects of the Association shall be:

To encourage historical research and public interest in history.

To promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past.

To publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit.

III: *Membership*—The Association shall consist of the members of the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada, together with such others, approved by the Council, as may be comprised in the following classes:

Members, whose annual dues shall be $2.

Life Members, whose fees shall be $50 in one payment.

Honorary or Corresponding Members, restricted to persons not resident in Canada, who shall be exempt from payment of fees.

Such organizations as desire to become members, whose annual dues shall be $5.

All fees shall become due and shall be paid upon receipt of a notification from the Secretary-Treasurer or someone appointed by him.

IV: *Officers*—The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary-Treasurer, and an Editor.

Council shall consist of the officers, together with six other members.

The Council shall be elected at the Annual Meeting, nominations to be made from the floor, individually for each officer and collectively for the other members, and voted upon by ballot.

The duties of the officers shall be those generally attached to their respective offices, together with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

An annual allowance may be made for the work of the executive officers, the amount to be fixed by the Council.

V: *Standing Committees*—There shall be a Standing Committee to be known as the Landmarks Committee, and such other standing committees as may from time to time be created by the Association at its annual meeting.

VI: *Meetings*—The Annual Meeting shall be held at a time and place to be fixed by the Council.

The Officers and Standing Committees shall report at the annual meeting on the activities of the Association and their statements may be published in an annual report.

The Council may include in the programme of the annual meeting such papers or addresses as in its opinion would further the aims of the Association and be of interest to the members; and it shall decide which, if any, of these papers or addresses are to be published in the annual report.

Special meetings may be called by the Council whenever necessary.

VII: *Amendments*—The Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting by two-thirds of the members present, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or received and approved by the Council at least one month before the annual meeting.

THE NOBLESSE OF CANADA

A CERTAIN amount of misunderstanding has always existed with regard to the relative values of English nobility and French "noblesse", for the simple reason that while the lowest rank of the English nobility is that of baron, in France it has always been the "écuyer". In England the esquire or "armiger", and even the knight and the baronet, have never been included in the term "nobility". The French term "noblesse" has a much wider meaning, since it covered a far larger portion of the population, being almost the equivalent of the peerage, the baronetcy, the knightage, and the landed gentry.

To acquire "noblesse" in France of the *ancien régime*, therefore, meant to attain the rank of "écuyer". This could be done in one of three ways: either by letters patent, or by the acquisition of a "fief noble", or by the purchase of some public office. These did not all necessarily invest the applicant at once with the coveted rank: it was necessary to hold them for a certain fixed period, even—in the case of a fief—for three generations, during which time it was incumbent on the applicant to "live nobly", without committing any "acte de dérogeance".

The "anobli" did not at once enter into all the privileges of nobility. Some of these, such as the honours of court, were reserved for families who could trace unbroken noble descent back to the year 1400, without known "anoblissement". In the eighteenth century the same condition was exacted, for a commission in the Maison du Roy and the King's bodyguard. Pages of the King's stable had to prove a like descent to the year 1550. A commission in the Marine troops required four degrees or generations; in the troops of the Colonies, three generations. Proof of four degrees was required for entrance into the Royal Military schools; for St. Cyr, one hundred and forty years of "noblesse". Some of the orders of knighthood were still more rigorous in their rules. The "Ordre de St. Lazare" demanded nine degrees of nobility in the direct male line; the "Ordre de Malte", eight quarterings on the father's side, and eight on the side of the mother.

The origin of the feudal system in France is to be found partly in the partition of the territories conquered by the Merovingian invaders, who took possession, with some exceptions, of the land, which they divided into "fiefs", exacting service from the former owners, who still remained as cultivators and users: in other words, the manorial and feudal systems became synonymous.

The possession of a lordship, together with its privileges, the chief of which was exemption from taxes, passed by descent, marriage, or purchase, from one owner or *seigneur* to another, but the whole system rested on the possession of the "fief noble". Hence the dictum: "Nulle terre sans seigneur, nul seigneur sans terre"; and hence also the fact that nobility derived from the soil. It was the possession of a "fief noble" which imparted "noblesse" in the first instance: although there were exceptions in the shape of "fiefs roturiers" and non-noble fiefs—"alleux" or freeholds—owing their existence to some forgotten transaction between the conqueror and the conquered, by which the latter was allowed to continue in possession of his land, paying a tax in money or kind, without acknowledging the right of the overlord to exact military service. These non-noble fiefs were the counterpart in France of the yeoman holdings in England. The vassal or tenant really held his land on a species of copyhold tenure, although he was "adscriptus glebae", and could not leave his place of birth or marry without leave from his *seigneur*. He was bound to appear before him on fixed occasions, and to perform certain fixed services: so many days' work on the manor, the payment of a fixed proportion of his produce, etc.

In the earlier days of feudalism, although the vassal or tenant was subject to imposts of this kind, and was bound to follow his lord to the wars, the *seigneur* himself was bound by his own responsibilities. In return for exemption from taxation, he paid the "impôt du sang", and was obliged to pay homage to his overlord, and provide men and horses and the sinews of war. In return for the service he exacted from his tenants, he was bound to uphold their legal rights, and afford them protection against any outside enemy, an important duty when every state or petty baron was often at war with his or its neighbours. Moreover, the *seigneur* administered the laws, and the owner of a barony and a "Haut Justicier" had the power to inflict a death penalty on evil-doers. The feudal system was, in fact, the state.

With the decay of the feudal system, and the growth of luxury

inevitable with peace, the duties of the *seigneur* fell into abeyance, while the *roturier* found himself more and more burdened by taxes and imposts.

No institution, however carefully guarded, can survive for long without change, and the wars of the succeeding centuries rapidly produced gaps in the ranks of the hereditary nobility, which had to be made good by the creation of a new "noblesse."

Hitherto the profession of arms had been confined to the conquering race, but the greater part of the old Merovingian families had fallen on the field of Fontanet in 841; and, during the four centuries following, the gaps had been filled by the admission of the holders of the "alleux" or freehold fiefs. In 1270 St. Louis granted "noblesse", or in other words the rank of "écuyer", to all fit and proper persons who were able to purchase a "fief noble", and to bear arms and live nobly thereon for three generations. That is to say, he created "anoblis", who became "écuyers" after they and their descendants had paid homage for their fief "à tierce foy".

The "anobli" could not become a "gentilhomme", since that status was reserved for those of noble race whose origin was lost in the night of time, but he was a "noble homme", and was so described in documents, and his descendants attained to all the rights and privileges of full "noblesse".

From time to time, in succeeding reigns, either because the ranks of the nobility became depleted by the Crusades and by civil wars, or because the king was in need of money, fresh edicts were issued, making it easier to acquire nobility, till in the seventeenth century there were many avenues by which one could attain to the coveted rank and the acquisition of the particle "de" before or after the name. One of these was "noblesse par chevallerie"—that is, the direct investiture of knighthood by the king for personal services. Another was "noblesse par fief"—the acquisition, generally by purchase, of some parcel of land, large or small, carrying with it the right to "noblesse", after "homage à tierce foy". A third was by "lettres patentes", a favourite method under Louis XIV, or by "lettres d'anoblissement", verified and registered in the Cour des Comptes. Lastly, there was "noblesse par l'office"—that is, "noblesse de robe" (the nobility conferred by legal office) or "par finance" (the holding of a post under the provincial treasury, this being usually bought and farmed out to subordinates). These last "charges anoblissantes" were divided into three classes: (i) those, such as that of

"Secretaire du Roy", which gave an immediate and transmissible "noblesse" to the recipient and his descendants; (ii) those which gave a personal "noblesse", transmissible after a certain number of years, as in the case of presidents, councillors, and other officers of the Grand Conseil, who were ennobled provided that they exercised their office for a term of twenty years; (iii) those which gave hereditary nobility only after three generations ("homage à tierce foy"). These rules were modified from time to time in every reign.

A great change took place in the social life of France at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. Up to the reign of Henry IV, France had been two kingdoms, France and Navarre, each of them a congeries of independent or semi-independent principalities and duchies, like Bretagne and Armagnac, all held together by the feudal system. In the more vigorous and turbulent feudalism of the early middle ages, the king, who held large private domains, was but a superior lord, "primus inter pares", ruling through nominal subordinates, who often asserted their power. There were often times and places where the King's law did not run.

From various causes, the most potent of which was the ruin caused by the Crusades, more and more power accrued to the crown. Louis XIV was the first monarch who ruled over a united France, and it was only in his reign that Roussillon, the last of the semi-independent principalities, came under the crown.

The devastating religious wars of the sixteenth century repeated the process which had commenced with the Crusades: *i.e.*, the splitting up of large domains, and the sale of estates and fiefs, which were bought by the rich *bourgeois* of the towns. Anyone who was able to invest money in a "fief noble"—which was exempt from taxation, while at the same time the new owner, not being of noble race, was prohibited from bearing arms—did so, until "the whole world had gone mad over noblesse", a process which reached its height under Louis XIV. Molière, in his *Ecole des Dames*, satirizes this phase of social life in caustic terms:

> Je sais un paysan qu'on appelait Gros-Pierre,
> Qui n'ayant pour tout bien, qu'un seul quartier de terre,
> Y fit tout à l'entour faire une fosse bourbeux
> Et de Monsieur de l'Isle en prit le nom pompeux.

Although in theory a noble, and using the prefix "de", he did not attain to the dignity of "écuyer", being still designated as

"Sieur"—until the third generation. The "anobli" is described in documents as "noble homme", and not as "écuyer". It was, however, a condition to "live nobly", and not to commit any "actes contraires" or "actes de dérogeance".

Such an "acte contraire" was to pay taxes, which was reserved for the *roturier*, and an edict of 1656 directly imposed a tax on the "anobli" every thirty or forty years—partly in order to stop the multiplication of petty *seigneuries*, which had become a nuisance, and partly to raise money for the wars which Louis was waging in Europe and North America.

In order to check the unlimited and unauthorized wholesale assumption of "noblesse" which was taking place, the king ordered "recherches" to be held in each province under Hozier, the king of arms, who appointed delegates under the provincial intendants. All those who claimed nobility and the use of the nobiliary particle "de" were required to appear at these visitations under pain of fine and produce their "preuves". In preceding reigns similar visitations had been held, but they were only partial. The visitation of 1666-68 was more thorough and searching, although it is incomplete, since the more ancient "noblesse de race" failed to appear, deeming it derogatory to their dignity, and preferred to pay the fine. This visitation is also often misleading, because the commissioners themselves, being generally of a recent creation "par office" and "par finance", showed partiality, especially when dealing with the applicants who belonged to the poorer "noblesse militaire", a class which had largely increased under Henri IV.

The number of "usurpateurs de la noblesse" in these visitations was very large, and the fines for non-appearance and for usurpation brought large sums into the treasury. The greater part of the claimants, however, were either "maintenus" or put back till they could produce "preuves", consisting of "actes" of marriage and birth, title-deeds, and documents showing their descent, or the original deeds of "anoblissement".

In 1666, François Rouer, sieur de Villeray, of a Touraine family, but living at Paris, who appeared before the commissioners for the "généralité de Tours", was so "renvoyé". He produced his proofs on January 17, 1669. "Les pièces aux Sieur Rouer ont été rendues à René Tourtay, marchand passementier à Tours, ayant charge à cet effet aux Rouer" (Recherche 1666, Tours). His arms were: "Azur, au chevron d'or, accompagné de 3 casques d'argent, 2 et 1."

The policy of Louis XIV had always been to weaken still further the dying power of the feudal nobility and concentrate all in his own hands, while at the same time, to help the process, and conceal its results, he added fresh lustre to the splendour of his court at Versailles. The *grand seigneur* of his reign was a more splendid figure than his predecessor who fought in coat of mail at Agincourt and Coutras, but he belonged to an emasculated nobility which spent its substance in order to win the king's favour and shine at court. The king smiled on his courtiers, but ruled France through his intendants.

The machinery of the feudal system was, however, as useful as ever, and for this reason Louis introduced it into Canada. No other, in fact, was possible; and since the older nobility— "noblesse de race"— who had come out with Champlain and Frontenac had returned to France, leaving none but impoverished cadet branches whose lot was better than it would have been at home, the king followed the precedent of earlier monarchs of France, and created "anoblis" by letters patent who would build up a new and harmless feudal system in the New World, providing the machinery of government by means of a chain of fiefs, with the governor at its head.

In May, 1628, the king ennobled by "lettres patentes" six families associated with the old company of Caën, comprising twelve members. This "anoblissement" is registered in the "recherche" of 1668 by Chamillart, intendant of Normandy, and is entitled, "Les six anoblis de Canada, Mai 1628." These were Simeon de Fontaines, écuyer, of the parish of St. Pierre, Caën; Jacques Godefroy, écuyer, sieur du Bordage, of St. Brevandes, Carentan; the brothers Olivier, Guillaume, François, and Jean-Baptiste Hermerel, écuyers, sieurs de Belleville, Couvert and other places, of the parish of St. Jean, Bayeux; Paul and Nicolas de St. Martin, écuyers, sieurs de Cavigny, of St. Lo; Pierre and Charles Richoué, écuyers, of St. Nicolas, Coutances; François Jean, and François de Vaufleury, father and son, écuyers, of Tilleul, Mortain.

The arms of the family of Godefroy, sieurs du Bordage, were "sable, au lacq d'argent, lié autour d'une ancre de même, accompagné de 3 étoiles d'or". Those of Hermerel, seigneurs de Belleville, were "d'azur à l'épervier d'or, longé, grilletté et membré de gules"; of St. Martin, "sinople, à trois glands d'or, au chef cousu de gules, chargé de trois coquilles d'argent"; of Richoué, "gules, un chevron d'or, accompagné en chef de trois molettes

d'éperon" (Recherche de noblesse, généralité de Caën: Chamillart).

A memoir of the Intendant Talon, dated 1667, states: "La noblesse de Canada n'est composée que de quatre anciens nobles, et de quatre autres chefs de famille que le Roi a honoré de ses lettres l'année dernière."

According to Parkman, these "anciens nobles" were Jacques le Neuf, seigneur de la Poterie, chevalier; Le Gardeur de Tilly; Le Gardeur de Repentigny; and Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust, seigneur des Musseaux.

Jacques le Neuf, second son of Matthieu le Neuf of Caën, and Jeanne le Marchant, had received the barony of Portneuf from the Company of New France. This family had many branches throughout Normandy, and claimed descent from Raoul le Neuf, an Anglo-Norman, who married Antoinette de Maillot at Cherbourg in 1382.

Réné le Gardeur, ancestor of the branch in Canada, came from Thury, near Caën, and married Catherine de Cordé, or Corday. His eldest son, Pierre, became seigneur de Repentigny. Réné le Gardeur was given the seigneury of Tilly. The earliest date of "anoblissement" of any members of the Norman family is that of Jean le Gardeur, who was enobled by "Lettres du Cour des Comptes" in 1500 (Chamillart). His arms were "gules, un lion rampant, supporté d'un croix de sable, ancrée."

The family of Claude-Joseph d'Ailleboust was undoubtedly one of the four "anciens nobles" mentioned in Talon's memoir of 1667. Originally from Champagne, it had given some eminent members to the service of church and state: one of them was a bishop of Auxerre, another a physician in ordinary to Henry IV, and a third, in the person of Louis d'Ailleboust, a governor of Canada. The nephew of the last, Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust, son of Nicolas d'Ailleboust, écuyer, and Marie de Menteth, was descended on his mother's side from one of those numerous Scottish families, like that of Ramezay, or Ramsay, which sent their youngest sons into the French service, and from which the kings of France recruited the Scottish Archer Guard.

The arrival of the Carignan regiment in 1665 brought a fresh addition to the diminishing numbers of the nobility in Canada. Many of its officers belonged to some of the older French families, like that of Roche de St. Ours d'Echaillon, of the ancient nobility of Dauphiné, dating from the thirteenth century, whose seat was in the barony of Sassenoye, near Grenoble. Pierre Roche de St.

Ours, seigneur d'Echaillon, was a captain in the Carignan regiment, and was related to the viceroy of America, Marshal d'Estrades. His arms were "un ours de sable".

In the regiment of Carignan came also a German regiment, called the "Régiment de Balthasar", after its colonel. These two units, under Colonels de Carignan and Balthasar, formed a demi-brigade, called the "Régiment Carignan-Balthasar." Colonel Balthasar died in 1665, and was succeeded by Colonel de Salières, the name of the regiment being changed to "Carignan-Salières." In 1668 the two colonels, and two companies of sixty men each, returned to La Rochelle. The remainder, however, stayed in Canada; and one of these retired colonels was replaced by Hector d'Andigné. Réné d'Andigné, seigneur de la Challuère, of the parish of Gennes, near Château-Gontier, appearing before the commissioners for the "généralité de Tours", on January 11, 1668, in order to prove his "noblesse", declares that he is the representative of the younger branch of the house of Grand-Fontaine d'Andigné, of Ruillé in Anjou; together with "Eustache et Hector d'Andigné, ses frères puisnés, le dit Hector, Chevalier de Malte, commandait le régiment d'infanterie de Carignan, poir le service du Roy en Canadas." His arms are given in this visitation as "argent, à 3 aigles de gules, onglées et bectées d'azur" (Recherche de Touraine, 1668-69).

Claude de Ramezay, eleventh governor of Canada, was a typical instance of the Franco-Scottish element in France. From very early times, when Scotland was closely allied with France, it was customary for aristocratic Scottish families to send their cadets to France to enter the Scottish Archer Guard, maintained by the French kings. Many of these settled in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in Touraine, Poitou, Burgundy, and Champagne. Charles VII of France granted lands near Bourges to a Scottish colony, called "Le Forêt", where to this day traces of Scottish blood and traditions still exist.

Claude de Ramezay was the son of Timothée de Ramezay, chevalier, seigneur de La Gesse, Montigny, and Boisfleurant in the bishopric of Langres, Burgundy, and of Dame Catherine Triboullard, and was born in 1657. He is supposed to have been the grandson of Sir John Ramsay, a captain in the Regiment of Hebron—a corruption of "Hepburn", as it was originally raised by Sir John Hepburn in 1633. This regiment became part of the Scottish Guard, the greater part of which in the sixteenth century was Protestant, owing to the influence of John Knox and the

Duke of Hamilton, who was also Duc de Chatellerault in the French peerage, and owned estates in Poitou. It was in consequence of this fact that the guard was disbanded after the death of Henry IV, and many of its members returned to Scotland and entered the English service. Hepburn's regiment became afterwards the Royal Scots, the first regiment of the line.

Although, so far, no proofs are forthcoming, it is extremely probable that the tradition of Claude de Ramezay's ancestry is correct, and that he was related to the Ramsays of Barns and was cousin to Sir James Ramsay "the Black", afterwards Lord Haddington, the son of James Ramsay of Dalhousie and Elizabeth Hepburn: cousin also to Sir James Ramsay "the Fair", who served under Gustavus Adolphus, and afterwards entered the French service as an officer in Hepburn's regiment.

Claude de Ramezay entered the Marine infantry raised for service in Canada, and served as lieutenant in De Troyes's company. He came to Canada in 1685; became governor of Trois Rivières in 1690; and was made Chevalier of St. Louis in 1703, an honour which required proof of four degrees of "noblesse". He died, as governor of Canada, in 1724, leaving one son and four daughters living, out of sixteen children, by his wife Charlotte Denys, daughter of Denys, seigneur de Ronde, of Quebec. Besides his ancestral fiefs in Burgundy, he was also seigneur de Monnoir and Ramezay in Canada.

His son, Jean Baptiste, became governor of Montreal, a post which he held till the capitulation in 1759. At, or just before, the year 1763, he retired to France, and was living at Tours, on September 5, 1764, as appears by a document signed by him, relating to the house of a Captain Marin de la Malgue, which had been looted by the British troops at the taking of Quebec, contrary to the articles of capitulation:

> Nous, Jean Baptiste de Ramezay, ancien Lieutenant du Roy, et Commandant au Gouverneur de Quebec, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de St. Louis, certifions à tous qu'il appartiendra que le sieur Marin Capitaine et Chevalier de Saint Louis à servi sous mes ordres en 1747 en Acadie, ou il étoit à la tête des Sauvages dont il s'étoit acquis la confiance, et qu'il s'est toujours comporté en brave officier dans tous détachemens ou il a comandé.
>
> Certifions en outre qu'à la prise de Quebec en 1759, malgré la capitulation, sa maison a été pillée et ravagée par les anglais, par animosité contre lui de ce que pendant le cours de la guerre il

leur avoit fait beaucoup des maux avec les sauvages ou il commandoit. A Tours, ce 5 Sept. 1764. (Signé) De Ramezay.[1]

The connection between the family of Ramezay and the Ramsays of Dalhousie seems strengthened by the fact that Jean Baptiste de Ramezay took up his residence at Tours; for a naturalized younger branch of this family, the seigneurs de la Bassetière et Desert, lived nearby. George Ramsay, Baron Dalhousie, married Marguerite Hepburn (Ebron); his son, James Ramsay, was made a Chevalier de St. Louis, and became Baron Dalhousie after the death of his elder brother George, leaving a son Jean, "un des 25 gentilhommes Ecossois de la Garde du Corps du Roy", who married in 1615 Judith Brugi, Dame de Bassetière en Vendôme.[2] The arms of this family of Ramezay were "argent, à un aigle de sable, becque et membre de gules."

It seems probable that the Intendant Talon, in his memoir of 1667, referred only to those families who possessed fiefs. That there were others, like Rouer de Villeray, which had fallen into poverty and come out to try their fortunes in the New World, there is no doubt: some had possibly not been mentioned by Talon because they were not living in their fiefs or manoirs, and so did not come directly under his notice, or were serving in the army.

The family of Mius, seigneurs d'Entremont, for instance, were early comers. In a memorial to the king, dated October 18, 1775, among the papers relating to the refugees of Acadia, who had come to France after the Peace of Paris in 1763, this family is mentioned:

> Supplient humblement Les Mius, écuyers, seigneurs d' Entremont, descendant en Ligne directe de Jacques Mius, sieur d'Entremont, écuyer, seigneur et Baron de Pobomcoup, et de dame Anne de St. Etienne de La Tour, fille de Haut et Puissant Seigneur Messire Charles de St. Etienne de La Tour, Chevalier des ordres du Roy, et son Lieutenant General dans toute l'étendue des terres, isles, et côtes de l'Acadie Pays de la Nouvelle France.[3]

With the exception of the family of Roche de St Ours, and the Jesuit martyr, Jean de Brébeuf, whose descent goes back in direct line to Guillaume de Brébeuf in 1283, of the old nobility of Normandy, no noble family in Canada had a longer descent

[1] D'Hozier MSS: article Marin, p. 5.
[2] D'Hozier MSS: Cabinet 284.
[3] Arch. dep. Calvados: C. 1020.

than that of Chartier de Lotbinière, which, though not of the "haute noblesse", received "anoblissement" in the fourteenth century "par office". Originally from the Orléanais, it bore for arms, "Argent, au tronc d'arbre au naturel, alaisé, rosé en fasce, surmonte de deux perdrix, au rameau d'olivier à 3 branches, en pointe" (Recherche d'Orléanais, 1664). These arms were originally to be seen in the Chapel of St. André-aux-fosses, at Paris.

CHARLES E. LART

THE MYSTERY OF WALKER'S EAR[1]

ABOUT nine o'clock on the evening of Thursday, December 6, 1764, Thomas Walker, a merchant and magistrate of Montreal, was sitting at supper in the hall of his house in Montreal, with his wife Martha, his clerk John Lilly, and a friend Miss Hurd, when the front door was burst open, and half a dozen armed and disguised men rushed in. Mrs. Walker escaped through the kitchen into the yard, shrieking, "This is murder", and took refuge in the cow-house, where she was joined by Miss Hurd and a couple of negro serving-maids. William Fontaine, a servant who had been waiting on the table, was chased up into the gallery, whence he leaped into the yard, unharmed except for his coat-tail, which was cut off by a pursuer's sword. Lilly, more valiant, rushed to his master's rescue, but a couple of blows on the head sent him dashing out of the street door. Walker himself pushed through his assailants into the parlour, with the object of reaching his arms, which lay in a bed-chamber beyond. He received, however, so many blows on his head and shoulders that when he reached the few steps leading up to the chamber he could go no further. So he affirmed in his deposition a week later. Still, according to the same deposition, he had plenty of fight in him. With his fists he drove two of his enemies to the far end of the room, and he fought with the other four for some time. Though he got one of them by the throat, he was downed by a cut on the head, which he "believed to be his death wound". On the floor he continued the struggle until "he received a stab under the right ear, which he then thought to be a mortal wound, and fetching a deep groan he stretched out his limbs as in the agonies of death having no longer any hopes or attempting any

[1] The printed sources which have been used in the preparation of this essay are *The Trial of Daniel Disney* (Quebec, 1767), the files of the Quebec *Gazette*, the Canadian Archives Report for 1888, and Wallace (ed.), *The Maseres Letters* (Toronto, 1920). Apart from these, all the references are to documents in the manuscript room of the Public Archives of Canada. For this reason, these documents are referred to by designating merely the series in which they are to be found, without any further reference to the Archives.

resistance". Lying motionless and holding his breath, he heard voices, "The villain is dead", "Damn him, we've done for him".[1]

The whole incident did not last more than three minutes, the time of Mrs. Walker's sojourn in the cowhouse. The purpose of the assailants seems not to have been to kill Walker, but to cut off an ear as a mark of disgrace. His struggling saved him half his ear at the price of a slice off his cheek. His body was so badly beaten that it was "as black as a hat, and so swelled up that you barely can know the remains of his face or the colour of his skin".[2] The only internal injury, however, was to his pride.

Few incidents of such a nature have been historically so important as this Walker outrage. It was the turning point of Murray's period of government in Canada. The culmination of previous troubles, it was the immediate cause of most of the troubles which followed. It threw the newly conquered colony into a great turmoil, and was responsible for the recall of its first English governor. This was largely due to the cloud of mystery which quickly gathered around the crime, for all the attempts to discover and punish the culprits were completely foiled.

It is easy to understand why the attack was made. The friction between the civilian and the military authorities in the early days of Canada reached its greatest height in Montreal, and there Walker was the leader of the civilian faction. He seems to have assumed this position from his arrival in the colony in 1763. In September of that year he behaved most insolently in the military court of Montreal, when he was being sued by his clerk. The latter won his case, but Walker defied the court. Immediately upon the arrival of Burton, who succeeded Gage as military governor in October, Walker presented the new governor with a petition against his clerk. Ignorant of what had passed, Burton ordered the dispute to be laid before the military court. This evoked a second petition in which Walker used "many indecent and even insolent expressions against the military court", and stated that "it appears as if a veil had been drawn on purpose over the truth"—an attitude similar to that which he adopted a year later, when seeking satisfaction for his stolen ear.

[1] C.O. 42, 2, pp. 164-170 (B, 8, pp. 158-162), Deposition of Thomas Walker and Mr. Walker's further Information, Dec. 14, 1764, Deposition of Martha Walker, Dec. 24, 1764; *Trial of Daniel Disney*, pp. 14, 22.

[2] C.O. 42, 4, p. 86, Ainslie to Murray, Dec. 13, 1764.

Overlooking the insult, Burton granted the appeal and reheard the case. Though the amount that he had to pay was this time reduced from sixteen pounds to seven pounds and some shillings, Walker was still contumacious. Even Burton's remonstrances were in vain. Only the issue of a warrant for his arrest forced the merchant to pay the paltry sum. To Burton this seemed significant. On February 1, he wrote, "Ever since, there has been among the British merchants an appearance of dislike and disapprobation of the proceedings of the courts established here." In the same letter he refers to Walker as talking much about "the laws and privileges of Britons", and as assuming the leadership of the merchants.[1]

The quarrel, which had been simmering for some months, came to a head in the autumn of 1764. This was due to two things. The first was the establishment of civil government on August 10, which reversed the tables as between the soldiers and the civilians. The new magistrates, of whom Walker was one, were selected chiefly from the merchant class, who now, instead of being inferior, were superior to the military. The temptation to pay off ancient grudges at once led to charges against the late military authorities of illegal exactions and arbitrary imprisonments.[2] In this wordy war over the past, Walker was of course a leader. The second cause was the billeting situation. The absence of barracks and the presence in Canada of a garrison larger than that in any other colony created a problem which was soluble under only the military régime. As in most of the other colonies, the army was necessarily billeted upon private houses. Under military rule this had caused little difficulty, but now it was decried as illegal. Trouble was inevitable, and Walker, recently appointed a justice of the peace, was quite in his element. The factious attitude of the magistrates grew more and more serious as the winter drew nigh. Having been in the country from its conquest, the soldiers knew by experience that comfortable quarters were necessary. Bedding, firewood, candles, and apparently the use of the kitchen and cooking utensils, had been included in the billets from the beginning. To withhold these would have made the soldiers' life unbearable. But this very thing was now threatened by the

[1] C.O. 42, 1, pp. 180-190, Burton to Lords of Trade, Feb. 1, 1764, and enclosures.

[2] Murray Papers, 2, p. 203, Murray to Capt. Fraser, Sept, 11, 1764; Quebec *Gazette*, Sept. 20, Oct. 4, 18, and Nov. 15, 1764.

magistrates under colour of strict adherence to the letter of the law.

The beginning of the billeting trouble was the arrest of Captain Payne of the 28th regiment. He was placed in a billet just vacated by another officer. But a merchant and magistrate, who had quarters below, claimed to have hired the rooms, though he had never been in possession of them. He called upon Payne the morning after the latter's arrival, and told him to get out or else he would be put out. As he paid little attention to this threat, the unfortunate officer was in a few hours marched off to prison under a warrant signed by Walker and four other magistrates. Walker's motive was malicious. He was counting on military resistance to the civil warrant, but he was disappointed by polite submission. Fearing that he was ensnared, he tried to squirm out by legal quibbles and a tortuous message to the governor.[1] This incident was popularly regarded as the immediate cause of the outrage.[2] In the light of all that followed, however, this appears to be a narrow view. A month elapsed before the crime. It was a month filled with irritating incidents. In almost all of them, Walker's officious hand was at work. One or two illustrations may suffice. On November 23, an officer seeking his billet was given a room without firewood, fireplace, bed, or any convenience, and was informed by his landlord that it was "by Mr. Walker's advice and directions". The men suffered equally with the officers. One can see the gathering of the storm that was to break on Walker's head. The trouble continued right up to the outrage. On the evening of December 4, a corporal was evicted by his landlord apparently on Walker's orders, and his mate would have suffered the same fate had not his commanding officer arrived just in time. The situation was so bad that the commander of the 28th regiment complained to Burton, who passed the complaint on to Murray with a number

[1] C.O. 42, 2, pp. 230-236, Walker to Murray (no date); *ibid.*, p. 209, Payne to Mitchelson, Nov. 6, 1764; *ibid.*, p. 214, Fraser and Mitchelson to Murray, Nov. 7, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 184-186, Livingston's Papers relative to complaint against Mr. Walker, Dec., 1764; *ibid.*, p. 213, Livingston to Fraser, Nov. 6, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 212, 214, Warrants, Nov. 6, 1764.

[2] "There is no doubt but that the affair of Capt. Payne occasioned the combination of the military against the civil power, in consequence of which the 28th Regt. have carried their resentment to the most unjustifiable lengths", *i.e.* the outrage (C.O. 42, 2, p. 178, Justice Lamb's Account). Maseres in his address to the jury in the trial of 1767 took the same view (*Trial of Daniel Disney*, p. 10).

of letters on the subject. Indeed, Murray was so bombarded with complaints that he felt the necessity of some serious action. Accordingly, on November 27, by order of the council, two outsiders were despatched to Montreal to serve as justices of the peace there, while Walker and three other Montreal justices were summoned to Quebec for an investigation on December 13. This investigation never took place, for the army's hatred of Walker reached such a pitch that it exploded two days before he was to depart.[1]

So far there is no mystery. That begins with the crime. Who committed the crime, and why did the culprits escape? The identity of the culprits may be sought in either of two quarters. One of these has received considerable attention; the other has been neglected. The favourite quarter has been the trial of Captain Disney and others in Montreal early in 1767. There had been a clean sweep of the broom. Murray had been recalled, and both Chief Justice Gregory and Attorney-general Suckling had been dismissed. Their successors, Carleton, Hey, and Maseres, came out to Canada with a firm determination to settle once and for all, if possible, this miserable affair which had thrown the whole colony into a ferment. Walker, who had carried his cause in person to England, returned at the end of May, 1766, having lost none of his zeal. Surely everything might seem auspicious for a final settlement. What happened? Early in November, George McGovack, who had been a soldier in the 28th, appeared before Chief Justice Hey and made a deposition purporting to give an account of the crime. Upon this information, Hey issued warrants for the arrest of six Montreal men, Captain Fraser, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Captain Campbell of the 27th, Captain Disney of the 44th, St. Luc Lacorne, Lieutenant Simon Evans of the 28th, and Joseph Howard, a merchant. These persons were arrested in what seems to have been an unnecessarily brutal manner. Soldiers with fixed bayonets surrounded their houses, and took them from their beds between one and two o'clock in the morning. As five of the six were married, their wives received a rude shock.

[1] C.O. 42, 2, pp. 226-227, Schlack to Burton, Nov. 21, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 200-202, Depositions before C. Gugy, Dec. 8, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 188-190, Livingston's Papers, Dec., 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 223-225, Mitchelson to Burton, Nov. 21, 1764; *ibid.*, p. 227, Burton to Murray, Nov. 22, 1764; *ibid.*, pp. 236-239, Acts of the Council, Nov. 27, 1764; Q, 2, p. 383, Murray to Lords of Trade, March 3, 1765. The commanding officer who prevented the ejection of one of his men was Capt. Campbell of the 27th, who was arrested in 1766.

Though Hey repudiated any responsibility for the "severity and indelicacy", this appears to have been the natural result of the government strong determination to shut every avenue of escape. Much indignation was aroused in Montreal by this rigorous procedure, for the accused were some of the most respectable inhabitants of the place. The prisoners requested to be conducted to Quebec where they might be admitted to bail. When they arrived, feeling in the capital also ran high. A considerable crowd gathered at the house where they were to be confined—the gaol not being in a condition to receive them. As they had applied in vain for bail, a petition was started among the people of Quebec to move the chief justice to grant their request. He took offence at this tumultuous pressure upon justice, and threatened to commit any who shared in getting up the petition. Carleton was then appealed to that he might use his authority. The movement was very general, for every member of the council present in Quebec was involved. But Carleton was likewise unbending. He actually removed Colonel Irving and Adam Mabane from the council for their activities in the matter. Every consideration was given to Walker. This whole dispute over bail was provoked by deference to him. Hey had offered to bail the prisoners if Walker would give his consent, which he refused.[1] The trial took place at Montreal in March. At the beginning, by throwing out the bill against Evans, the grand jury drew upon itself a violent attack by Walker in open court. Only Chief Justice Hey's firmness and wisdom placated the jury and persuaded them to continue with their task. They thereupon rejected the bill against St. Luc Lacorne, but brought in a bill against Disney, who was then put upon his trial. The trial lasted thirteen hours, but the jury took hardly half an hour to decide Disney's innocence.[2] This acquittal discouraged Walker from pushing the prosecution against the remaining three. Accordingly, all were discharged.[3]

[1] Murray Papers, 3, pp. 188-190, McCulloch to Murray, Nov. 24, 1766; *ibid.*, pp. 191-195, Mabane to Murray, Nov. 30, 1766; C.O. 42, 6, pp. 10-16, Hey to Shelburne, Dec. 7, 1766; *ibid.*, pp. 100-103, Reasons why the Chief Justice refused bail (no date); Q, 3, p. 391 and Q, 4, p. 40, Carleton to Shelburne, Nov. 24, 27, 1766; Arch. Rep. 1888, pp. 1-8, Memorial of prisoners with accompanying documents.

[2] Barely sufficient to read over their notes of the depositions of the various witnesses (Quebec *Gazette*, March 23, 1767).

[3] Murray Papers, 3, pp. 203-207, Walter Murray to Gen. Murray, March 15, 1767; Q, 4, pp. 103, 108, Carleton to Shelburne, March 5, 15, 1767; *ibid.*, pp. 106, 129, Shelburne to Carleton, May 26, June 20, 1767; Shel. MSS., 64, pp. 237-260, Fraser to

There is no clue here to the mystery. It is fairly certain that the government was following a false scent. McGovack, whose information was the basis of the trial, was an abandoned rogue who knew nothing except that he wanted the money offered as reward.[1] He had been caught in the act of robbery, had been gaoled for rape, and had deserted from the army.[2] That his character was utterly bad was argued as a reason for bailing the prisoners arrested on his accusation. Though Hey denied the reason, he implied that he admitted the fact.[3] At the trial the defence proved it in order to destroy McGovack's evidence.[4] That the latter knew nothing of the affair was demonstrated by his own evidence and cross-examination. Though he lived with Walker before and even during the trial,[5] and had thus every opportunity to make his story water-tight, he utterly neglected that prime requisite of the successful liar. In the court he told an impossible story and contradicted everybody, including himself, in the most important details.[6] It has been suggested that an attempt to poison McGovack in prison substantiates his accusations and throws a doubt upon the injured innocence of the prisoners.[7] But was he poisoned? The fullest information concerning this incident is to be found in several numbers of the Quebec *Gazette* of the time.[8] An examination of these induces a different conclusion. McGovack's statement, the only account of the supposed poisoning, is of itself suspicious, and it is contradicted by the other evidence. He said that a stranger outside the gaol handed him the poison through the window. This was proven to be impossible as the sentries on duty at the time swore that no one came near the window. Moreover, McGovack's sickness, which did not come on for some little time, appears to have been some stomach or intestinal trouble, the symptoms

Shelburne, April 1, 1767, Journal of the Assizes, S. McKay, foreman of the grand jury; *Trial of Daniel Disney*; Arch. Rep. 1888, pp. 8-14, Report of Chief Justice Hey, April 14, 1767.

[1] He actually got part of it before the trial (Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 1).

[2] As soon as he was acquitted on the charge of perjury, the privilege he enjoyed from the civil courts expired and he had to escape lest he be arrested by the military authorities as a deserter (Wallace, ed., *The Maseres Letters*, pp. 76-77).

[3] Arch. Rep. 1888, pp. 1, 4.

[4] *Trial of Daniel Disney*, pp. 36-37.

[5] Shel. MSS., 64, p. 239.

[6] Arch. Rep. 1888, pp. 12-13.

[7] Wallace (ed.), *The Maseres Letters*, p. 17.

[8] Jan. 26, 1767, and following numbers.

of which he greatly exaggerated. Using this convenient indisposition, he seems to have fabricated the story of the poisoning, which indeed caused some stir, in order to bolster up his weak evidence against the accused in Montreal, or perhaps only to increase his own importance.

Against Evans alone was there any evidence. It was enough to cause both Hey and Maseres to be surprised by the grand jury's rejection of the bill against him, but it was really very slight. One witness said that he saw Evans with the other ruffians emerge from Walker's home armed and disguised. Another declared that he used to write Evans's "french letters to the lady to whom he is now married and she having reproached him in one of hers with being concerned in Mr. Walker's affair, he replied that it was a *coup de jeunesse* and ought not to prejudice him in her opinion".[1] This is all and it is worthless. Both witnesses appear to have been no better than McGovack.[2] Moreover, Mrs. Wade, formerly Miss Hurd, and Lilly, both of whom were present, said that it was impossible to recognize anybody. The second witness also ignored the fact that the idea of having a hand in the affair of Walker, who was hated by the French, would probably stand Evans in good stead in his quest for a French bride. There is no trace of any connection of Evans's name with the case until McGovack came along nearly two years after the crime. Certainly the grand jury were wrong in trenching upon the jurisdiction of the petty jury, but they were probably right in their judgment of Evans. Against Disney there was nothing except the assertion of Walker and his wife that they recognized his features through the crêpe he was wearing.[3] This is quite offset by the statements of Mrs. Wade and Lilly, by the depositions of both Walker and his wife taken shortly after the crime, in which they named other officers but said nothing of Disney, and finally by their notorious readiness to suspect any officer. Disney's alibi, that he spent the evening at a dance until summoned by Burton after the crime,[4] was vainly challenged by Maseres on the ground that two of his witnesses were wives of the accused and that the other two were interested parties. The new attorney-general apparently believed in the guilt of the accused, but Chief

[1] Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 9.

[2] "All Walker's evidence was three deserters greater scoundrels than himself if possible" (Murray Papers, 3, p. 203, W. Murray to Gen. Murray, March 15, 1767).

[3] Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 12.

[4] Disney was town major.

Justice Hey was perfectly satisfied with Disney's acquittal. There is no reason to suspect the other four, although it has been suggested that Disney's "was the only case it was safe to allow to go to trial".[1] No bills were even preferred against Fraser, Campbell, and Howard, because Walker felt that it would be hopeless to proceed against them when Disney was acquitted. Hey's summing up of the whole business of this trial is unquestionably sound: "Walker's violence of temper and an inclination to find people of rank in the army concerned in this affair, has made him a dupe to the artifices of a villain whose story could not have gained credit but in a mind that came too much prejudiced to receive it."[2] The sequel to the trial was the presentation by the grand jury of McGovack, of Walker, and of his wife for wilful perjury.

The other quarter, which has been overlooked, is the group of men who were accused at the time of the crime. Before investigating this, it is essential to examine carefully into the character and doings of a man, originally unconnected with the crime, who came to figure prominently in the case and perhaps bedevilled the whole affair.

William Conyngham, who arrived in Canada in the summer of 1764, was an intimate of the incompetent Chief Justice Gregory. Through this connection he was made coroner and clerk of the peace for the district of Quebec on September 1, 1764. The first recorded feat of his remarkable Canadian career is in accord with what followed. The grand jury which returned the famous presentment of October, 1764,[3] was the creation of this man operating behind the scenes. The deputy provost marshal, whose duty it was to summon grand and petty juries, had just arrived in Canada and was an entire stranger. Conyngham, clerk of the

[1] Wallace (ed.), *The Maseres Letters*, p. 16.

[2] Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 13. One other feature of this trial should perhaps be noted—the behaviour of the jury. Hey's account of this, if taken by itself, might arouse suspicion of the accused. But the explanation lies in Hey's earlier reference to the prisoners: "They carried with them a pretty general opinion of their innocence and a persuasion in the minds of very many different persons that Mr. Walker (in combination with a profligate soldier whose object was the reward) was only meditating to disgrace, by the ignominy of a charge which he did not hope to support, all those towards whom he had been known to live, at the time when the dissensions between the civil and military ran very high, with any notorious degree of unkindness—unhappily what has since fallen out, has given too much occasion to justify the opinion" (Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 8).

[3] Shortt and Doughty, *Constitutional Documents*, 2nd ed., p. 212.

peace, whom later evidence shows to have been a very plausible man, came to his rescue, presenting him with a list of men to be returned as grand and petty jurors. At the top of the first list "were the malcontents from not having been made magistrates and a few others whose want of understanding and whose situation in life rendered them the fit tools of the resentment of the former". Conyngham was one of the first to sign the address of thanks to the grand jury for their scandalous presentment. The same grand jury drew up a bill against a certain Claude Panet and sent it to the petty jury, who straightway found it. The presiding justices, seeing the danger of such a frivolous proceeding, ordered the conviction to be quashed. But it was not quashed, for the clerk, Conyngham, ignoring his orders, did not endorse the bill or make any minute in the court books. After a short period the case was consequently revived, and it dragged on to cause more difficulty, with Conyngham, now as attorney, as chief trouble-maker. About the same time, "under the countenance of the Chief Justice", Conyngham prosecuted three poor Frenchmen for a common assault on the servant of a British merchant. They had no one to plead for them and were condemned to prison, where they were terrified by their prosecutor into a composition for an exorbitant sum. Murray had his eye on Conyngham, and described him as "the most thorough paced villain who ever existed".[1] The justices made various complaints to the governor against his malpractices, and finally he was discharged from his post as clerk of the peace.[2] "The Chief Justice was again and again solicited to abandon a man whose rapacity, chicanery and impudence was a disgrace to his profession, and whose intimacy with the Judge made people believe he was encouraged in those unwarrantable proceedings", but it was in vain.[3]

To return to the crime, there were four men arrested for it just after it was committed, two sergeants, James Rogers and

[1] Murray Papers, 2, p. 189, Murray to Cramahé, Nov. 17, 1764.

[2] C.O. 42, 2, p. 248, Acts of the Council, Jan. 22, 1765. He was also dismissed from the office of coroner on April 19, 1765 (C.O. 42, 3, p. 156). The reason for this is unknown. The only reference to the incident is in an advertisement in the Quebec *Gazette*, April 25, 1765, where the "scandalous aspersions" thrown out against the late coroner for his conduct in an inquest over a negro's body were denied by the members of the jury.

[3] C.O. 42, 3, pp. 300-311, Memorial of George Suckling to Governor Murray, May 3, 1765. It might be well to note that, although Murray first classed Suckling with Gregory (Q, 2, p. 378), his opinion of these two was modified as time passed by. The former rose while the latter sank in his esteem.

John Mee, and two private soldiers, James Coleman and John McLaughlan. Some suspicion also rested upon four other privates, Thomas Donnelly, Daniel Ashman, James Roseborough, and Philip Castles; and gossip connected the names of Lieutenant Synge Tottenham and Captain Payne with the affair. All the above were of the 28th regiment. It is clear that a certain amount of evidence against some of these, evidence which was on record at the time, has since been lost. But enough remains to work upon. The most comprehensive piece of evidence was collected last, the deposition of Thomas Parry of the 25th before Murray and his council. Parry's story runs as follows: "Sometime before the assault, Sergeant Mee told me he was to do something to some person in town, but never mentioned the person's name. He was kept duty free for a long time as I believe for this purpose, and to the best of my opinion was relieved from being orderly that day it happened or thereabouts. . . . The Sergeant Major used frequently to come to Sergeant Mee's house, and always had some frivolous excuse." "I happened to be at Sergeant Mee's house . . . on Thursday the 6th day of December from the hours of about 7 till near 9 at night during the half of which time or thereabouts I found something was going forwards of no good, as I saw Sergeant Rogers in a disguise having a handkerchief tied around his head and to the best of my memory having a short blanket coat on, and in the back room of Sergeant Mee's house I heard several people talking together till near about eight o'clock at night, at which time I believe they left the house but am almost positive they did not go through the room where I was sitting, there being windows at the back side of that room through which they might possibly pass to the side of the rampart behind. . . . Sometime after this affair I happened to be at one Corporal Yarrow's home, of our Regiment, who lived out in Quebec suburbs, who I believe was something in liquor, who whispered to me he knew the persons concerned in this affair and repeated their names, and further said after it was over they came to his house and washed their faces. Here follows the names he told me. Sergt, Mee, Sergt. Rogers, Thos. Donnelly, James Coleman, Jno. McLaughlan, Danl. Ashman."[1] Cross-

[1] Q, 3, p. 43, Deposition of Thomas Parry, Nov. 30, 1765. Parry's time seems a little early. But Parry, not possessing a watch, could not be accurate and nearly a year had elapsed since the crime. This small discrepancy is adjusted by his further statement that on returning home half an hour later he heard of the assault. Mee's house was only three hundred yards from Walker's (Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 13).

examined at that and a subsequent session of the council, Parry produced further piecemeal information which will be noted presently. Parry's list begins with the names of the four arrested for the crime. The others may be ignored for the present, as these four deserve special attention.

Rogers, between six and seven o'clock on the evening of the crime, called upon Lewis of the 44th, who was living with Walls, a tailor lately discharged from the army. Walls, his wife, and Lewis were all present. Rogers drew Lewis out of the room and asked for the loan of his sword, to be delivered to him without the knowledge of the two in the room. When they returned, Lewis brought out his sword and left it in the corner by the door for Rogers to take away with him. The latter, evidently concerned because Walls and his wife had seen it, departed without the weapon. Ten minutes later someone else called in at the door that Lewis was wanted downstairs by a man from Oswegatchie. Apparently Lewis thought this a ruse of Rogers to get the sword. After a few minutes, he descended with it, met Rogers, and delivered it to him. At ten o'clock the house was visited in the general search which followed the crime. An hour later, Rogers returned in an excited state. He said that he feared he would be summoned to the provost marshal's in the morning. When asked why, he replied that "such an accident had happened (this was the way in which he referred to the assault), and that if his borrowing the sword were known he might be suspected". He was greatly concerned to know if this had been disclosed. Being reassured, he exclaimed, "For God's sake, say nothing about it, do not take away my life". He promised to return the sword in the morning, which he did at daybreak. What was his reason for borrowing the sword? He told Lewis at the time that it was to help a friend carry off a girl. A month later, at his own examination, he said that it was because he was going out of town next day to visit a friend. He admitted the deception of Lewis, but added "that he would have told him anything to get the sword".

There are other important details beside the sword. When he first called on Lewis, Rogers was wearing a soldier's plain coat, but he had nothing on his head. When he got the sword, he had "something of a dark colour like a black collar or handkerchief tied about his head", or, according to his own description, "a chequered handkerchief". He said that he was wearing the same clothes when he returned at eleven o'clock without the sword,

but both Lewis and Walls swore that he was then dressed in his sergeant's uniform. On the evening after the crime, Justice Lamb produced a soldier's plain coat stained with blood. Walls and Lewis recognized it as the one Rogers wore when he borrowed the sword, and even Rogers himself admitted it to be the coat he had worn the day before. With the coat, there was produced some bedding, likewise stained with blood, which Rogers also admitted to be his. Where the coat and bedding came from is not on record.[1]

Mee, according to Rogers, was the owner of the fatal coat; but he strongly denied that he had lent this or any other coat to Rogers at any time within several months. However, Mee's wife, who ought to have known, swore that he did lend a soldier's plain coat to Rogers a day or so before the assault.[2] Philip White, a soldier who lodged with Mee, also recognized the coat as Mee's. White's evidence on this point is strengthened by the fact that he tried to shield Mee. He swore that he retired at nine o'clock in his room at the door of the house and that "no person could come in or pass out thereof without his knowledge and that no person did come in that night . . . that Sergeant Rogers was not in the house during the said night and that Sergeant Mee, his wife, the deponent and his wife and three of Mee's children, being the whole of the family, were in bed sometime between nine and ten". It may be observed that he referred to the door but not to the windows. But Mee's own statement shows that he could not have been in bed at that time and admits that Rogers was present in the house.[3] Three days after the crime, an unknown soldier dropped a letter signed "Matthew Gospel", which stated that "they were all dressed that night at Sergeant Mee's. If the anonymous author spoke the truth, Rogers was the man who cut off Walker's ear.[4]

Coleman was the only other person mentioned in this letter. He was referred to as "one of the rogues". This, however, does

[1] C.O. 42, 2, p. 159 (B, 8, p. 163), Deposition of George Walls, Dec. 24, 1764; *ibid.*, p. 155 (B, 8, p. 165), Deposition of William Lewis, Jan. 8, 1765; B, 8, p. 169, Examination of James Rogers, Jan. 9, 1765.

[2] At the Three Rivers trial she accused Lamb, before whom she made this statement, of forcing her to tell more than the truth (C.O. 42, 3, p. 330, Deposition of James Shepherd, July 26, 1765).

[3] C.O. 42, 2, p. 176 (B, 8, p. 168), Deposition of John Mee, Dec. 25, 1764; *ibid.* p. 177 (B, 8, p. 172), Deposition of Susanna Mee, Dec. 25, 1764; B, 8, p. 176, Deposition, of Philip White, Dec. 26, 1764.

[4] C.O. 42, p. 89.

not seem to have been the immediate cause of his arrest, for the warrant to apprehend him was not signed until ten days later.[1] It is probable that some further evidence against him was procured at the time, but if so all of it is lost. After he was imprisoned he admitted having been at Mee's house about six o'clock and having been out of his quarters between eight and nine. But he swore that he was in the market-place at the time of the assault. More serious was a remark he let slip after his arrest, something about the hanging of others before he would hang. This he tried to explain a few days later, in his examination, by the statement that "if he did say such a thing, as he does not know but he did, [it] was in a joke".[2] He was of course in Yarrow's list as reported by Parry. The latter, in his examination before the council, also brought out that Coleman was reputed to have refused his discharge, the inference at the time being that he knew how to get it and transportation to any other colony whenever convenient—by turning King's evidence.[3]

McLaughlan was the fourth who was arrested, but nothing survives of the evidence which must have caused him to be taken into custody. According to Parry, McLaughlan "frequently refused to mount guard or to go to exercise while at Quebec, and the whole regiment talked of it. McLaughlan was never punished for his refusing, because they dare not confine him. . . . Once last summer when McLaughlan was drunk at Sergeant Pearson's, when Sergeant Rogers and he had a quarrel some time before in the barracks, several N.C.O.'s in the regiment feared McLaughlan would make the discovery and whispered to one another to that effect". It may have been on this information that Murray wrote home to Secretary Conway that Coleman and McLaughlan, if secured, might turn King's evidence.[4]

These four, Rogers, Mee, Coleman, and McLaughlan, were all guilty according to the gossip of the day. McGovack, who obviously had no other source of information, worked them into his story. Chief Justice Gregory, who presided over all the legal proceedings concerning them, said at the close that "he and all thinking men were convinced that they were by no means inno-

[1] B, 8, p. 150.

[2] B, 8, p. 169, Examination of James Coleman, Dec. 25, 1764.

[3] Referring to the terms of the reward offered by the authorities.

[4] Q, 3, p. 41, March 31, 1766.

cent".[1] But there is more damning evidence still. It arises out of Conyngham's connection with the affair.

Conyngham, the accomplished scoundrel, was retained by the 28th regiment to defend the accused. At Quebec early in February, he appeared for the prisoners and secured their discharge on bail.[2] It was not, however, until about the first of March, when he went up to Montreal, that he became very active in the affair. Then he assumed a double rôle which at first seems baffling. The attorney for the soldiers became also the confidential adviser of Walker, their enemy. The council, at a session in Montreal, on January 3, had decided that it was unnecessary to hold a court of assize there, according to the ordinance of September 17, 1764, and that the King's bench in the capital would suffice, "especially as there are not at present more than sixty protestant householders in that district".[3] Suspecting that this might defeat justice in his case, Walker extracted a promise from Murray of a trial in Montreal.[4] Unfortunately, about the beginning of March, the governor felt obliged to go back on this promise. It was pointed out to him that every one of the few Protestants in Montreal was openly committed on one side or the other. This, as Walker insisted on a Protestant jury, precluded a fair trial in that town.[5] Consequently an ordinance was issued on March 9, fixing the trial at Quebec for the latter part of the month. Conyngham, through the chief justice, received a copy of this ordinance before Walker learned of it. He went striaght to the latter's house, and there in a little company read it out. The inflammable Walker at once exploded. He swore that he would not go down to Quebec, but would enter a protest against the government's action. Conyngham spurred him on, saying that he was quite right and promising his assistance. Walker thanked him and made an appointment with him for the next morning.[6] In the protest drawn up by Conyngham and signed by Walker, the latter attacked the decision of January 3, and impugned the recent ordinance on the ground that it violated the ordinance of Sep-

[1] Q, 3, p. 41, March 31, 1766.

[2] C.O., 42, 3, pp. 254-260, Proceedings of the Superior Court.

[3] B, 8, p. 105, Acts of the Council.

[4] C.O. 42, 2, p. 392 (B, 8, p. 80), Murray to Walker, Feb. 10, 1765.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 305 (B, 8, p. 93), Murray to Lords of Trade, June 24, 1765; Murray Papers, 2, pp. 276-277, Murray to Oswald, Nov. 11, 1765.

[6] B, 8, pp. 109-110, Gridley's evidence before the Council, April 25, 1765.

tember 17, 1764, establishing civil courts, the proclamation of October 7, 1763, offering the protection of English laws, the principle of a local trial, fundamental in English law at home or in the colonies, and finally the governor's repeated promise. He described the ordinance as being "tantamount to a suppression of a prosecution", because of the expense of himself and family going up to the capital and the danger to their lives from the 28th regiment then posted there. The trial at Quebec did not, therefore, take place. Walker, his witnesses, and the jurors of the Montreal panel would not go. It was public knowledge that this was the result of Walker's stubbornness, backed by Conyngham's intrigues.[1]

Why should Conyngham have adopted the course he did? At first sight, it looks as though the old political malcontent had obscured the soldiers' attorney. Conyngham appears as Walker's real friend because he intrigued with him to force the trial to be held in Montreal, whence the regiment had been removed, and where a jury of British merchants, inflamed over the whole affair, would most likely condemn any soldier against whom there was the slightest suspicion. But this is impossible. When in the latter part of May Conyngham was broken as an attorney,[2] the officers were almost exasperated and petitioned for his reinstatement. The officer commanding the 28th, Major Browne, made it his particular business to get him readmitted to the bar.[3] Why should the military have done this for a lawyer who had deserted them to join the very man against whom he was really hired? He must have been very effectively looking after the interests of those he was engaged to defend. Walker was his dupe. Only one explanation is possible. Conyngham knew his clients to be guilty. Seeing that a fair trial would lead to their condemnation, and being a clever rogue, he used every device to obstruct the even course of justice. This was the only way

[1] C.O. 42, 2, pp. 376-386 (B, 8, pp. 68-76), Walker's Protest, March 14, 1765; C.O. 42, 3, pp. 215-222 (B, 8, p. 152), Suckling to Murray, April 22, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 305, Suckling's Memorial; B, 8, p. 44, Murray's reply to charges; *ibid,*. p. 116, Acts of the Council, May 3, 1765.

[2] For his part in the above protest. *Ibid.*, pp. 117, 120, Acts of the Council, May 9, 21, 1765.

[3] C.O. 42, 4, p. 120, Memorial of officers of the 28th to Murray, May 29, 1765; *ibid.*, pp. 126, 133, Capt. Payne to Col. Walsh, June 28, July 11, 1765. Conyngham was also Payne's lawyer in a suit against Walker for false imprisonment, and Payne likewise memorialized the governor (*ibid.*, p. 122).

he could get them off. Coming on top of the other evidence against the accused, his trickery is fairly conclusive of their guilt.

Now there were more than four men concerned in the crime. Six, perhaps seven, entered Walker's house, and several remained on guard. Of those who were suspected but never formally accused, Donnelly, Ashman, and Roseborough compromised themselves in a mysterious incident which occurred nearly six weeks after the crime. Late in the afternoon, two days before the 28th was to leave Montreal, a crowd of soldiers entered the prison and released Mee, Coleman, and McLaughlan,[1] and tried to carry them out of the town. The prisoners were quickly brought back; but some time around midnight there was another, a quieter rescue, and they vanished without any trace. Early in the morning they turned up at Chambly in the company of Donnelly, Ashman, and Roseborough. There are three accounts of this midnight rescue, no two of which agree. Weir, the deputy provost marshal, said that some soldiers got over the prison wall, bolted the guard in the guard room, where they were all asleep, opened the prison door, released the trio, and bolted the door again on the remaining prisoners. Coleman asserted that one or two people came to the door of the gaol, and that one of these told them not to come out immediately, but threatened them with violence if they did not come out in half an hour and make the best of their way to Chambly. Accordingly, he continued, "a little time after the said persons who came to the gaol door were gone", they came out and made their escape. The third account is Roseborough's. He entered the gaol with the prisoner's supper between seven and eight o'clock. Then someone on duty, he said, wanted to go out, and asked him to remain until his return—which he did, in the same room with the prisoners. While he was waiting there, some unknown persons, without any warning, came to the prison door, ordered the prisoners to turn out and forced him out with them. The latter then asked him to go with them to Chambly. According to him, Donnelly and Ashman joined them in the street.[2] Coleman's and Roseborough's stories are suspicious. The rescue was managed so quietly that it was unknown until after the birds had flown. The five other prisoners sleeping in the same room did not hear

[1] Rogers had been removed to Quebec some time earlier.

[2] C.O. 42, 2, p. 262, William Weir to Goldfrap, Jan. 17, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 284 (B, 8, p. 176), Examination of James Coleman, Feb. 7, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 282 (B, 8, p. 174), Examination of James Roseborough, Feb. 8, 1765.

the escape. Moreover, Coleman refused to give his statement on oath, and in it he said nothing about the three who accompanied them. He was evidently trying to shield the friends who rescued him. Coleman and Roseborough disagreed about the warning. Roseborough's long wait with the prisoners until about midnight, the time of the rescue, is very strange. What of the other two who went on the excursion to Chambly? Donnelly stated that he retired at eleven o'clock and did not stir out that night, but he refused to support this with his oath.[1] He thus denied any connection with the business, though both Roseborough and the officer at Chambly[2] swore that he came to the latter place with the prisoners. It will be remembered that while Roseborough does not appear on Yarrow's list, yet Donnelly is there with Ashman. Ashman, a rough character according to Parry,[3] said that he was busy drinking when he heard a noise in the street, and that on coming out he met the prisoners. He admitted accompanying the trio to Chambly to see that they delivered themselves up "in a proper manner". But as Donnelly had uttered a complete denial, Ashman considerately swore that beside himself and Roseborough there was a third man of the same unit whom he did not know.[4] So Ashman tried to shield Donnelly, Roseborough to shield them both and to excuse himself, while Coleman tried to shield all three. The temptation is strong to fit these three into the deputy provost marshal's story amd make them the rescuers. Moreover, why did they go all the way to Chambly? Was it a case of the guilty who had been caught being protected by those who were just as guilty, but not caught?

Of the remainder who were suspected, there is little to be said. Castles was with Rogers when the latter received the sword, when he visited Lewis after the assault, and again in the morning when he returned the weapon. He also delivered a tomahawk to someone in the mysterious back room of Mee's house.[5] Lieutenant Tottenham, the adjutant of the 28th, was certainly not present at the crime, but he may have been an accessory. Immediately after the assault, two of the disguised culprits burst into his room and threw the freshly severed ear on his table "for

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 278 (B, 8, p. 173), Examination of Thomas Donnelly, Feb. 5, 1765.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 277 (B, 8, p. 186), Information of Arthur Cole, Feb. 8, 1765.
[3] Q, 3, p. 49.
[4] C.O. 42, 2, p. 281 (B, 8, p. 177), Examination of Daniel Ashman, Feb. 8, 1765.
[5] Depositions of Rogers, Lewis, and Parry cited *supra*.

his supper", so it was reported to the governor.[1] Though he was present in the room, he seems to have made little effort to follow and apprehend his strange visitors.[2] In September, 1765, he went home to Ireland in the same transport as Coleman and McLaughlan. It may have been a mere coincidence, yet Parry in his examination on this point, said that while they were not his servants they "would be found near him, he supposed". All these five suspected persons, in addition to the four arrested, were drawn by McGovack into his tale. But this only reflects the opinion of the day. Payne and a few others, who need not be named, were mentioned at the time by Walker and his wife, but no evidence whatever against them can be traced to-day.

To sum up, there can be little question that Rogers, Mee, Coleman, and McLaughlan were guilty and that Donnelly, Ashman, Roseborough, Castles, and Tottenham were very probably associated with them.

Why the guilty escaped is not so difficult to determine. It was not due to laxity of the government. In addition to a reward of £300 raised by subscription in Montreal, the government offered £200 and, if the informer was a soldier, a free discharge and transportation to any other colony. This offer was published every week in the Quebec *Gazette* from December 13 to February 7. General Burton was publicly thanked by the merchants of Montreal for his eagerness to discover "the assassins".[3] On December 14, the attorney-general was ordered up to Montreal, and three days later the governor with the unanimous consent of his council decided to go up with them in a body.[4] For nearly three weeks the governor and his council remained in Montreal doing everything that seemed possible. Beginning on Christmas day, they devoted five days to taking depositions and making examinations. When Walker demanded a trial in Montreal, Murray promised it. When the latter found that this would defeat the ends of justice he had the trial transferred to Quebec. When Walker and the Montreal jurors refused to come, Chief Justice Gregory told the former that it was his duty to come and, on the advice of the council, corresponded with the Montreal justices to explain away the jurors' scruples. The 28th regiment was even ordered out

[1] C.O. 42, 4, p. 87, Thomas Ainslie to Murray, Dec. 13, 1764.

[2] C.O. 42, 2, pp. 170-172, Depositions of Ensign Welch, Dec. 8, Mr. Baker, Dec. 8, and Lieut. Tottenham, Dec. 17, 1764. The last is also in B, 8, p. 184.

[3] C.O. 42, 4, p. 59 (B, 8, p. 143), Petition to Murray, Dec. 12, 1764.

[4] B, 8, pp. 103, 104, Acts of the Council, Dec. 14, 17, 1764.

of Quebec during the trial.[1] When the trial there failed to come off, and the prisoners were released because the grand jury refused to return any bill against them, Murray had them immediately rearrested. As Walker still refused to come to Quebec, the governor compromised on the place of the trial which was then fixed at Three Rivers for July 1. This time greater pains were taken to overcome any possible scruples.[2] The trial at last took place, but the prisoners all got off. The whole of Murray's correspondence breathes a tremendous anxiety to have the miserable business cleared up. Those under him were likewise assiduous. The attorney-general did his utmost, and the chief justice did more than is usually expected of such an official.

The explanation must be found elsewhere. The original cause was the motive behind the crime which, instead of satisfying it, only intensified it—the army's bitter hatred of Walker. It seemed to weld the army together in a great conspiracy to baffle every effort at discovery. No one claimed the reward, though this must have been very tempting to many a poor soldier. The anonymous author of the "Matthew Gospel" letter and Parry, who did not come forward for nearly a year, were the only informants. The atmosphere in Montreal after the crime must have been terrible. "A stranger entering the town, from what he heard and saw, might reasonably have concluded that two armies were within the walls ready to fight on the first occasion."[3] With the exception of Burton, every officer and man in the army was regarded by the civil faction as more or less guilty. On the other hand, the zeal of the civil magistrates was interpreted by the army as persecution. Officers refused to allow men to be examined by the magistrates except in their presence and, so it was said by one of Walker's friends, openly encouraged and assisted soldiers arrested by the civil authorities.[4] When Rogers was placed in a dungeon to prevent his forcible release, which the civilians said was likely, a mutiny was just avoided.[5] Such a

[1] C.O. 42, 3, p. 285, Gregory to Walker, March 25, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 291, Gregory to the Montreal Justices of the Peace, March 25, 1765.

[2] Murray Papers, 2, p. 217, Murray to Major Browne, June 27, 1765; B, 8, p. 119, Acts of the Council, May 9, 1765; C.O. 42, 2, p. 507, Goldfrap to the Montreal Justices, May 11, 1765; C.O. 42, 3, p. 37, Goldfrap to Walker, May 11, 1765; *ibid*,. p. 39, Walker to Goldfrap, May 23, 1765; *ibid.*, p. 40, Goldfrap to Walker, May 27, 1765.

[3] Q, 2, p. 386, Murray to Lords of Trade, March 3, 1765.

[4] C.O. 42, 2, p. 180, Justice Lamb's account (no date).

[5] B, 8, p. 147, Mitchelson to Burton, Dec. 10, 1764.

general condition prevented much evidence being collected in the beginning.

But this was not all. Why did not Conyngham's duplicity help clear up the mystery at the time? Strange as it may seem, no one even observed it. Walker was too hysterical to see anything, and all the rest were diverted by the attorney-general. At the attempted Quebec trial, he found some flaws in the way the jurors had been summoned and at once began to throw up a cloud of words and legal dust which obscured the villain Conyngham. He did this first in court, then in long letters to the governor, and finally at greater length in the Quebec *Gazette*. He actually created the impression at the time that it was his legal quibbling which caused all the trouble.[1] By the time this storm had subsided, Conyngham's double rôle had ceased. Some weeks before the Three Rivers trial, where other difficulties attracted attention, he was dismissed from the bar.[2]

But there is a greater reason still for the escape of the guilty. Walker, more than any one else, was responsible for letting the criminals get off. His blind rage blocked his own revenge. From the beginning, his notorious readiness to accuse any officer prejudiced his case. Much more serious was his attitude toward the government, which was doing the utmost possible to ferret out the crime. Instead of coöperating heartily, he obstructed most obstinately, so that the situation assumed the aspect of a three-cornered struggle between Walker, the government, and the army. He could not help it, for he seems to have been a born malcontent. His suspicion that the government was trying to shield the criminals mounted almost to a mania. It was this which allowed him to fall a victim to Conyngham's wiles. It began perhaps over the council's decision on January 3. It was distinctly aroused by three untoward incidents. The first was that the two men who put up £1000 each for the bail of Rogers and Coleman on February 4 were Thomas Dunn, a member of the council, and Lieutenant Carleton of the troublesome 28th, who had testified to Walker's unruly behaviour in the military court of September, 1763.[3] The second was his quarrel with

[1] C.O. 42, 3, p. 273, Proceedings of the Superior Court, April 15, 1765; *ibid.*, pp. 215-222 (B, 8, p. 152), Suckling to Murray, April 22, 1765; *ibid.*, pp. 300-311, Suckling's Memorial, May 3, 1765; Quebec *Gazette*, May 23, 1765.

[2] Cf. supra p. 242.

[3] C.O. 42, 3, pp. 254-260, Proceedings of the Superior Court; Dartmouth Papers, 1, pp. 56-67, anonymous letter dated Feb. 20, undoubtedly by Walker.

Ainslie, which occurred immediately afterward. Ainslie, as a particular friend of Walker, was despatched by Murray to tell him what had been done in the Supreme Court in Quebec. A reference to the holding of the trial in Montreal precipitated a violent quarrel, which ended with Ainslie informing Walker that he was entirely unworthy of the governor's solicitude.[1] Then came the third incident, the publication of the ordinance of March 9, from which Walker never recovered. His contumacy prevented the Quebec trial.[2] Then came the Three Rivers trial in July. Though warned that the prisoners would have to be discharged finally should this trial not come off, Walker was still obstinate. He and his wife hid themselves to avoid the legal summons, and his clerk Lilly, though properly summoned, refused to appear.[3] Walker's stubbornness undoubtedly affected the psychology of the guilty. It was suggested then, and it seems likely now, that this lucky turn of events convinced them either of Walker's and the council's ignorance of their guilt or of some protection in high quarters, and so deterred any of them from turning King's evidence.[4] The acquittal of Rogers, against whom there was the most evidence, cleared him of the crime[5] and made it useless to proceed against the others. So all the accused were discharged. In a few months they were all out of the country, some having gone home, the rest departing with the regiment for New York. There was yet one more chance. When McGovack came forward with his story in the following year, an attempt was made to secure them once more and bring them back to Canada. True to his rôle throughout, Walker again acted against his own interests. He applied to the new chief justice to have the trial postponed until September to allow time for the men in New York and the Jerseys to appear. Whether they would ever have come is uncertain, for the magistrates there not only refused to commit but even offered to go bail for them. But Walker would

[1] Walker's protest and Ainslie's evidence, cited *supra*.

[2] B, 8, pp. 115, 116, Evidence of Travers before the Council, April 29, Acts of the Council, May 3, 1765.

[3] C.O. 42, 3, pp. 326-328, Attorney General's Report to Governor Murray on the Assizes of Three Rivers, July 12, 1765. Walker was fined £500 for not appearing (C.O. 42, 6, p. 12, Hey to Shelburne, Dec. 7, 1766).

[4] Shel. MSS. 64, p. 301, Irving to Murray, Aug. 23, 1766; *ibid.*, p. 310, Mabane to Murray, Aug. 26, 1766.

[5] Walker, when in England, sought to have him tried again, but the law officer of the Board of Trade declared this impossible (Shel. MSS., 64, p. 265).

not give them even this doubtful opportunity to come. When Hey agreed to postpone the trial as desired, he said that he would have to let the prisoners out on bail. This determined Walker. Sooner than let them be bailed, he insisted upon their earlier trial, where of course he had none of the guilty.[1]

A. L. BURT

[1] Shel. MSS., 64, p. 239, Fraser to Shelburne, April 1, 1767; Arch. Rep. 1888, p. 9.

WHEAT AND THE TRADE CYCLE

A Footnote to Canadian Economic History

CANADA does not yet provide the student of industrial depression with materials at all comparable to the rich stores which have recently been sifted in England and the United States. She has a profusion of statistics—too many, said a member of the Dominions Royal Commission some years ago. The collection and presentation of them is centrally controlled. If there are politicians, financiers, economists, whose work the Dominion statistician has not succeeded in enriching, the fault is likely to be theirs. But the statistical records of a young country do not go back very far; and of all subjects, this is preëminently one which demands the continuous observation of phenomena over a very long period. The result is that the young Canadian undertaking research work in the subject, conscious of his deep indebtedness to distant investigators like Professor Mitchell, is apt to neglect the wide, unexplored field of Canadian industrial statistics, in his readiness to follow the path of pioneers in other countries.

The widespread impression that the developments of the trade cycle closely synchronize in countries whose industrial organization is inter-dependent, if it does not justify this course, at least explains it. In any scientific enquiry, the similarities in a series of comparisons are apt to be seen more readily, to receive a larger share of attention, than the discrepancies. It is only when a large mass of detail has been studied, that the variation in time and intensity between apparently similar experiences in different countries is at all adequately realized. Partly, perhaps, this is because the similarities are closest among the financial phenomena, such as variations in the rate of discount, which are most accessible to study; while the discrepancies are often most marked among purely industrial phenomena, which are less widely published and far less accurately measured. Whatever the reason in this case, nowhere else has the too rigid category greater fascination.

In view of the fact that the experience of different countries may differ very much in time and intensity, it is always a dangerous undertaking to generalize on domestic problems from materials collected elsewhere than at home, however closely parallel the circumstances seem to be. And until the young countries, which as yet have scarcely had time to set their houses in order, digest the materials at their disposal, the conclusion of more than one recent writer on the problem of industrial fluctuation that "it is improbable that any adequate solution is to be found in physical causes" may well remain *sub judice.*

The notes that follow represent an effort, on a scale regrettably small, to digest a part of this material. They relate only to two Canadian depressions, those of 1913-14 and of 1920-21; chiefly, be it said, because there are no Canadian statistics of unemployment which possess the slightest value, for any period preceding 1912. Indeed, it may be doubted, from the rough and unverified verbal reports on labour conditions, which are all that we have before this date, whether Canada has, at any time since 1893, witnessed an industrial depression to be compared with either of these.

The depression of 1913-14 followed a period of very rapid expansion which seems to have culminated generally in April, 1913: although the reaction began a month earlier than this in the metal industries, which were the first to suffer. The decline did not become general till July of the same year. After that it was rapid. In July, 1914, immediately before the War began, the volume of employment in the factories of Ontario was 14% below the maximum of the preceding year; and by December, 1914, a series of subsequent contractions had increased this figure to 25%. The number of workers in regular employment fell from about 239,000 to little more than 177,000 in the space of twenty months.

The depression of 1920-21 closely followed the culmination of a similar boom, which beginning in the spring of 1919, responded so quickly to the stimulus of borrowing by currency inflation, that it may fairly be described as belonging to the process of demobilization. The volume of employment in Ontario factories reached its maximum in August, then precipitately fell, and by December, 1921, had reached a level 29% below the peak of the preceding year.

It will be noted that the two depressions reached much the same depth of intensity, so far as our very partial records permit

of a comparison between them; and there, it appears at first sight, they cease to resemble one another. For in the former (according to the price tables published by the *Labour Gazette*), the general level of wholesale prices remained almost absolutely stable, rising a little to the month of maximum prosperity, and receding only 1% in the reaction; while in the latter, wholesale prices rose 28% in fourteen months, and afterwards fell 36% in eighteen months. In the one case, the mean monthly fluctuation was 0.2%, and the movement quite uncertain; in the other it was rhythmic and ten times as rapid, or almost exactly 2%.

Once it had fairly begun, the process of deflation in itself was capable of closing down whole industries, at least for brief periods; for in the rapid and continuous downward movement of prices to which it naturally led, the precarious equilibrium of markets in related industries was so disturbed by successive selling panics, that their capacity for absorbing one another's products, even in the near future, was sometimes quite incalculable.

But if this was an important factor in the developments of 1920-1921—and it may, with good reason, be held responsible for the suddenness with which the labour market narrowed—there was another no less obvious. The fall in the prices of farm produce was even more rapid than the fall in prices generally. The purchasing power of the farmer was rapidly contracting, despite the haste with which price lists were revised, and other goods reduced. Now the Canadian farmer sells a large part of his produce abroad; but the sales of the Canadian manufacturer must be made mainly within the home market. Thus, the market for domestic factory products was narrowed step by step with the fall in the purchasing power of a large and fairly homogeneous body of consumers; and the fall in the prices of farm produce, if it brought some compensation to the city dweller, did not bring very much.

Here was another factor inevitably making for depression, so long as the native manufacturer should be without alternative markets. Even if the impossible had been achieved, and the gold standard maintained throughout the War and afterwards, if there had been no problem of deflation and no general fall of prices, this alteration in the ratio of exchange between factory goods and farm produce, so long as it persisted, must have created great industrial disturbance. Moreover—supposing equilibrium between them to be restored in course of time—a recurrence of

this situation must again bring with it the same distressing consequences.

If this is at any time, in a young country whose granaries supply the world, a possible cause of distress, it suggests an interesting enquiry, which could be made with equal relevance in many parts of the New World. How often, in fact, has industrial depression developed locally from these conditions? So far as it concerns Canada, there is little evidence on which to base an answer. The records of only two depressions can be made to serve. But an arrangement of some of the statistical material relating to them, so as to permit of a comparison with the corresponding Argentine or Australian records, may possibly contribute something towards a larger study.

In the charts and tables which follow, no direct use has been made of the official index number of the federal Department of Labour; firstly, because the large number of component quotations (about 270) may sometimes give undue weight to price movements of subordinate importance; secondly, because the grouping of the quotations, as published in the *Labour Gazette*, does not lend itself easily to reclassification; and thirdly, because the very distant base (1890-1899) introduces an unconscious element of weighting into the results, which may give them an unexpected bias. Professor Michell's index number, which is compiled mainly from the market quotations of foods and raw materials and semi-manufactured goods, was not intended to furnish a measure of fluctuations in the purchasing power of raw produce. Instead of these, two new index numbers[1] have been

[1] Twenty-five manufactured articles were selected for this purpose:

1. Woollen underwear, knitted, Penmans.
2. Cottons, woven coloured fabrics, mean of 300 lines manufactured by Canadian Cottons, Limited.
3. Oilcloth, floor, No. 3 quality.
4. Leather, harness, No. 1.
5. Boots, men's split blucher bals.
6. Boots, women's dongola blucher bals.
7. Iron—boiler plates (Toronto).
8. Iron—tinplates, charcoal (Toronto).
9. Steel bar, mild (Montreal).
10. Chain, coil proof (Montreal).
11. Horseshoes, No. 1 medium grade (Toronto).
12. Lead pipe (Montreal).
13. Copper wire.
14. Cement, Candian Portland (Toronto).

constructed: the first, an attempt to measure, in terms of money, changes in the values of manufactured articles; the second, an attempt to measure the same thing in terms of wheat. The base on which they have been calculated is in either case the mean of the three-year period reviewed. They have been compiled from quotations in widely separated centres, and include items, such as gasoline, which are very sensitive to market impulses, as well as others, such as plug tobacco, whose price is rarely changed. The quotations cover, by months, the years 1912, 1913, and 1914, as well as the years 1919, 1920, and 1921.

For the convenience of the reader, the facts on which the graphs are based have been summarized in tabular form on pp. 270-71, together with contemporary statistics of the volume of employment. For 1920 and 1921 the published records of the Employment Service of Canada have been used. The figures for 1912, 1913, and 1914 are calculated from the records of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment, and weighted in accordance with the 1911 census. They have not been published elsewhere in this form.

So far as their position in the trade cycle is concerned, the periods reviewed are closely parallel. The years 1912 and 1919 opened in a hesitating spirit, which changed to one of confidence in early summer, and in the autumn months witnessed a rapid industrial expansion. The years 1913 and 1920 began with a burst of optimism, in which warnings of coming trouble were unheeded till the storm broke, culminated in disastrous reactions during the summer, and closed in almost universal gloom. The years 1914 and 1921 began and ended in industrial stagnation,

15. Bricks, common, structural, hard (Toronto).
16. Pine box boards (Ottawa).
17. B.C. cedar shingles (Winnipeg).
18. Tables, hardwood, extension (Ottawa).
19. Earthenware, printed dinner sets (Ottawa).
20. Silver plated ware (Ottawa).
21. Draught ale and porter (Ottawa).
22. Smoking tobacco, standard plug (Hamilton).
23. Gasoline (Toronto).
24. Paper newsprint.
25. Prepared paints (Toronto).

Quotations for 1912, 1913, and 1914 are available in *Wholesale Prices, Canada*. I am indebted to Mr. H. Marshall, of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, for quotations covering 1919, 1920, and 1921. For draught ale and porter (which, in at least seven provinces, are no longer conventional articles of diet) rubbers were substituted in the latter period.

The wheat quotation is in each case No. 1 Manitoba Northern (Winnipeg).

and witnessed a great deal of unrelieved distress. Only towards the close of the two periods do striking differences appear. The latter half of 1914 was dominated by the great uncertainties of war, and the rise in wheat prices which inevitably resulted was accentuated by the world-wide crop shortage; but the failure of the Canadian wheat harvest neutralized to some extent the benefits which would otherwise have accrued to the Canadian farmer from the high prices then ruling. In complete contrast to this, the latter half of 1921 was marked, not by rising wheat prices, but by a further catastrophic downward movement, the effects of which are still in evidence.

It will be seen from the twin pairs of charts marked A and B that the movement of money prices was nevertheless widely dissimilar. Superficially, the strength of the forces making for deflation in the second period sharply differentiates the two depressions.

At the beginning of the first of these three-year periods, the price level of the twenty-five manufactured goods rose steadily, but without much incident. From March, 1912, to November, 1913, the movement upward was 10%. In December, 1913, began a reaction, which ended in the month before the War, and amounted, in all, to less than 3%. In the second period, from April, 1919, to September, 1920, there was a very pronounced rise (no less than 31%) in the prices of these factory goods—a rise more than three times as rapid as the one preceding the climax of 1913. The fall of prices, which was evident from October onward, occurred even faster than the previous advance. From September, 1920, till November, 1921, the decline was 28%.

The movement of wheat prices is in even greater contrast, partly, no doubt, because wheat was "controlled" throughout 1919 and more than half of 1920, and, as a result of the combined action of the Canada Wheat Board and the British government, sold at an artificial price.

Wheat was abundant in 1912, and prices broke sharply during August and afterwards. The seasonal upward movement in the spring of 1913 did not regain the lost ground, and another abnormally large world-harvest drove prices downward in the autumn of the year, till they reached a new low level. The sharp rise which began in July, 1914, may have been accelerated by the fear of war, as it was afterwards, no doubt, accelerated by the fact; but owing to the developing crop shortage, wheat must in

any case have become considerably dearer, war or no, during the latter part of 1914.

In the second period, the movement of wheat prices was slight until the relaxation of control in the summer of 1920. The first movement of the "free" price was upward, and the rise was rapid for about two months. In the following two months a reaction even more rapid showed unmistakeably the direction which was to be followed for some time to come. By December, 1920, wheat was 14% below the level which it has attained in 1919; by November, 1921, it had fallen to less than half the maximum of 1919.

It is only when the data here presented are used as a measure of changes in the purchasing power of wheat—more especially, the command of wheat over manufactured goods—that the great underlying similarity between the course of the markets in the two periods becomes at all prominent. Here, indeed, the resemblance between the two sets of developments is so close that it is hard to believe it a fortuitous occurrence. This is at once apparent in the pair of charts marked C, and the visual impression is only confirmed when the figures are analysed.

It will be seen that in each period the climax of industrial activity was preceded by a very rapid rise in the prices of manufactured goods, measured in terms of wheat—in other words, by a very rapid fall in the purchasing power of the bushel. The low point of 1912 was reached in May, whose index is 84. The high point of 1913 was reached in October, whose index is 120. The low point of 1919 was reached in March and April, whose index is 79; the high point of 1920, in December, whose index is 113. In the former case the rise is 43%; in the latter, 42%. Apart altogether from the very close resemblance of the figures, the fact that in each period the purchasing power of the bushel collapsed at such a rate is very striking.

The shape of the curves is thus fundamentally the same; but there are two noteworthy differences. In the first place, the rise during 1919 and 1920 was a good deal more gradual than that which occurred during 1912 and 1913: although the "dip" of 1920 (20%) and the subsequent recovery (33%) are much more violent than the corresponding movements (15% and 21%) seven years earlier. In the second place, the rapid fall of the curve in 1914, which denotes a corresponding rise in the purchasing power of the bushel, and is a force making *ceteris paribus* for industrial recovery, stands in broad contrast with the steep

upward movement of the curve in 1921, which denotes a further fall, no less sudden, in the purchasing power of the bushel. That is to say, the tendency which exhausted itself after two seasons in the former period, persisted in the latter during three consecutively, with results disastrous to the prairie farmer.

Remembering always that the Canadian manufacturer, in all but a very few domestic industries, is producing almost exclusively for the home market, the reader may be disposed to find in the latter of these two divergences the main force which has retarded industrial recovery during 1922, and made the present depression an unusually long one.

A series of reflections that are by no means orthodox is suggested by the facts here summarized. The case as stated by students of the problem in countries of relatively high development clearly needs some modification. We are here concerned directly not with the reaction on these older countries of fluctuations in the wheat harvest, but with its influence on the young countries which are largely dependent on their income from this source. Its ramifications are by no means simple, and it is difficult to generalize them briefly. Nevertheless, the speculations which follow may be worth consideration.

The wheat market is among the most highly organized of all markets. The price of wheat is a world price, and subject to the differences imposed by variations in freight charges and in milling qualities, the local price of wheat in every country with modern transportation facilities closely follows the world price.

The demand for wheat, as everyone knows, is inelastic. The world's needs at any moment are fixed within rather narrow limits. A small excess in the world's crop may drive prices a long way downwards: a small deficiency may raise them considerably. Indeed, it is probable that at either end of the demand scale, the money value of the wheat supply as a whole would be reduced by an increase in its volume, and would be raised by a decrease.

But the variations in the harvests are often anything but small. For example, in the period from 1910 till 1916, the mean annual deviation of the world's harvests from the mean of the seven harvests was only 3.6%—yet this quantity, 135,000,000 bushels, was almost equal to the normal wheat crop of Argentina, and a good deal larger than the combined crops of New Zealand and Australia. The maximum harvest, that of 1915, was esti-

mated at about 4,450,000,000 bushels; the minimum, that of 1914, was estimated at a little less than 3,500,000,000 bushels; a variation of nearly 960,000,000 bushels, or more than the normal wheat crop of the United States. The world's harvest in 1913 was larger by 500,000,000 bushels than that of 1911; and the difference between it and that of 1914 was even wider. Since this variation is to a large extent fortuitous, and is in any case impossible to forecast many months in advance, it inevitably makes for unsettlement.

The main influences of a world-harvest approaching the maximum, on a young country whose own harvest is normal or not far from normal, are likely to be three-fold. First of all, a considerable decline in the price of wheat is likely to reduce the wheat farmer's power of buying other products, as well as to make it more difficult for him to meet his payments on mortgages and notes. Secondly, the need for an abnormally large "carry-over" of wheat into the following season is likely to add to the strain on credit, which originates with the farmer-debtor. Thirdly (a possible mitigation of these influences, both of which directly diminish purchasing power in the domestic market), a reduction in the price of breadstuffs to the city worker *may* divert a fraction of his purchasing power (which would otherwise have been spent on food) and make it available for other purposes. Canadian experience suggests, however, that the last of these developments is by no means certain, and is likely to take place on a very small scale in any case.

In other words, under these circumstances, the direct, immediate effect on the young wheat-growing countries of an abnormally large world harvest may, paradoxically, be the reverse of stimulating. Of course, in so far as a particular young country has reaped a harvest of unusual proportions *even when considered in relation to the total supplies of the season from all countries*, it may conceivably benefit instead of suffering a reaction. That is to say, despite the fall in wheat prices, the value of its wheat crop as a whole in terms of other goods may nevertheless be greater than usual. Such seems to have been the position of Canada in 1915, when she harvested 427,000,000 bushels,—nearly twice her normal crop. On the other hand, if in a season of this kind any one of the young countries reaps a harvest which is abnormally small, the dislocation of production which the falling exchange value of the bushel would in any case have been likely to cause, will inevitably be far more severe.

In both of these depressions, Canada seems to have been in a large measure the victim of external forces. It was not a series of crop failures—though local failures did occur—but, in each case, a too plentiful world-harvest which combined with forces raising the price of manufactured goods to destroy the purchasing power of the farmer. Industrially, the effects of this were show to show themselves. Production for a large anticipated demand (which, in fact, never came into existence) maintained a maximum of industrial activity for some months after the conditions had appeared, which were bound to result in congestion of markets and losses and stagnation. If the danger signals, which were plainly visible, had been seen and understood by the business community, it is possible that the distress which so quickly succeeded a climax of prosperity, even if it could not have been prevented altogether, might have been rendered much less widespread and intense.

To sum up: two industrial depressions in Canada have evidently coincided very closely with a sudden fall in the exchange value of wheat. Apart from the political and monetary complications, which undoubtedly helped to produce them, and increased their intensity, this drastic reduction must have been one of the main causes of industrial disturbance. Had there been no political and monetary complications, it must itself have caused no small amount of trouble. The recurrence of similar conditions in the wheat market, at any future time, is likely to produce the same result; and the reasoning which has here been applied to Canadian experience is evidently no less applicable to any other young country which fulfils two conditions—whose principal crop is wheat; and whose manufacturing industries are restricted, by protective tariffs or otherwise, mainly to the home market.

Moreover (though this is beyond the scope of the present discussion), since the young wheat-growing countries are in every case large borrowers of capital abroad, and normally make heavy demands on the construction industries of other countries, the rest of the world must inevitably feel and exhibit the reaction of a change of this kind—unless, indeed, tendencies of an opposite character in the markets for tropical produce are strong enough to neutralize it.

Recent writers have paid a good deal of attention to the mind of the business entrepreneur. The "psychology of the trade

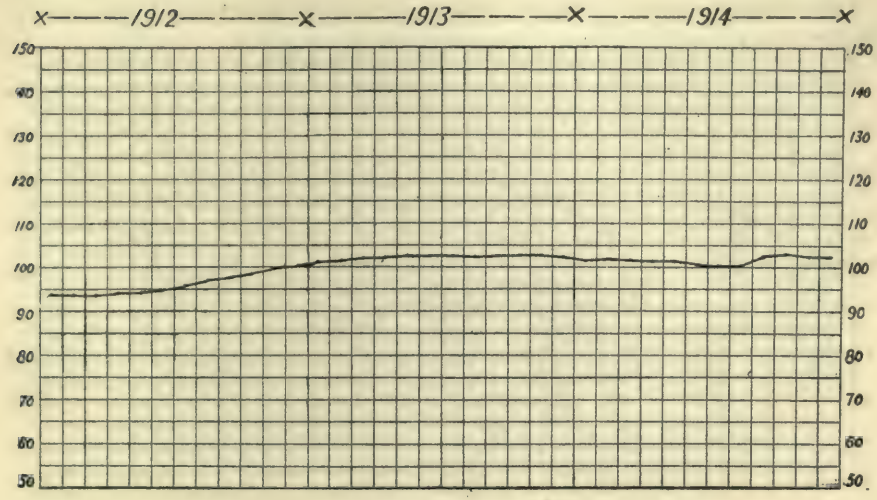
cycle" is at present held responsible for much that has hitherto defied explanation. Since there is an undoubted alternation of business confidence and depression, which is a chain of causes in itself, this is in no sense unnatural. But we run the risk of shelving our problems, if we lean on it too heavily. Until the variations in the earth's yield, and their economic consequences, have been investigated a great deal more fully than they have at present, the suspicion will linger that this rather nebulous phrase obscures more truth than it illuminates.

GILBERT. E. JACKSON

CHART A

PRICES OF 25 FACTORY GOODS MEASURED IN DOLLARS
(Base = 100 = mean of period in each case)

I



II

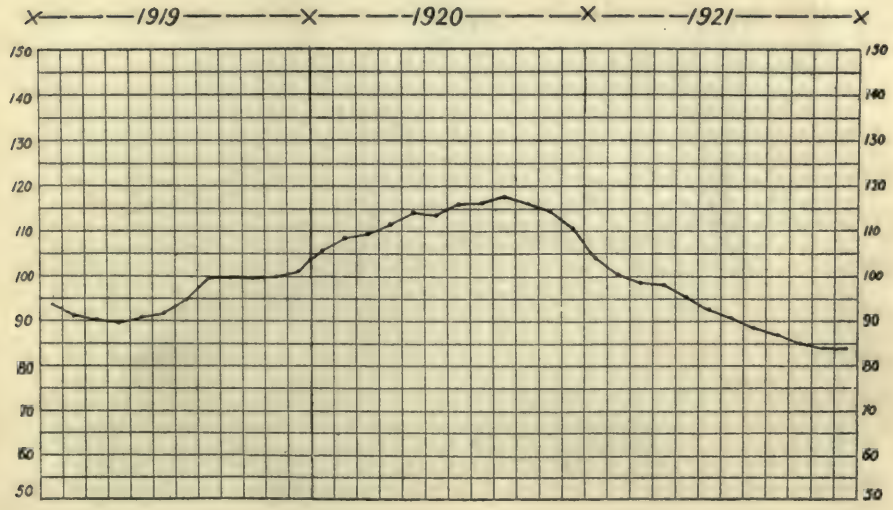
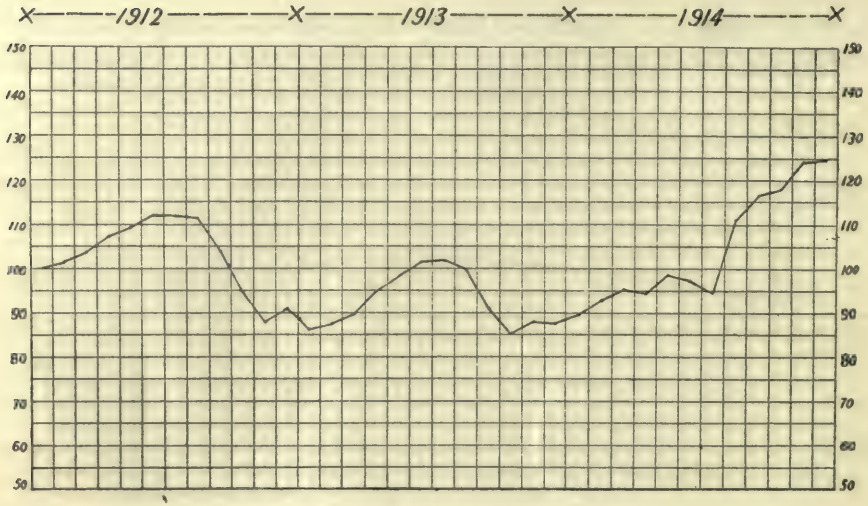


CHART B

PRICES OF WHEAT MEASURED IN DOLLARS
(Base = 100 = mean of period in each case)

I



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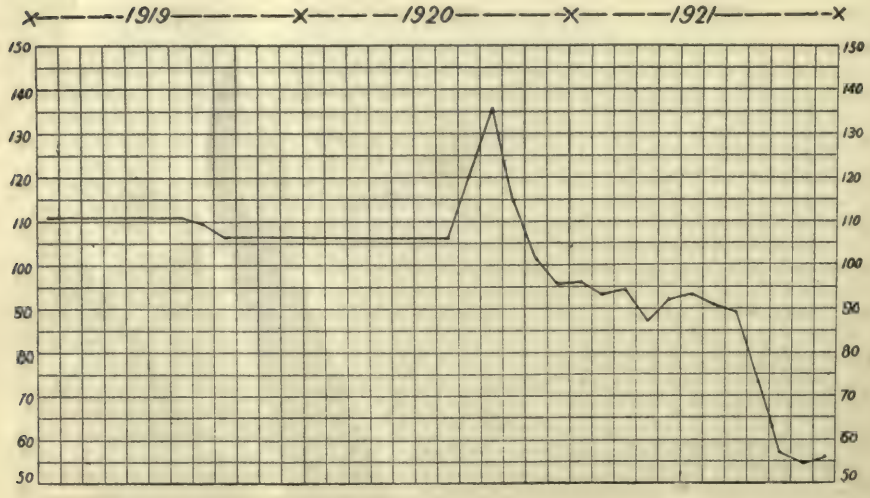
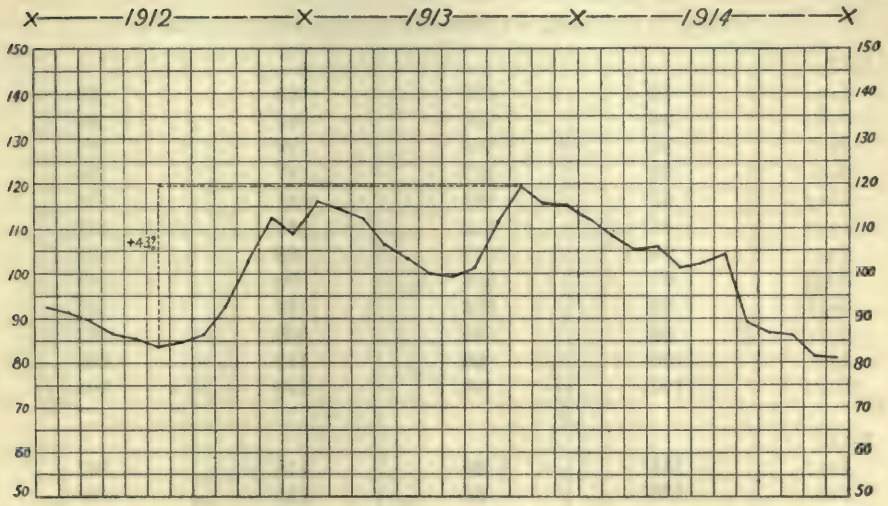


CHART C

PRICES OF 25 FACTORY GOODS MEASURED IN WHEAT
(Base = 100 = mean of period in each case)

I



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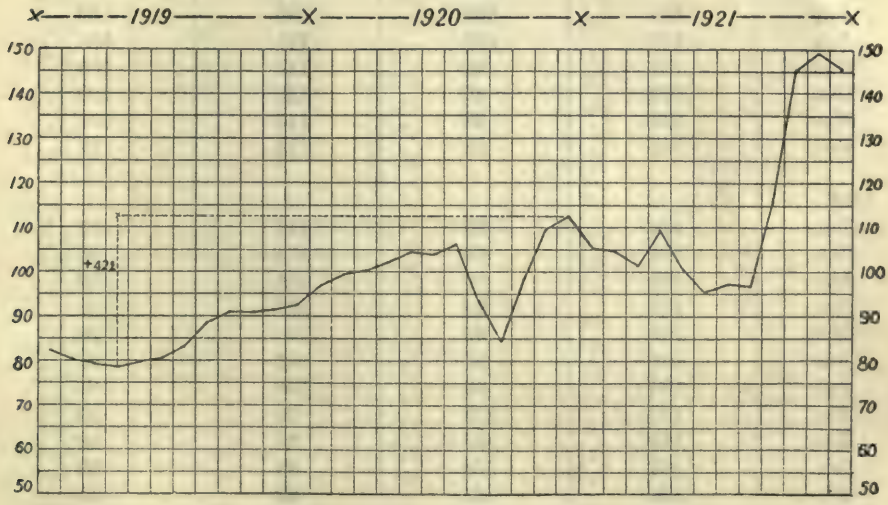

STATISTICS ILLUSTRATING THE DEPRESSION OF 1913-1914

	1. Prices of 25 Factory Goods measured in Dollars.	2. Prices of Wheat measured in Dollars.	3. Prices of 25 Factory Goods measured in Wheat.	4. Index of Employment in Ontario Factories.
	(Base, in each case, =100=mean of quotations for period.)			
1912.				
Jan.	94	100	93	97
Feb.	94	101	91	98
Mar.	94	104	89	98
Apr.	94	107	87	100
May	94	109	85	101
June	95	112	84	101
July	96	112	85	101
Aug.	97	111	86	103
Sept.	98	104	93	104
Oct.	98	95	103	106
Nov.	100	88	112	105
Dec.	100	91	109	104
1913.				
Jan.	101	86	116	107
Feb.	102	87	115	109
Mar.	102	90	112	109
Apr.	102	95	107	109
May	103	98	103	109
June	103	101	100	109
July	103	102	99	107
Aug.	102	100	101	105
Sept.	103	91	112	105
Oct.	103	85	120	106
Nov.	103	88	116	101
Dec.	102	88	115	97
1914.				
Jan.	102	90	112	97
Feb.	102	93	109	98
Mar.	102	95	105	99
Apr.	101	94	106	101
May	102	99	102	98
June	101	97	102	97
July	100	95	105	94
Aug.	100	111	89	90
Sept.	103	117	87	88
Oct.	103	118	86	88
Nov.	103	124	82	85
Dec.	103	125	81	81

STATISTICS ILLUSTRATING THE DEPRESSION OF 1920-1921

	1. Prices of 25 Factory Goods measured in Dollars.	2. Prices of Wheat measured in Dollars.	3. Prices of 25 Factory Goods measured in Wheat.	4. Index of Employment in Ontario Factories. (provisional)
	(Base for tables 1, 2, and 3 = 100 = mean of period.)			(Base = 100 = Jan. 17th, 1920.)
1919.				
Jan.	94	111	82	....
Feb.	91	111	80	....
Mar.	90	111	79	....
Apr.	90	111	79	....
May	91	111	80	....
June	92	111	81	....
July	95	111	83	....
Aug.	99	109	89	....
Sept.	99	106	91	....
Oct.	99	106	91	....
Nov.	100	106	91	....
Dec.	101	106	93	....
1920.				
Jan.	106	106	97	100
Feb.	108	106	99	....
Mar.	109	106	100	102
Apr.	112	106	102	104
May	114	106	105	105
June	113	106	104	107
July	116	106	106	108
Aug.	116	121	94	105
Sept.	117	135	85	105
Oct.	116	115	98	101
Nov.	114	101	110	97
Dec.	111	96	113	90
1921.				
Jan.	104	96	105	86
Feb.	100	93	105	88
Mar.	99	94	102	84
Apr.	98	87	109	82
May	95	92	101	82
June	93	93	97	81
July	91	91	97	80
Aug.	89	89	97	80
Sept.	87	73	116	80
Oct.	85	57	145	79
Nov.	84	55	149	79
Dec.	84	56	146	77

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Some Notes on the Death of Wolfe

ON the occasion of the Wolfe dinner, at Westerham, on January 2, 1922, I was called upon to answer the toast of "Wolfe's fellow-officers". In the course of my remarks, I read portions of a letter from Lieut. Henry Browne, Louisbourg Grenadiers, to his father. Incomplete reports of what I said and read appeared in the public press. Since then I have received many letters from various people on subjects connected with the death of Wolfe. As a result of these inquiries, I have compiled the following notes, which I hope will cover most of the ground.

One of the main points of discussion has been as to which "Brown" or "Browne" was with Wolfe in his dying moments. Claims for four different persons have been, and are being, made. They are as follows:

(1) Arthur Brown, or Browne, of the 28th Foot;
(2) Henry Brown, or Browne, of the Louisbourg Grenadiers;
(3) Arthur Brown, or Browne, fireworker of Artillery;
(4) Henry Brown, or Browne, in one of the two "American" battalions (later formed into the 60th Rifles).

I know of no other Browns or Brownes who are said to have been present at the death of Wolfe. These I propose to deal with in the order in which I have enumerated them.

(1) Arthur Brown, or Browne, 28th Regiment. This man was the second son of John Browne of Westport, Co. Mayo, Ireland. He was born *circa* 1731, and in 1756 married Anne Gardiner of Boston. There are numerous descendants. He was originally in Pole's 62nd Regiment. On December 10, 1755, he exchanged as a captain into the 28th Foot, which he ultimately commanded. He died in Dublin in 1779. Knox, in his *Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, says repeatedly that it was *Lieut.* Brown, of the Louisbourg Grenadiers, who was beside Wolfe when he received his mortal wound. Arthur Browne did not serve in the Louisbourg Grenadiers, and the grenadier company of the 28th was not one of those in the Louisbourg Grenadiers. I can find

no documentary evidence, either in my family or elsewhere, showing that Arthur Browne of the 28th was with Wolfe when the latter was mortally wounded.

(2) Lieutenant Henry Brown, or Browne, 22nd Regiment and Louisbourg Grenadiers. He was the fifth son of John Browne of Westport, and was therefore a younger brother of the Arthur Browne mentioned above. He was born *circa* 1736, married Anna, daughter of Sir Henry Lynch, Bart., and died in 1812. Perhaps the fact that he had no descendants to cherish his memory is the reason why his record has fallen into oblivion. He was an ensign and lieutenant of the 22nd Foot, 1756, a captain in the 5th or Royal Irish Dragoons, 1764, and he resigned his commission in 1771. He is sometimes described as of the 22nd Regiment, and sometimes as of the Louisbourg Grenadiers. This has led to some confusion, but the explanation is simple. The Louisbourg Grenadiers was a composite unit, formed of the grenadier companies of certain regiments at Louisbourg. The grenadier company of the 22nd was one of these.

These two brothers, Arthur and Henry Browne, are sometimes referred to with the prefix "Hon.", and sometimes without it. This also has led to confusion, and even to duplication. In September, 1759, neither of them was entitled to the use of the title "Hon."; but in September, 1760, their father, John Browne of Westport, was created a peer, so that when the various histories of the Quebec campaign were written, they, being then "Honourables", were generally so described.

As the result of my enquiries during the last few years, I have come to the conclusion that Arthur Browne (No. I) was not the man referred to by Knox in his *Journal*. For many years, however, I did think he was, and I may have added to the confusion with regard to his identity. In the early seventies, my eldest uncle, discussing the engraving of West's picture of the death of Wolfe, said: "That man carrying the colours is an ancestor of ours." I had read somewhere that an "Arthur Browne" was with Wolfe when he received his mortal wound. On looking through my family pedigree one day, seeking quite different information, I noticed that Arthur, the second son of John Browne of Westport, was in the 28th Foot, and was at the battle of Quebec. I jumped to the conclusion that this was the man meant by my uncle, and I suggested to the editors of *Burke's Peerage* that the fact should be recorded under his name. I believe that for some years it did so appear. Subsequently a younger uncle of mine, a

younger brother of the former, in reply to my statement that Arthur Browne, the second son of John Browne, had been with Wolfe when he was wounded, said: "No, I think not. I think it was Arthur's younger brother, Henry, who was there, and we have somewhere a letter which will prove it. Both brothers were at the battle, but it was Henry who was alongside of Wolfe. Arthur was with his regiment farther down the line." I was never able to find this letter amongst those at my home; and, as the library at Westport was burnt in 1825, I thought it might have been destroyed at that time. But as Doughty (1901) gives extracts from the letter, I knew that it had existed, and I mentioned it to various members of my family. My brother-in-law, Mr. J. F. Mahon, told me that his brother, Sir William Mahon, had at his home, Castlegar, Co. Galway, many letters to an ancestor, Anne Mahon, who was the only daughter of John Browne of Westport (and consequently the sister of Arthur and Henry Browne), and suggested a search. Sir William kindly made the search, and found the letter. It is from Henry to his father, John Browne, and is dated Louisbourg, November 17, 1759. In it he says: "I was the person who carried General Wolfe off the field. He was wounded as he stood within a foot of me." Knox, in his *Journal*, distinctly states that he obtained his information from *Lieut.* Henry "Brown" of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg and the 22nd, and from Mr. James "Henderson", a volunteer from the 28th, who was also with the Louisbourg Grenadiers and in the same company as Brown. He interviewed these two officers within one or two days of the action, and at once put their statements down in writing. This must be considered first-hand evidence given on the spot at the time. There is a letter written by Henderson to his uncle, corroborative of this; but I know of no other account written by eyewitnesses at the time. From the above I cannot but come to the conclusion that it was Henry Browne, 22nd Regiment and Louisbourg Grenadiers, and not Arthur Browne, 28th Regiment, who was with Wolfe when he received his mortal wound. Knox was a most conscientious and laborious diarist. He wrote up his journal almost daily, making entries with scrupulous accuracy. He is very explicit in the account he gives, which he took down from the two officers mentioned, and he says that they, together with a private soldier who saw Wolfe fall, and an officer of artillery who came up a moment later, were the only persons who, in the heat and turmoil of the action, actually witnessed the fall of Wolfe.

KEY TO THE PICTURE OF THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE AT QUEBEC, PAINTED BY BENJAMIN WEST, P.R.A., IN 1771, AND ENGRAVED BY WOOLLETT IN 1776.

1. General Wolfe.
2. Surgeon Adair.
3. Captain Hervey Smith, or Smyth, A.D.C., son of Sir Robert and Lady Louisa (daughter of 1st Earl of Bristol) Smyth.
4. Colonel Barré, Adjt.-General.
5. Colonel Williamson, C.R.A.
6. Lieut. Henry Browne, 22nd Regt. and Louisburgh Grenadiers, 5th son of John Browne of Westport (cr. Baron Mount Eagle in 1760, Viscount Westport in 1768, and Earl of Altamont in 1771).
7. Sir William Howe (afterwards General, 5th Viscount Howe), 5th son of 2nd Viscount Howe.
8. General the Hon. R. Monckton (son of 1st Viscount Galway), second-in-command.
9. Captain Debbieg.
10. General's servant.
11. A Grenadier.
12. Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, Lieut.-Colonel Fraser Highlanders.
13. Probably Colonel Napier.

(3) Lieutenant Arthur Brown, or Browne, Fireworker, Royal Artillery. This officer, who became subsequently a lieutenant-colonel and governor of Charleston and Kinsale, was born in 1743, was twice married, in 1769 and 1801, had twenty-one children, and died in 1827. At Quebec, in 1759, he acted as brigade major to his relative, Col. George Williamson, commanding Royal Artillery. There is a letter extant from this Lieut. Arthur Browne, in the possession of Lieut.-General Sir Arthur G. F. Browne, K.C.B., D.S.O., the grandson (*i.e.*, the son of the youngest son) of Lieut. Arthur Browne, Fireworker, which refers to the death of Wolfe. The letter is undated, but the paper watermark (1795) shows it to have been written some forty years after the event. In it the writer states that he was present with General Wolfe when he received his mortal wound. If so, he must have been sent over from the south side of the river by Col. Williamson, who was, until late in the day, on that bank of the St. Lawrence. It is strange that he does not explain this in his statement. One could understand his omitting to do so had the statement been written at the moment, but one would think that forty years afterwards he would have deemed it explanatory of his presence on the north side of the river to state why he was there, since a perusal of orders and dispatches would indicate that he should have been on the south side of the river. One cannot, however, but accept a definite statement from a man in the position of Col. Arthur Browne, governor of Charleston and Kinsale, coupled with the reference by Knox to an officer of artillery being present; and one may presume therefore that he was the "Arthur Browne" so often mentioned.

(4) Captain Henry Brown appears in a list of officers of the 60th Foot in 1763, and he is also shown in the Army List on the half-pay of the 60th. Of this man I know nothing.

There are several other people who are said to have assisted Wolfe after he was hit, and it is very likely that all did so. Henderson states definitely that Wolfe walked nearly a hundred yards without assistance. Why should not all of these men have assisted him at some time or other? Henry Browne says that Wolfe died in his arms. He says that he carried Wolfe off the field, and that the general was wounded within a foot of him. He does not say that he alone carried Wolfe. One should not bind him in the use of the word "carried" to mean that he alone, without assistance, lifted Wolfe off the ground, and carried him. In similar circumstances, anyone who had helped to carry him,

or even to support him, might easily, in a letter, have used the single word "carried".

In 1771 Benjamin West painted a picture of the death of Wolfe of which he made several copies. This picture was painted in London. It has no historical importance, because some of the men depicted in it were not in the proximity of Wolfe when he died. In 1776 Woollett engraved this picture, and published a key to the identity of six of the thirteen European figures in it. I, of course, accept these, and I indicate them on the key which is reproduced herewith by the following numbers:

1. General Wolfe.
3. Captain Hervey Smith, A.D.C.
4. Colonel Barré.
5. Colonel Williamson.
8. General Monckton, second in command.
9. Captain Debbieg.

There remain 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, and 13. Nos. 10 and 11 are obviously the general's servant and the soldier. No. 6 has been called the "Hon. Arthur Browne". I maintain that this is not Arthur Browne, but his younger brother, Henry Browne, afterwards the Hon. Henry Browne. My grandfather, who was twenty-three years of age when Henry Browne died in 1812, knew him. There is a story in the family that Henry Browne told my grandfather that he was the man who is depicted as carrying the colours in the picture painted by West, that his face is represented as foreshortened and in deep shadow because he refused to pay West a fee, and that, had he not been (in 1771, when the picture was painted) the son of a peer, he might not have been included in the picture at all. But this is not evidence; it is merely hearsay, and to it I attach no importance. I merely give it for what it is worth. No. 7 is accepted by all as Sir William Howe. There remain only Nos. 12 and 13. No. 12 I believe to be Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, and Lieut.-Col., Fraser Highlanders. He is wearing the Fraser tartan. No. 13 is perhaps Col. Napier, mentioned by Doughty and Parmalee as being in the picture.

SLIGO

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Source-book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History. By P. G. Mode. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company. 1921. Pp. xxiv, 735. ($4.50.)

Of the class of books not intended to be read but to be consulted for aid in reading others, this work should prove one of the most satisfying. It maintains throughout its seven hundred and more pages the double character of a bibliographical guide and a selection of source materials, all so arranged and classified as to form the basis for a sound and comprehensive study of the whole field of American church history. The special student of that subject will now find his path to knowledge made considerably easier than before; and no library professing any equipment for the study of American history in general will fail to provide itself with Professor Mode's treatise.

The material is handled critically and without trace of bias. A brief and admirably condensed chapter dealing with the bibliography of American history, political, social and ecclesiastical, leads to the consecutive presentation of twenty-nine groups of data in as many chapters, The chapters, in nearly all cases, represent well-defined units of history. for example, Plymouth Colony in the seventeenth century, the Great Awakening, the Christianization of the Indian. The final chapter extends to nearly a hundred pages and is made a receptacle for everything of note since the Civil War. Somewhat expanded and subdivided, this portion might well have been offered as a second volume. Yet it is scarcely to be regretted that for the recent history the author has sacrificed comprehensiveness and logic to convenience and economy, and contrived to keep within two covers.

Each chapter consists of a bibliography and a set of documents. The former is never a mere list. Important books and articles are critically appraised in brief phraseology—a feature which will be much appreciated by the busy investigator. The documents are drawn from a wide range of sources, and their varied character illustrates the extraordinary variety of religious phenomena which American political institutions have encouraged. The author has utilized his space so as to give a maximum of information about important movements, while venturing to omit phases less significant. Not all the innumerable sects which have taken origin or found refuge in the United States

are noticed in the work. But the great denominations and the history-making incidents have been studied with care, and will be fairly understood from the documents selected. None but the idly curious or fastidious scholar will regret the omission of any information on the Rappists of Economy, Pa., or the Bible Communists of Oneida, N.Y. The origin and growth of Seventh Day Adventism might perhaps have claimed a bibliographical note, especially since such is accorded to Dowieism.

Appreciation of the main currents is, however, the dominant note of the work, and little of real historical significance has been excluded. The Mayflower Compact, the Blue Laws of Connecticut, John Locke's abortive but significant constitution for Carolina, the expeditions of Count Zinzendorf among the Indian villages, the founding of Harvard and Yale, the Jesuit-Franciscan missions in California, denominational schisms over slavery and more recent union movements, religious expansion westward, Leo XIII's discouraging pronouncement upon Paul Hecker's "Americanism", the revelation of the Book of Mormon, the Briggs heresy trial, the social principles of the Federal Council of Churches—random mention of these will suggest the character of the topics with which Professor Mode has illustrated an important phase of New World history.

The extent of the bibliographical material will probably cause surprise. Evidently, in narrow patches at least, American church history has been much written about. It is not too much to say, however, that the subject has never before been so conscientiously studied as a whole, or so advantageously presented.

Such a book is the despair of the proof-reader, and perfection in this particular would be superhuman. The following lines contain errors, two or three of which are rather startling: p. 280, last line; p. 434 l. 25; p. 445, l. 6; p. 521, l. 7; p. 634, l. 32; and the author can hardly have intended the slur conveyed by "exhaustingly", instead of "exhaustively" (p. 638, l. 35).

The work has few references to Canadian matters, although, on such subjects as the Jesuit missions, the present border is sometimes crossed. Professor Mode is of Canadian birth, and an *alumnus* of a Canadian university. It would be a welcome contribution to a neglected field if he could be induced to prepare a similar guide-book for the religious history of his native country.

JOHN T. MCNEILL

Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686. By GEORGE PRATT INSH. Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co. 1922. Pp. 283. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

SOME books have a negative rather than a positive value. Dr. Insh

has gone thoroughly into the material, both printed and unpublished, with regard to Scottish colonial schemes in the seventeenth century, and has produced a book the chief value of which is that it shows conclusively that the Scottish share in colonization, previous to the ill-fated Darien Scheme, did not amount to much. The reasons for this are partly given by Sir Walter Scott, in a passage quoted by Dr. Insh from the introduction to *The Legend of Montrose:* "The contempt of commerce entertained by young men having some pretence to gentility, the poverty of the country of Scotland, the national disposition to wandering and adventure, all conduced to lead the Scots abroad into the military service of countries which were at war with each other." In addition, the union between the two countries was one of crowns only, and England was almost as hostile as Spain to any attempt at colonization by her northern neighbour. The apparently extensive illicit commerce, especially in tobacco, with the British colonies, which did not a little to build up the prosperity of Glasgow, is mentioned by Dr. Insh, but one could wish that he had gone into it more thoroughly. Of course, smugglers are the last people in the world to leave behind carefully docketed records, but from the papers of Edward Randolph, and from other scattered sources, not a little could be learned.

But Dr. Insh's scholarly manuscript, which was awarded the Carnegie Essay Prize by the University of Glasgow in 1920-21, and which was originally presented by its author to the University as a thesis for the degree of D.Litt., has more than a negative value. It gives a lucid account of Sir William Alexander and of his times, and of his attempts to found a colony in Nova Scotia; in an appendix cogent reasons are given for the view that Alexander's first settlement at Port Royal dates not from 1628, the date usually accepted, but from 1629. Such share as the Scots had in the settlement of East New Jersey, of South Carolina, and of the Barbados, is clearly set forth, and an appendix gives some interesting letters about East New Jersey, hitherto only accessible in the rare seventeenth-century *Model of the Government of East New Jersey* by George Scot of Pitlochie.

The book is well printed, well bound, adequately indexed, and written in a style far superior to that of the average thesis. One or two slips, such as "Bilbao" for Balboa (p. 5), should be corrected if another edition is ever called for. W. L. GRANT

Le Régiment de Carignan. (*Mêlanges historiques:* Volume 8. Études éparses et inédites de BENJAMIN SULTE. Compilées, anotées et publiés par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE.) Montreal: G. Ducharme. 1922. Pp. 144.

Le Fort de Chambly. Par BENJAMIN SULTE et GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. (*Mélanges historiques:* Volume 9.) Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1922. Pp. 74.

IT is now a long time since antiquarians began a diligent search for the official papers of the Carignan regiment. The regiment, as is well known, came to Canada in 1665. A couple of years later its staff officers went back to France, accompanied by some officers of the line, non-commissioned officers, and men. The remainder chose to remain in the colony, and of these the majority became settlers in the valley of the Richelieu, where their descendants are to be found in large numbers to-day. Like all other military organizations, the Carignan regiment must have had registers, payrolls, and other documents, and it may be assumed that these were taken home to France when the staff officers departed from the colony, but of this we have no certain knowledge. At any rate, no one has ever been able to discover their present whereabouts, if indeed they are still extant.

In the absence of official data, it is not an easy task for any historian to piece together, from stray allusions in the correspondence and chronicles of the period, a well-proportioned and accurate account of the regiment's activities in Canada. Mr. Sulte has done the job as well as anyone could have done it, and a great deal better than might have been thought possible in view of the scant material which exists for the study of colonial happenings during the years 1665-1668. His monograph leaves the reader in the dark on some important matters, it is true, but it is an astonishingly good piece of historical mosaic-making none the less.

The study falls into two parts of nearly equal length. The first deals with the history of the Carignans before and after their arrival in Canada; the second is devoted to a study of the officer-personnel. The historical section is now reprinted substantially as M. Sulte wrote it twenty years ago. Practically nothing has been added to our knowledge of the subject during that time. M. Malchelosse, however, has been able to insert many interesting and useful footnotes which supplement and elucidate the original text. The biographical section contains the names of ninety Carignan officers, which represents nearly the entire complement. M. Malchelosse gives reasons in the preface for believing that the officers numbered ninety-six in all; if that be the case, M. Sulte has let only a half dozen get away from him. Brief sketches of the more prominent among these legionaries are given, including Berthier, Saint-Ours, Chambly, Sorel, Durantaye, Contrecœur, Dugué, Varennes, La Valterie, and others well known to every student of early Canadian history. These fifty pages of biographical data are of great and permanent value.

The sketch of the old fort at Chambly, which M. Malchelosse calls "one of the oldest and most picturesque of American ruins", is a shorter study, written in popular vein and without claiming to embody the fruits of special research. Here, also, some notes and illustrative material have been added to the original text, thus increasing its usefulness. The frontispiece, showing the fort as it looks to-day, is admirable, as are the tracings which show its original layout.

Looking back over the nine volumes of *Mélanges historiques* which have thus far been published, one may get some idea of the prodigious industry with which M. Sulte has kept his pen at work for more than forty years. These fugitive pieces represent only a small part of his total production. Assuredly he has done a man's full share in making known the annals of his race.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

Annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal. Redigées par la sœur MORIN, collationées et annotées par Æ. FAUTEUX, E. Z. MASSICOTTE, C. BERTRAND, avec une introduction par VICTOR MORIN. (Mémoires de la Société Historique de Montréal: douzième livraison.) Montréal: L'Imprimerie des Editeurs. 1921. Pp. xi, 252.

IN the year 1697 Sister Marie Morin of the Hôtel-Dieu at Montreal began, under instructions from her mother superior, the task of putting down on paper the history of that institution. She had been born at Quebec in 1649 (and thus would appear to have been the first Canadian-born authoress); she had entered the Hôtel-Dieu at Montreal at the early age of thirteen years in 1662, only three years after its foundation; and she had grown up with the three reverend sisters who had founded it. Her evidence must be regarded, therefore, as being as near as possible to that of an eye-witness. The record which she began she kept up until her death; and after her death it was continued by others, all of whom are anonymous, except one who lived a century later.

This precious document, so important for the early history of New France, the sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu have preserved carefully and guarded jealously. Written originally only for their own eyes, they have hesitated to give it to the world. It is only recently that they have even permitted a transcript to be made of it for the Public Archives of Canada. Yielding however, to the repeated sollicitations of the Société Historique de Montréal, they have now consented to its publication; and the present volume, in the editing of which some of the ablest of French-Canadian scholars have collaborated, is the happy result.

It will not be expected that the pages of Sister Morin will rival in interest the *relations* of the Jesuit fathers, of which they are in some

sense a counterpart. The nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu looked at life through the grill of a cloister; and it is significant that the good sister who acts as their chronicler is occasionally in error even as to the identity of the governor of New France at a given date. She sees, as a rule, only what comes within her narrow orbit; but within this orbit her vision is correspondingly acute, and the description she gives is correspondingly vivid. Nothing could be clearer or more detailed than the picture she draws of the first buildings which the sisters occupied, or of the privations they endured during their first winters in Montreal. "Leur maison," she says, "était trouée en plus de 2 cents endroits." The bread had to be roasted before the fire before it could be cut and eaten. Even the wine froze on the tables; and if food was served on a plate, the diners had scarcely time to eat their small portions before the last mouthfuls were "aussi froides que la glace et toutes gelées". Yet there was cheerfulness and laughter in the ramshackle *hôpital*. Under their deep piety, the sisters had a keen sense of humour. They were apparently much amused by the confidence which their patients displayed in the medical science of the priest who acted as hospital physician. "Enfin," says Sister Morin, "les malades croyois ne pouvoir mourir quand ils s'étois mis entre ses mains ou gouvernés par ses conseils. Ce qui passa à un excès à faire rire." And she preserves for us a charming anecdote about a visit which Maisonneuve paid to the hospital, which both for the human light which it throws on Maisonneuve, and for the insight which it gives into the life of the good sisters, is worth translating in full:

> In this connection I will tell you about a bit of banter in which Monsieur de Maisonneuve, the governor of Montreal, indulged one day. Having come to the hospital, he had Sister Maillet called, and begged her to take off her dress and her head-gear, and borrow those of one of her sisters. He then visited one after the other, and turning the dress about on all sides very precisely, with a most serious air, as though he wished to use it as a pattern, he proceeded to ask Madame D'Ailleboust and some other persons who were present, what was the original material of the dress and the apron, and if the head-gear had really been made of nine sorts of taffeta. Each one said that she neither would nor could pronounce on the matter with certainty, because of the large number of pieces which were of belting-cloth and camlot—the greatest part of the head-dress being composed of the remnants of the clothes of the said lady and of Mlle. Mance, as were also the dress and the apron. Then giving way to his sense of humour Monsieur de Maisonneuve laughed for a quarter of an hour without stopping (p. 164).

From the foregoing the reader will derive perhaps some idea of the very interesting and valuable materials which this little volume contains. It remains only to add that the volume has been edited in a manner which deserves nothing but praise. The text of the *mémoire*

has been reproduced *literatim;* the annotations are brief, scholarly, and to the point; and Mr. Victor Morin's introduction is so admirable that one wishes there were more of it.

Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xv, 401. ($5.00.)

THIS book contains, manifestly, the essence of many years of patient research. Every phase of Massachusetts' connection with the sea, during the period of which it treats, has been discussed in a comprehensive and balanced manner; every necessary line has been laid in, but without any overburdening with detail; the result is a picture wonderfully complete and gripping in its realism. The very tang of the sea has been caught. To quote the author's words in the preface: "Here is no catalogue of ships, reader, nor naval chronicle, but a story of maritime enterprise; of the shipping, seaborne commerce, whaling, and fishing belonging to one American commonwealth".

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the opinion prevailed that vessels of two or three hundred tons were the ideal size for economical operation, and while New England forests still supplied oak and other timber in abundance, almost every stream in Massachusetts contributed its quota to the merchant marine; the vessels, however, were sailed out of Boston or Salem, commanded generally by young men, sometimes barely out of their teens.

The portions that are of direct and peculiar interest to students of Canadian history are chapters iv ("Pioneers of the Pacific"), v ("The Northwest Fur Trade"), and vi ("The Canton Market"). Two other chapters round out the view, presenting owners, masters, and crew at work and at play: viii ("Ships and Seamen"), and ix ("Merchants and Mansions"). The story of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, the pioneer American vessels in the maritime fur trade on the Northwest coast, is retold, but it is to be regretted that even Dr. Morison's careful researches have brought practically nothing new to light. Throughout these chapters we meet familiar names of vessels: *Hope*, *Margaret*, *Atahualpa*, *Union*, *Lydia*, and *Boston*, and the names of captains constantly mentioned in British Columbian history: Ingraham, Magee, Sturgis, and others. For twenty years and more, Boston completely monopolized the Northwest coast trade, which had become an integral part of its commercial life. The return, after an absence of more than two years, of the little eighty-nine ton sloop *Union*, commanded by John Boit, then barely twenty-one years of age, attracted no attention whatever. The only notice taken of the event was: "Sloop *Union*,

Boit, Canton", in small type at the end of the "Arrivals" in the *Boston Centinel*.

The volume is remarkably free from errors and misstatements; so far as relates to the British Columbian coast none of any importance has been noted. But we cannot agree with the remark on page 57 that New England rum was entirely absent from that trade. The Boston vessels, on the evidence of a number of witnesses, certainly brought it, in some cases at least. It may have been missing in the manifests, but it was, surely, in the holds. For instance, the *Margaret* above mentioned carried it, as the following quotation (see the *New Vancouver Journal* in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. v, p. 224) shows:

> Before we were here long we found that ill-health was not Mr. Magee's (the captain of the *Margaret*) only motive for remaining on shore here (Nootka Sound), for he was carrying on a most profitable trade with the Spaniards and Seamen in Spirituous Liquors, generously charging only four Dollars a gallon for Yankee Rum that cost him most probably about 2/- or half a crown per gallon.

Everyone remembers Jewett's description of the drunken orgy that followed the seizure of the *Boston* by the Indians in 1803.

The book has been carefully printed on good paper. It is well illustrated, there being fully sixty views of Boston wharves, ships, and seamen, and of incidents in the voyages; of these, eight, including the "Hongs of Old Canton", and the "Pagoda Anchorage at Whampoa", will interest all students of the maritime fur-trading days. The bibliography appended is worthy of special notice, not only because of the vast list of authorities, but also for the amount of information scattered through it. That which Lord Campbell regarded as an essential part of a book—the index—has been carefully prepared and is of real service and value.

F. W. HOWAY

The Last Phase of the Oregon Boundary Question. By ANDREW FISH (The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, vol. xxii, pp. 161-224).

THIS is an attempt to discuss the San Juan trouble of 1859-1871. That was a small matter, and was contained within a very narrow compass. The author, however, has difficulty in finding a point of commencement, and is like the writer mentioned by Macaulay who began his history of the Trojan war "gemino ab ovo". What is called a background is therefore sketched in; it covers thirty pages—one half of the article—and begins with the downfall of Montezuma and the settlement of Virginia. 'Tis certainly a far cry, and the relevancy none too apparent. Moreover, this introduction is utterly valueless and absolutely mis-

leading. It contains errors of fact on nearly every page; it fails to distinguish between the colony of Vancouver Island and the colony of British Columbia; it confuses the Hudson's Bay Company with the government of British Columbia; and to crown all, being founded in great part upon the Nugent Report, which is filled with "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" towards everything British, it gives an altogether biassed and distorted view of the conditions then existing. The least examination into contemporary sources would have disclosed the utter unreliability of John Nugent. Had the author only skimmed through, for instance, H. H. Bancroft's *Popular Tribunals*, he would have found enough outcropping to warn him against placing any structure on such a sandy foundation. The introduction is, in that part where reliance is placed on Nugent, not history at all, but the confused farrago of the man on the street.

The root of the trouble on San Juan Island, between the settlers and the Hudson's Bay Company, lay not in the fact that it was that company which claimed to occupy a large portion of the island for sheep-grazing, but in the age-old conflict between the man who wishes to use the land and the large land-owner or soulless corporation that is retarding development by the retention of vast unutilized areas.

The Treaty of Washington, 1846, had purported to draw a line of water boundary from the middle of the Strait of Georgia to the Pacific Ocean. Unfortunately, the document had been hastily prepared, and did not condescend to details of the exact channel. This left the Haro archipelago, or San Juan group, in a doubtful position; there was a channel—Canal de Haro—to the westward, and another channel—Rosario Strait—to the eastward, of the group. For years the islands were claimed by both the American and the British authorities. Considerable local friction arose, which, however, was kept within bounds by instructions to the officials of both governments to refrain from acts upon the disputed ground which might provoke conflict, until Harney in July, 1859, ordered Pickett to take possession of San Juan Island. Then matters assumed a belligerent appearance, or, to quote the graceful words of our author, "the fat was in the fire". In the end a joint possession by British and American forces was arranged by General Winfield Scott, and the dispute, after dragging along for about twelve years, was referred to the German Emperor, who decided it in favour of the United States.

In this portion of his article the author is on much safer ground, though he scarcely shows that even balance which should characterize an historical study. There is nothing new in his discussion of the conduct of Harney, Pickett, Douglas, and Baynes. It is all to be found

in the printed documents. No effort has been made, apparently, to reach either the report of General Winfield Scott or that of Governor Douglas. The trite and recognized conclusions are reached; as, for example, that "Harney through Pickett disturbed the status established by Marcy in 1855." In Horatio's words, "There needs no ghost, my Lord, come from the grave to tell us this." It is the position adopted by all historians for the past fifty years.

F. W. HOWAY

Cours d'histoire du Canada. Par THOMAS CHAPAIS. Tome III (1815-1833). Québec: Librairie Garneau. 1921. Pp. 334.

THIS volume, as the title indicates, contains the third series of a course of lectures delivered by Senator Chapais before the students of Laval University. As readers of the earlier volumes will have noted, the course is strictly limited in its range. It does not purport to be a history of Canada as a whole, nor indeed a complete history of Lower Canada, to which it is confined. The purpose of the lecturer is simply to furnish French-Canadian students with an account of the course of political events since the beginning of British rule, so far as these have affected their own people. Mr. Chapais quite frankly identifies himself with his hearers. Everywhere throughout the pages of the volume, one comes upon "nous" and "ils," the former denoting the French Canadians, and the latter *tous nous autres.*

This appearance of abandoning the detachment which is an essential attribute of the historian carries with it a peculiar obligation of impartiality. "Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice" must be our author's unfailing watchword, if he is to gain and hold the confidence of his audience. He will naturally tell his hearers of the struggles of their fathers for the establishment of a better order of things, enabling them to rejoice in the victories, and to await patiently the success which has been postponed by temporary defeat. But he must, also, signalize their faults and shortcomings, and, harder still, set forth with perfect fairness the position of those who for one reason or another happen to be on the other side. He must be a man of judicial mind, disposed to deal fairly with the facts as he finds them, and of that sympathetic understanding that gives him insight into the motives of others. With these qualifications, his success will depend on the opportunities he has had for access to the original sources, and on the industry with which he has turned his opportunities to account.

No one, we think, who has read the three volumes which have appeared will deny that Mr. Chapais has all these qualifications of the historian. His acquaintance with the documents and literature of the

period is wide and accurate, and his temper is eminently judicial. He is generous in his praise, and just, though never harsh, in his condemnation.

The seven lectures, which make up this volume, cover the period from 1812 until 1831. The title page describes the period as from 1815 until 1833. But the first lecture covers the whole of the civil administration of Prevost, and the last merely glances into 1833. Unless we are mistaken, events took place in 1832 which call for extended treatment.

The period surveyed by these lectures is rather barren in moving incidents, though it is of prime importance to the student of political history. At its opening, we find a House of Assembly the great majority of whose members were smarting from the rigorous and despotic proceedings of Sir James Craig. Their sense of security under the law had been shaken, and they were made to see how much their liberty, legislative and personal, lay in the hands of the individual who happened to be entrusted with the government of the country. If the governor were a man of wisdom and tact, who was in sympathy with their legitimate claims as British subjects, the friction between the Assembly and the other branches of the legislature was not excessive. When, on the other hand, the governor happened to be one disposed to exalt the ill-defined prerogatives of his position, the situation became well-nigh unendurable.

But while tolerable relations between the Assembly and the other parts of the governmental organization depended in the last resort on the governor, the attitude of the co-ordinate legislative body, the Legislative Council, towards all questions of particular concern to French Canadians was a constant provocative of irritation and suspicion. The Council was composed in large part of government officials and judges (out of twenty-eight members in 1828 seventeen were placemen), and as a body its policy was the maintenance of the supremacy of the British minority in matters of church and state. The recognition of the Roman Catholic bishop, and the permission allowed to him to choose his own priests, threw the leaders of the Council into a state of gloom. Ryland declared that these things meant the overthrow of the governor's power in the country and its transference to the bishop. The Anglican bishop, perhaps naturally, protested against the admission of Bishop Plessis to the Council, but the government at home was not to be moved either by protests or predictions of evil. The Council, in its bearing towards the Assembly, was arrogant and implacable; and, when the collisions between the two bodies resulted in a deadlock, it was the Assembly which had to yield, to allow the legislative machinery to recommence its functioning.

As will be seen from Mr. Chapais's pages, the Assembly now and then took some ill-considered steps. Small wonder! There was no authoritative, sympathetic leading, and its critics were mainly those whom it had good reason to regard as its enemies. But during this period at least the members of the Assembly had the redeeming quality of willingness to retrace their steps, when convicted of error.

The first serious escapade of the Assembly was the impeachment of the two chief justices—Sewell and Monk. Now these men ought to have been removed, particularly Sewell, as he with Ryland and Bishop Mountain had been the principal adviser of Craig in his despotic courses. But, while this was the case, valid grounds for impeachment did not exist. In their resentment, however, the Assembly fell easily into the schemes of James Stuart, who had a grudge to settle with Sewell.

Stuart had been dismissed from the solicitor-generalship by Craig for disloyalty to the administration which he served, and as Sewell's brother was appointed to succeed him, Stuart assumed, rightly or wrongly, that Sewell had been instrumental in his removal. As Mr. Chapais says, after paying just tribute to Stuart's superior abilities, he was "vindictive, tenacious in his antipathies, and at the same time versatile in his opinions." In this as in other transactions, he displayed that sort of monstrous egotism which finds no difficulty in identifying a personal grievance with public wrongs; and, as his conduct during and after election in Sorel in 1831 showed, when his own interests and respect for the law came into conflict, it was not his interests that suffered. It is satisfactory to note that the chamber which he had misled in 1814 refused to follow him in 1817 in his defiance of the decision of the Privy Council on the impeachments, and that he displayed his real character by dropping the popular party because of this refusal. When he reappeared in the House, he had made his peace with the government, and was thereafter its mainstay in its struggles with the Assembly.

As the disputes between the executive and the Assembly turned mainly for many years on the control of the appropriations of the provincial revenues, Mr. Chapais has rendered a real service to all students by the very clear statement he has furnished of the financial situation of the province. He explains clearly how it came to pass that part of the revenue was under the exclusive control of the governor, while the remainder—much the larger portion—could be allocated only with the consent of the legislature.

The governor, under instructions from London, which were reinforced by the advice of his Executive Council, sought to obtain the disposal of funds sufficient to cover the civil list, by requests to the

legislature to adopt the British practice, and vote a sum to provide for the civil list during the life of the sovereign. As such a concession would have deprived the Assembly of all control over the expenditure, they refused to do this, and, going to the other extreme, drew up an appropriation bill on the model employed by the older colonial assemblies, which was brought to their attention by Stuart. In this bill, the amounts to be voted for salaries and other services were set forth, item by item, the officer being designated with the salary attached to the office. This bill was rejected by the Legislative Council, and, to discourage further attempts of the same sort, the Council passed a resolution that they would never consent to the passage of an appropriation bill, which would fetter the governor in the allocation of the funds voted.

In the absence of a supply bill, the governor had at his disposal only the sums which formed the permanent revenues, that is, those derived from the Quebec Revenue Act of 1774, and the provincial Acts of 1793 and 1795, which were passed at a time when the relations between the Assembly and the executive were cordial. There was also a small amount collected each year under the denomination of the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown. The insufficiency of the amount in the hands of the governor to meet the expenses of government gave rise to every expedient which the ingenuity of the Executive Council could devise. The story of the illegalities resorted to, in the employment of unappropriated provincial funds without legislative authority, and of the omission to pay the salaries of that class of officials in which the governor conceived the Assembly to have a special interest, makes painful reading.

In 1825, Sir Francis Burton, the lieutenant-governor, who was administering the government in the absence of Lord Dalhousie, succeeded in inducing the Assembly to adopt a form of bill that would be acceptable to the Legislative Council and to himself. He reported his success to the Colonial Office with much satisfaction, but Lord Dalhousie, who was keeping a close eye on affairs through his communications with the Colonial Office, foresaw a lowering of his prestige in Burton's victory, where he himself had failed. Under his influence, therefore, the colonial secretary, so far from approving of Burton's proceedings, actually censured him for disregarding his instructions. To cap the climax, the Legislative Council, which had accepted almost unanimously the bill of 1825, threw out the bill of 1826, drawn up in precisely identical terms. The rival claims of executive and Assembly respecting the disposition of supplies were thus reopened, and remained unsettled until after responsible government had been introduced.

The incidents connected with the Union Bill of 1822, of which the disputes between Upper and Lower Canada regarding the division of the revenue from the customs was the occasion, though probably not the cause, are well described in this book. John Neilson, who, with L. J. Papineau, was sent as delegate to represent the Lower Canadian views on the bill, reported a conversation the delegates had with Mr. Wilmot-Horton, the parliamentary under-secretary of the Colonial Office. We quote a sentence from his report, which shows the characteristic attitude towards the colonies at that time. Mr. Wilmot-Horton said "it was not expected that the bill would be in accordance with the wishes of the French Canadians, but that it was thought the measure would be ultimately for their good. If the three branches of Parliament approved the measure it could hardly prove otherwise, as they could be under no prejudices. He instanced the case of a child who might dislike first going to school, but sending him there was nevertheless for his advantage."

The course of affairs as described could have but one ending. A complete *impasse* was reached in 1827. Dalhousie set himself squarely against the resolutions of the House, by refusing to accept Papineau, who had been elected as speaker, and on the persistence of the House in its choice, prorogued the legislature. Public feeling in Quebec was outraged, and great petitions were sent to the king, setting forth the grievances from which the province was suffering. The petitions were referred to a committee of the House of Commons, which heard evidence from all quarters from which information could be expected, including a deputation sent over by the Assembly, composed of Messrs Neilson, Viger, and Cuvillier. The report of the committee was an eminently satisfactory document. It acknowledged the grievances alleged by the representatives, and outlined a series of ameliorations, which it was trusted would bring about harmony between the executive and the representatives of the people.

The report was received with joy in Canada, the most extreme of the popular party declaring that, if carried into effect, its recommendations would remove every vestige of ground for complaint. The first step was the recall of Dalhousie.

At this point, it may be observed that, on the question as to whether the recommendations had or had not been carried out, arose the first breach in the hitherto unbroken front. Papineau and his extremist followers insisted that nothing substantial had been accomplished towards remedying the old state of affairs. Neilson, on the other hand, who had been as faithful a member of the popular party as Papineau himself, declared that the progress made by the government between

the years 1828 and 1833, in removing the legitimate grievances of the province, amounted to something like a revolution. He pointed out that whereas, in 1828, seventeen members of the Legislative Council were in receipt of salaries from the public treasury, in 1833 there were only seven of this description in a Council of thirty-four. The judges were all withdrawn from the Council, except the chief justice. Almost every one of the bills which having been passed by the Assembly were rejected by the former Council, had been adopted and was now the law of the land. "The great body of the inhabitants of the province," he said, "feel no galling oppression, no material suffering. It is not likely that they will lay aside their usual good sense, and at the call of heated and inconsiderate partisans, give a new practical instance of the madness of the many for the benefit or the gratification of the few."

Neilson's defection from the cause of the extremists of the popular party was serious, but its influence was slight as compared with the alienation of the ecclesiastics as the result of the ill-considered action and speech of Papineau and his followers on a bill to democratize the bodies which managed the temporalities of the Roman Catholic churches. Papineau characterized the church in sharp words, and one of his supporters declared that "the clergy recalls to one those ages of barbarism, in which, in the plenitude of their power, they trampled under foot all other powers." The bishops and clergy made every effort to prevent the passing of the bill before the House, but they were put aside with contumely. The other side were not slow to seize on the opportunity thus afforded by the Papineau faction. Neilson spoke against the bill, and when it came before the Legislative Council, it was subjected to a six months' hoist, against which only two members of the Council voted.

The next series of these lectures, which have already been delivered, will take us through more stirring times; and we have reason to be grateful to Mr. Chapais for presenting us with so impartial a view of the situation at the opening of the last act.

WILLIAM SMITH

Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records. Volume XIX. Toronto: Published by the Society. [1922.] Pp. 191.

THIS volume contains fourteen contributions of varying length. The longest is "A Sketch of the Public Life and Services of Robert Nichol", by Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, lately president of the society, which takes up nearly half the volume. This essay describes the public career of a Scottish merchant who was a member of the Upper Canadian Legislative Assembly from 1812 to 1821, and Quartermaster-General of Militia during the war. Nichol, as early as 1798, was connected in

trade with Askin, the Detroit link in the mercantile and fur-trading chain which stretched from Michilimackinac to Montreal. He settled later near Port Dover, where he built mills and a distillery, and his wealth soon raised him to prominence in the London and Niagara districts. His start in public life was not propitious, resulting as it did in arrest by the Assembly, but his vigour and ability were more appreciated in the years following 1812. Brock "insisted on his acceptance" of his military office, and, as chairman of numerous committees and guiding spirit of the Assembly, he earned the gratitude of the executive by making the popular branch of the government an instrument for meeting the demands of war times in place of a chamber for the debating of petty grievances. He lost his fortune by the destruction of his property in 1814, and General Cruikshank has drawn freely on the memorials presented by him in petitioning for compensation. From these extracts, it is apparent that the Quartermaster-General's military activities were not confined to his own department. His political achievements were also varied. As a former merchant, he occupied himself with transportation, the partition of the customs duties levied in Lower Canada, and the possibility of a preferential tariff in Great Britain for colonial goods. He knew the problem of the doubtful loyalty of the immigrant from the United States; and a study of his work in the Assembly reminds the reader of many forgotten difficulties of the times.

Other articles are briefer. Miss Carnochan writes of her experiences in the Historical Building at Niagara, where she gives her services so freely. Mr. A. J. Clark describes the visits of Jefferson Davis to Canada, and recalls Col. Denison's advocacy of the Confederate cause. Mr. F. J. French, K.C., furnishes a list of burials in the Blue Church burying ground, Augusta township. The Secretary of the Six Nations Council outlines the history of the position of the Six Nations as an independent people, allied to Great Britain, and describes the conditions of their settlement on the Grand River.

A contribution of distinct interest is the diary of Benjamin Lundy. Lundy was one of the pioneer abolitionists in the United States. In January, 1832, he toured Western Ontario, and published his diary in his own anti-slavery paper. Mr. Landon, the Public Librarian of London, has salvaged this diary from broken files of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, and in so doing has preserved a vivid picture of the period. Although Lundy was interested chiefly in soils, timber, water-courses, and temperatures, he gives intimate glimpses of such things as the mixture of Indians, "Yankees", negroes, and Europeans about Brantford, and the operations of the Canada Company north

of London. The description of the Wilberforce refugee settlement is also interesting.

Mr. James Mitchell contributes a list of the "Deep Waterways Movements" in Ontario during the last century.

"An Old Provincial Newspaper", "Some References to Negroes in Upper Canada", and "Was Molly Brant Married?" are three essays by Mr. Justice Riddell. Their titles sufficiently describe them. The third essay appears to settle the question of the relation between Sir William Johnson and the sister of Joseph Brant by weight of negative evidence.

The life of the Rev. Robert Addison, the pioneer missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Niagara district, is the subject of a paper by Professor A. H. Young. In a succeeding paper, extracts from the Reports and Journals of the Society furnish the source material of the first essay. Addison was from 1792 to 1829 ministrant to the congregation of Niagara. At first he was the only clergyman for the area from Dunnville north to Brantford and east to Hamilton, and throughout his ministry he showed an interest in the Indians of the reservation remarkable in view of the meagre income he enjoyed and the difficulties and expense of travel. For twenty-five years he maintained an optimism which was justified only in his closing years. St. Mark's Church was established and repaired after the war, a more adequate income was secured, and great progress was made in the translations into the Mohawk language. The character of the man and of his task are shown most clearly by his reports to the Society, as preserved in the bald abstracts in the Journals.

The volume has no index, and only Mr. Justice Riddell and Professor A. H. Young provide footnotes or bibliography. Although the papers deal largely with one section of the province, yet there is much fresh material in the volume of a nature likely to be overlooked or lost without the impetus to research given by the Society.

J. B. BREBNER

Jagd und Kanufahrten in Kanada. Von KARL MULLER-GROTE. Bremen: Angelsachsen Verlag. [1922.] Pp. 125. (M. 100.)

THIS is a tastefully bound, printed, and illustrated book on hunting and canoeing in Canada, where the author has spent thirty-five years of his life, chiefly in Kitchener, Ontario, whence he went on several hunting trips to New Ontario, and whence he had to depart at the outbreak of the war. The fact that the name of Kitchener was given to Berlin arouses his ire. Tacked to the end of the book is a chapter on shooting in—Roumania! For the rest, the book is so irritatingly confused, so

unmethodical and silly, that it defies reviewing. It is only interesting as a symptom of awakening interest in the Dominion in Germany. Let us hope the Fatherland will in future be able to draw its information from more pellucid sources.

L. HAMILTON

The Great War as I Saw It. By Canon FREDERICK GEORGE SCOTT. Toronto: F. D. Goodchild & Co. 1922. Pp. 328.

ANYTHING from the pen of Canon Scott will be read with interest by his friends throughout Canada, and their name is legion, for among the many gallant gentlemen who composed the Canadian Corps, the senior chaplain of the First Canadian Division was known and honoured by all as a very Bayard, "sans peur et sans reproche".

His reminiscences are characteristic of the man, who is a student of human nature, a poet, and a humourist. They do not deal with tactics or strategy, but with the more intimate subject of his daily life in France and elsewhere and the lives and thoughts and heroism of those who fought in the units of his division. Told with quiet humour, his experiences furnish a very human document in the rapidly accumulating material dealing with Canada's part in the war.

H. W. A. FOSTER

The War Work of Lennox and Addington. Published under the auspices of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society by WALTER S. HERRINGTON, and Rev. A. J. WILSON. Napanee, Ontario: The Beaver Press. [1922.] Pp. ix, 278; illustrations.

THIS book would appear to be the first attempt made by any county in Ontario to perpetuate in book form the record of what took place in the county, and what was done by the representatives of the county, during the period of the Great War.

The book is divided into four sections. The first part contains a detailed account, arranged alphabetically, of the Red Cross work of the county. These pages deal also with the activities of the local societies, including the Women's Institutes, the Daughters of the Empire, the Girls' Clubs, and the various school societies, in securing money and supplies for the soldiers at home and abroad. The second part, with its honour roll of the young men and women who enlisted for service in the army or other work, shows much patient and judicious selection of descriptive details regarding each name. The third section is an account of the Patriotic Fund and of the miscellaneous war work of the county. The intrusion of many local happenings much enhances the value of this record. The final section of ninety pages contains brief

biographical sketches, alphabetically arranged, of all members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force from Lennox and Addington who lost their lives during the war.

This record is worthy of the subject. The authors have shown a fine discrimination and judgment in dealing with the information at their disposal. Moreover, the letter-press and mechanical excellence of the book deserve commendation. It is to be hoped that other local historical societies of Ontario will follow the example set by Lennox and Addington. As the years go by, it will be increasingly difficult to collect such local material bearing upon the individual experiences and activities of the war years.

J. F. VAN EVERY

Noms géographiques de la province de Québec. Deuxième édition. Commission de Géographie de Quebec, Département des Terres et Forêts. [1921.] Pp. x, 158.

THIS report contains the names of upwards of two thousand geographical features, and is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the geographical nomenclature of the province of Quebec. The definition of each feature and its geographical position are given, and, in most instances, a summary statement respecting the derivation of the name is included.

In general, the report is along the same lines as that issued by the Geographic Board of Canada. When the federal board was organized in 1897, it adopted the rules of orthography which had been compiled by the Royal Geographical Society, and which had been adopted also by the United States and by geographical societies in France and other continental countries. These rules were based upon the experience of famous philologists of Great Britain and other countries: the vowels are pronounced as in Italian and the consonants as in English, and they represent what is admittedly the best method of reproducing the speech-sounds of natives the world over. The Quebec Geographic Board, however, has adopted a rule providing that native names in that province are to be spelled phonetically according to French practice, and are to be discarded altogether when difficult to pronounce or when their origin is unknown.

An examination of the report discloses a large number of discarded Indian names, though at least one half of them could have been retained with advantage. In addition, the spelling of many names previously passed upon by the federal board, and approved by the provincial representative of Quebec, has been altered. All of which must be regarded as retrograde.

The Dominion of Canada. By KARL BAEDEKER. Fourth revised and augmented edition. New York: Scribners. 1922. Pp. lxx, 420. ($4.00.)

IT is fifteen years since the last edition of this guide book was issued and, as those who have tried to use that edition know very well, the revision was sorely needed. Few countries can have shown, in the consecutive issues of their "Baedekers", the growth which is exhibited by a comparison of these two volumes. That just published is nearly one hundred pages larger than the earlier one, the additions being mainly for Ontario and the west. It also, one should add, costs more than double. The reviser has fortunately been able to incorporate the figures of the 1921 census; the hotel and railway information and scale of charges have been brought up to date; and both generally and in detail the volume has the character and qualities of the series.

The general plan, of course, suits Canada as well as most other countries; and no one critic could pretend accurately to survey the mass of detail which takes the traveller and reader from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A few errors or omissions may, however, be remarked. The maps are revised and brought up to date, a comparison of the general maps of the Dominion in the old and new editions showing in a very illuminating way the rapid growth of the railways in the west. But we should have liked to see a few additional maps beyond the one of Lake Louise and Field, *e.g.*, one of the southern British Columbia Lake District, of Jasper Park and the Yellowhead, or larger scale ones of the Muskoka and Lake of the Woods districts. Further, the plans of the chief cities of the Dominion are practically unchanged from those of the earlier edition, though the cities themselves have both expanded enormously and seen changes even within the limits of the maps given—*e.g.*, in Toronto, Knox College is still shown in the old site abandoned years ago; the area round the parliament buildings in Winnipeg has changed considerably from that given on the map; and the Vancouver map is rather inadequate for the city of to-day. In the printed matter there is no reference to the new Law Courts of Winnipeg which have been open for some years. They should be starred for the handsome library. The new parliament buildings in the same city are merely mentioned as under construction and without comment, though they have been occupied for well over two years and merit some description and approval, as they form probably the finest building in the Dominion west of the new Houses of Parliament in Ottawa.

There is no mention of mountaineering amongst the sports and pastimes of the Dominion. And the reference thereto in the introduction says nothing of the Alpine Club of Canada, a bad omission. That admirable society, it is true, is mentioned in the text, but there is no

mention either of its annual camps or of the walking tours organized by its director for the past three years, by which many miles of hitherto inaccessible country in the heart of the Rockies are brought within reach of the traveller of small means. There is no mention of the new motor road from Banff to Lake Louise, though this is of very recent construction, so that its omission is less remarkable. Of course, neither these nor other omissions and errors which doubtless exist in such a work prevent it from being of very considerable use, and quite without a rival for the purpose it subserves.

R. FLENLEY

The Organisation of a Britannic Partnership. By R. A. EASTWOOD. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1922. Pp. xi, 148. (7*s.* 6*d.*)

DR. EASTWOOD'S contribution to imperial history is a sober outline of developments with sober conclusions. It would be quite possible to point out inadequacy of treatment; but as a "short view" the volume will prove very useful to a large class of readers who may not have the time or opportunity to work out the history of the subject or to contemplate future changes.

The sobriety of the conclusions is made more marked by a rather skilled method. As we read the book, we began at first to fear that the mantle of Mr. Lionel Curtis had fallen on the author at a moment when we had hoped that the elder line of imperial prophets had been cut off. Dr. Eastwood, however, gently leads us from Mr. Curtis's Newtonian mechanicalism, and lands us almost suddenly in the human world of Darwinian politics, by convincing us that any imperial constitution must be evolved from the peoples' will. It is this fact which makes him an opponent of logical theories, and constitutes him a member of that newer school of lawyers which sees all law and all institutional life in the light of intelligent human consent.

Dr. Eastwood is also a philosopher. He realizes that growth is the condition of political existence, and he refuses, while rejecting the mechanism of the political theorist, to accept stagnation or drift as the only alternatives. He advocates conscious help in constitutional growth, especially in wider consultation among the premiers of the Empire and in the regular residence of Dominion ministers in London. To the mechanist who may say that such expedients provide "no power to control", he calmly says that respect and goodwill alone will persuade, and in the final analysis create executive responsibility. Such an estimate will undoubtedly carry with it the preponderating weight of Canadian opinion. On the other hand, we are inclined to think that the suggestion for the reorganization of the Judicial Committee of the

Privy Council as a more adequate court of appeal for the Empire will not command such approval in Canada. It is hard to dogmatize, and it would be foolish to attempt any generalization, but there is growing up in Canada an opposition to all appeals to England sufficiently strong to be, at least, noticeable.

The book is welcome. It is a sign of deeper insight than we have become accustomed to in English writers. There is a newer conception of sovereignty, a newer synthesis of interpretation. The material is made available by an index; and the book has an attractive format.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended notice later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

ALLIN, C. D. *The neutrality of British Dominions* (Michigan Law Review, June, 1922, pp. 819-838).

A valuable discussion, from the historical point of view, of the neutralization of the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire.

BRAITHWAITE, E. E. *Canada and the other British Dominions* (Canadian Magazine, August, 1922, pp. 269-237).

A brief discussion of inter-Dominion relations.

BYERS, EDWARD. *The British Empire, its origin and destiny.* Ottawa: James T. Pattinson. 1921. Pp. 175.

An exposition of "the Anglo-Israel theory."

COUPLAND, R. *The study of the British Commonwealth: an inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on 19 November, 1921.* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. 31.

An eloquent and profoundly suggestive public lecture, delivered by the new Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford on the occasion of his inauguration. The lecture is an appeal for the study of British imperial history, on the ground that the British Empire "is a microcosm of the world."

EWART, JOHN S. *The Imperial Conference, 1921* (Queen's Quarterly, April, May, June, 1922, pp. 329-345).

A critical discussion of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference of 1921, from which one derives the impression that the author would like to see the practice of holding imperial conferences discontinued.

JESSON, C. *Empire migration* (United Empire, June, 1922, pp. 359-361).

A brief article on intra-imperial migration, by the Honorary Secretary of the Empire Development Parliamentary Committee.

PORRITT, EDWARD. *The fiscal and diplomatic freedom of the British oversea dominions.* Edited by DAVID KINLEY. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1922. Pp. xvi, 492.

To be reviewed later.

ROWELL, Hon. NEWTON W. *The British Empire and world peace.* (Being the Burwash memorial lectures delivered in Convocation Hall, University of Toronto, November, 1921.) Toronto: Victoria College Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xxiii, 307.

To be reviewed later.

SUZUKI, UMESHIRO. *The future of the British Empire.* Tokyo, Japan: The Jitsu-Seikwatsu-Sha. [1922.] Pp. vi, 97.

An interesting and suggestive study of the international relations of the British Empire, by a member of the Japanese parliament.

WILLISON, SIR JOHN. *Canada in the Empire* (Nineteenth Century, July, 1922, pp. 25-39).

A discussion, from the imperialist point of view, of the views of "the new school of Constitutionalists in Canada," who are proclaiming the "equality" of the Mother Country and the Dominions.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

[ANON.] *L'évolution de la race française en Amérique: Vermont, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island.* Tome I. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. [1921.] Pp. x, 277.

Republication of a series of newspaper articles dealing with French-Canadian emigration to the United States.

DAVID, L.-O. *Gerbes canadiennes.* Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1921. Pp. 328.

To be reviewed later.

INSH, GEORGE PRATT. *Scottish colonial schemes, 1620-1686.* Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson, & Co. 1922. Pp. 283. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Reviewed on page 280.

STREETER, FLOYD BENJAMIN. *Michigan bibliography: A partial catalogue of books, maps, manuscripts, and miscellaneous materials relating to the resources, development, and history of Michigan from the earliest times to July 1, 1917; together with citation of libraries in which the materials may be consulted, and a complete analytic index by subject and author.* Two vols. Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing. 1921. Pp. 753; 466.

An admirable bibliography of distinct value to the student of certain phases of early Canadian history.

WALLACE, W. S. *By star and compass: Tales of the explorers of Canada.* With frontispiece in colour and maps. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. vii, 190. ($1.25.)

"An attempt to put into story form some of the achievements of the great pathfinders of the northern half of North America, and thus to invest these achievements with an interest which is perhaps lacking in historical narratives of the traditional type."

(2) The History of New France

BRUNEAU, L'hon. juge A.-A. *Le Fort Richelieu, 1642-1647* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, juin, 1922, pp. 151-168).

A detailed study of the history of the fort built at the mouth of the Richelieu River in 1642, and burnt by the Iroquois in 1647.

KELLOGG, LOUISE P. *The first traders in Wisconsin* (Wisconsin Magazine of History, June, 1922, pp. 348-359).

A brief account of the journeys of discovery made by Radisson and Groseilliers in the middle of the seventeenth century.

KENNY, LAWRENCE J., S. J. *Points in Illinois history—a symposium* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, April, 1922, pp. 355-371).

A discussion of various moot points with regard to the early discovery and settlement of what is now the state of Illinois.

———— *Lettres de noblesse de la famille Juchereau Duchesnay* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 5, pp. 137-142).

The documents conferring nobility on the family of Juchereau Duchesnay.

PACIFIQUE, F. *Jacques Cartier à Port Daniel* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, vol, 16, no. 3, pp. 138-134).

Some notes on Cartier's voyage of 1534.

ROY, P. G. *Olivier Morel de la Durantaye, capitaine du régiment de Carignan* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol xxviii, no. 4, pp. 97-107; no. 5, pp. 129-136).

A biographical essay on one of the officers of the Carignan regiment who settled in Canada.

ROY, RÉGIS. *L'ancienne noblesse au Canada avant 1667* (Revue Canadienne, août-septembre, 1921, pp. 528-538; octobre, 1921, pp. 615-624).

A detailed study of the vexed question of noble rank in New France during the early period.

(3) The History of British North America before 1867

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Augustin Cuvillier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 4, pp. 118-128).

Biographical sketch of an outstanding French-Canadian merchant, banker, and politician during the first half of the nineteenth century.

COWAN, HELEN I. *An early critic of Canada* (Canadian Magazine, August, 1922, pp. 307-312).

A paper containing a number of hitherto unpublished letters of William Osgoode, the first chief justice of Upper Canada, written between 1795 and 1797.

GUILDAY, PETER. *The life and times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815)*. New York: The Encyclopedia Press. 1922. Pp. xv, 864. ($5.00.)

To be reviewed later.

NELSON, PETER. *The battle of Diamond Island* (Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association, January, 1922, pp. 36-51).

A paper dealing with the history of Lake George as a military highway, "with special reference to the Burgoyne expedition."

Reminiscences of Jonathan Elkins (Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for the Years 1919-1920, pp. 185-211).

Reproduction of a manuscript, in the possession of the Vermont Historical Society, written by a Vermonter who was taken prisoner by the British during the War of the Revolution and who describes his experiences as a prisoner at St. Johns and at Quebec.

SAGE, WALTER N. *Sir Alexander Mackenzie and his influence on the history of the Northwest* (Queen's Quarterly, April, May, June, 1922, pp. 399-416).

An estimate of the place of Sir Alexander Mackenzie in Canadian history.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

BAEDEKER, KARL. *The Dominion of Canada*. Fourth revised and augmented edition. New York: Scribners. 1922. Pp. lxx, 420. ($4.00.)

Reviewed on page 298.

BRAITHWAITE, E. E. *Canada as a world leader* (Canadian Magazine, July, 1922, pp. 175-181).

A rather flamboyant estimate of recent Canadian progress.

BRYCE, P. H. *The story of a national crime: An appeal for justice to the Indians of Canada*. Ottawa: James Hope & Sons. 1922. Pp. 18. (35c.)

An attack on the lethargy of the Canadian government in dealing with health conditions among the Indians of Canada, written by the recently retired chief medical officer of the Indian department.

MOORE, W. HARRISON. *The powers of colonial legislatures* (Canadian Law Times, May, 1922, pp. 346-361).

A discussion of the constitutional implications of the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the recent case of the Initiative and Referendum Act (1919), A.C. 935, 945.

SCOTT, Canon FREDERICK GEORGE. *The Great War as I saw it.* Toronto: F. D. Goodchild Co. 1922. Pp. 328.

Reviewed on page 296.

STEVENSON, J. A. *Fiscal politics in Canada* (Edinburgh Review, July, 1922, pp. 166-184).

A discussion of the Canadian tariff problem from an anti-protectionist point of view.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

FORTIER, L. M. (ed.). *The book of remembrance of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, A.D. 1921.* Toronto: Printed for the Association by the University of Toronto Press. [1922.] Pp. 93.

A sumptuous volume commemorating the celebration of the tercentenary of Nova Scotia at Annapolis Royal in August, 1921.

(2) The Province of Quebec

CHARTIER, chanoine EMILE. *Le Canada français: les moeurs* (Revue Canadienne, février-mars, 1922, pp. 100-113; avril, 1922, pp. 177-192).

Notes on the social history of French Canada.

DUBOIS, abbé EMILE. *Autour du métier.* Montréal: Bibliothèque de L'Action française. 1922. Pp. 186.

To be reviewed later.

GOSSELIN, chanoine D. *Papiers de famille* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 4, pp. 108-110).

A paper illustrating ,by reference to a collection of family papers in the author's possession, what light family papers may throw on general history.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Au sujet d'Anne Martin, fille d'Abraham Martin dit l'Ecossais, et femme de Jean Côté* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 4, pp. 116-117).

Genealogical notes and queries.

NAGANT, H.-M. *Introduction a l'étude des ressources agrologiques de la province de Québec* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Mars, 1922, pp. 118-136).

A study of the soils in the province of Quebec.

WARD, CHARLES FREDERICK. *The "récit" and "chronique" of French Canada.* Montréal: Librairie G. Ducharme. [1921.] Pp. 44.

A brief study of French-Canadian literature, by a professor of romance languages in the University of Iowa.

(3) The Province of Ontario

ANON. *The Ontario experiment in government* (Canadian Forum, July, 1922, pp. 678-680).

A survey of the work accomplished by the Drury administration in Ontario.

HERRINGTON, WALTER S. and WILSON, Rev. A. J. *The war work of Lennox and Addington.* Published under the auspices of the Lennox and Addington Historical Society. Napanee, Ont.: The Beaner Press. 1922. Pp. ix, 278; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 296.

KAISER, T. E. *Historic Sketches of Oshawa.* Oshawa, Ont.: The Reformer Printing and Publishing Co. 1921. Pp. 216.

A commendable attempt to gather together what information exists with regard to the early history of the rapidly growing town of Oshawa. "Disjointed and disconnected as much of the material may seem to be," says the author, "I modestly trust that the facts herein contained may at least serve as an authentic basis for a more complete history of Oshawa when such may be written by some one better qualified for the task than the author of this little volume."

KIRKCONNELL, WATSON. *Victoria county centennial history.* Lindsay, Ont.: Watchman-Warder Press. 1921. Pp. 261. ($2.00.)

To be reviewed later.

LONDON AND MIDDLESEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Transactions, Part XI.* London: published by the Society. 1922. Pp. 96.

Contains the continuation of the Proudfoot papers and journals of 1832-33, of which previous instalments were printed in the transactions of the society for 1915 and 1917. These journals are a mine of information with regard to social, religious, and economic conditions in western Canada before the rebellion of 1837.

ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Papers and records.* Volume XIX. Toronto: Published by the Society. 1922. Pp. 191.

Reviewed on page 293.

PARKS, FRANK SILVESTER (comp.). *Ancestry of Cyrenius Parks of Canada, and some of his descendants.* (Parks Records, vol. 3, part 3.) Washington, D.C.: F. S. Parks. 1922. Pp. 8.

A genealogical study of a United Empire Loyalist and his descendants.

PARKS, FRANK SILVESTER (comp.). *Ancestry of Halsey Park of Walpole, Can., and some of his descendants.* (Parks Records, vol. 3, part 5). Washington, D.C.: F. S. Parks. 1922. Pp. 8.

Genealogy of a family which settled, early in the nineteenth century, in Haldimand county, Ontario.

RIDDELL, Hon. W. R. *How Englishmen once came to Toronto* (Canadian Magazine, August, 1922, pp. 274-276).

An account of the experiences of an Englishman who came out to Canada in 1832, and spent several years in Upper Canada.

RIDDELL, W. R. *Judges in the Executive Council of Upper Canada* (Michigan Law Review, May, 1922, pp. 716-736).

A discussion of a constitutional peculiarity in the government of Upper Canada between 1791 and 1841.

SEVERANCE, FRANK H. (ed.). *The Book of the Museum.* (Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, vol. XXV.) Buffalo: Published by the Society. 1921. Pp. x, 412.

A series of narratives connected with a score or more of interesting objects preserved in the museum of the Buffalo Historical Society. A number of these stories have reference to the history of the Niagara frontier.

SMITH, J. H. *Historical sketch of the County of Wentworth and the Head of the Lake.* (Wentworth Historical Society: Papers and Records, vol. 10.) Hamilton, Ont. 1922. Pp. 146.

A re-issue of a series of chapters on the history of the county of Wentworth and the city of Hamilton, originally published in 1897.

WATERLOO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Ninth annual report.* Kitchener, Ont.: published by the Society. 1921. Pp. 149-194.

Beside the minutes of the society, this report contains the following articles: "Waterloo County Newspapers," by the president, Mr. W. H. Breithaupt; "Historical Sketch of the Clemens Family," by Mayor D. N. Panabaker of Hespeler;

"Preston Reminiscences," by Dr. Otto Klotz, the director of the Dominion Observatory; and obituary notices of two members of the society, Mr. E. W. B. Snider and Mr. James Livingston.

WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF OTTAWA. *Transactions, Vol. VIII: Personal Recollections of Bytown and Ottawa.* 1922. Pp. 107.

Contains, among others, the following papers: "Philemon Wright and the settlement of Hull," by the Hon. Mr. Justice Latchford; "Bytown to Ottawa, 1827-1877," by a former city clerk of Ottawa; "Bytown in 1837," and "A Bytown election of 1841," by Mr. H. P. Hill, M.P.P. Mr. John W. Graham writes on the "History of the Ottawa Fire Department," and Mr. W. J. Lynch gives a list of "Early patents for inventions granted to residents of Bytown."

(4) The Western Provinces

CARMICHAEL, ALFRED. *Indian legends of Vancouver Island.* Illustrated by J. SEMEYN. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1922.] Pp. 97. ($1.00.)

To be reviewed later.

HOWAY, F. W. *Captains Gray and Kendrick: The Barrell Letters* (Washington Historical Quarterly, October, 1921, pp. 243-271).

A series of hitherto unpublished letters, preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which throw light on some obscure points in regard to the voyages of discovery of the *Columbia* and the *Washington* up the Pacific coast in 1787-1790.

HOWAY, F. W. *The loss of the "Tonquin"* (Washington Historical Quarterly, April, 1922, pp. 83-92).

An inquiry into the accuracy of the various versions current with regard to the loss of the ship *Tonquin*, which left Fort Astoria in June, 1811, and never returned.

MCGUIRE, J. A. *In the Alaska-Yukon gamelands.* Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 1921. Pp. 215. ($3.00.)

An admirably illustrated account of big game hunting in Alaska and the Yukon.

PRUD'HOMME, le juge. *L'abbé Dumoulin, missionnaire à la Rivière-Rouge* (Revue Canadienne, novembre, 1921, pp. 662-674; janvier, 1922, pp. 52-60).

A sketch of the work of a French-Canadian priest who served as a missionary at the Red River between 1818 and 1823.

WILLIAMS, CHRISTINA MACDONALD MCKENZIE. *The daughter of Angus MacDonald* (Washington Historical Quarterly, April, 1922, pp. 107-117).

The reminiscences of a lady whose father and husband were both chief traders of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific slope.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

COLEMAN, A. P. *Physiography and glacial geology of Gaspé.* (Canada: Geological Survey, Bulletin no. 34.) Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. 1922. Pp. 52; illustrations and map.

A scientific study of the geography of the Gaspé peninsula.

COMMISSION DE GÉOGRAPHIE DE QUÉBEC. *Noms géographiques de la province de Québec.* Deuxième édition. Québec: Département des Terres et Forêts. 1921. Pp. x, 158.

Reviewed on page 297.

GRAHAM, STEPHEN. *Tramping with a poet in the Rockies.* With thirty-eight emblems by VERNON HILL. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1922. Pp. x, 279. ($2.00.)

An account, by the author of *Europe—Whither Bound?*, of a tramp through the Rocky Mountains together with the poet Vachel Lindsay. Visits to the Doukhobor and the Mormons in the Rockies are described.

HASSERT, KURT. *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. 1922. Pp. viii, 315.

To be reviewed later.

LAUREYS, HENRI. *Le commerce extérieur du Canada* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, mars, 1922, pp. 1-44).

A discussion of the problems connected with the foreign trade of Canada, by the director of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales at Montreal.

"LOFTY." *Adventures and misadventures, or An undergraduate's experiences in Canada.* London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson. 1922. Pp. viii, 219; illustrations.

An account of the experiences of an English university man who emigrated to Canada before the war.

LONGSTRETH, T. MORRIS. *The Laurentians.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1922. Pp. 459; maps and illustrations. ($3.50.)

To be reviewed later.

MCFAULL, ROBERT JAMES. *Regulation of business in Canada* (Political Science Quarterly, June, 1922, pp. 177-210).

A valuable account of the experiments made in regulating business in Canada during recent years. The author was Cost of Living Commissioner in Canada during 1918-1919.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Canots d'écorce et voyageurs d'antan* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 5, pp. 149-155).

Some notes on the history of the birch-bark canoe.

MÜLLER-GROTE, KARL. *Jagd und Kanufahrten in Kanada.* Bremen: Angelsachsen Verlag. 1922. Pp. 125. (M100.)

Reviewed on page 295.

ROLLINS, PHILIP ASHTON. *The cowboy: his characteristics, his equipment, and his part in the development of the west.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1922. Pp. xiv, 353. ($2.50.)

A serious attempt to describe the part played by the cowboy in North American history.

WAGNER, H. R. *The plains and the Rockies: A bibliography of original narratives of travel and adventure, 1800-1865.* San Francisco: John Howell. 1921. Pp. 193.

Though intended primarily for book-collectors, this bibliography is not without value to the student of western exploration.

YEIGH, FRANK. *New Canadians making good* (Canadian Magazine, July, 1922, pp. 227-235).

An account of educational and social progress among some of the non-English elements in Canada.

YEIGH, FRANK (comp.). *5000 Facts about Canada.* 1922 edition. Toronto: Canadian Facts Publishing Co. 1922. Pp. 72. (30c.)

A handbook of statistical material relating to Canada, arranged for popular use.

V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

ARMITAGE, Archdeacon W. J. *The story of the Canadian revision of the prayer book.* With a foreword by the Primate of all Canada. Cambridge: At the University Press. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1922. Pp. xvii, 442.

To be reviewed later.

[CUDMORE, S. A. and MACLEAN, M. C.] *Historical statistical survey of education in Canada.* (Dominion of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics: Education Statistics Branch.) Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1921. Pp. 120.

"The result of eighteen months' study of the education statistics of the country . . . including the more important available statistics from the beginning of the century."

MAGNAN, C. J. *Eclairons la route, à la lumière des statistiques, des faits, et des principes: Réponse à* The Right Track, *publié à Toronto et traitant de l'instruction obligatoire dans la province de Québec.* Québec: Librairie Garneau. 1922. Pp. xxiv, 246.

To be reviewed later.

MODE, P. G. *Source-book and bibliographical guide for American church history.* Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Co. 1921. Pp. xxiv, 735. ($4.50.)

Reviewed on page 279.

SQUAIR, JOHN. *Alumni Associations in the University of Toronto.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1922. Pp. 45.

A small pamphlet tracing the history of alumni organizations in the University of Toronto.

VANIER, PHILEAS. *Qui a fondé le College de Terrebonne, appelé College Masson?* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, vol. xxviii, no. 5, pp. 146-148).

A note on educational history in the province of Quebec.

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The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. III. TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1922 No. 4

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE recent discovery of a fossil tooth of an early human or sub-human type in the upper Snake Creek beds of Nebraska has again aroused interest, among anthropologists and students of pre-history, in the problem of the antiquity of man in North America. The tooth, which was forwarded to the American Museum of Natural History by its finder, Mr. Harold L. Cook, of the United States Geological Survey, has been pronounced by some excellent authorities to belong to a hitherto unknown species more closely resembling *Pithecanthropus erectus*, the ape-man of Java, than the apes; and Professor H. F. Osborne, the distinguished American anthropologist, who has described the tooth in *American Museum Novitates* of April 25, 1922, believes that we have in it perhaps a relic of the earliest and most primitive member of the human family yet found. The geological evidence points to the Pleistocene period as that to which the tooth belongs; and if this is the case, and if the tooth is really of human origin, there would appear to be no doubt of the great antiquity of man on the American continent. On the other hand, a single tooth is a slender thread on which to hang so vast an hypothesis; and the layman will watch with peculiar interest the course of the controversy which will inevitably arise over its exact significance.

A convenient opportunity for research by Canadian students of economic questions would seem to present itself by the appear-

ance of a new monograph dealing with the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854-1866, reviewed in another part of this issue. It is at least strange that no independent study of this important episode, treating impartially both the Canadian and United States points of view, has yet appeared in Canada. The subject lends itself to a careful investigation of the basis which, apart from all political prejudice, should govern the trade relations of the two countries. There have appeared two treatises on this theme: the monograph by Professor Tansill reviewed in this number of the REVIEW, and that by Professor F. E. Haynes, which is to be found in the publications of the American Economic Association for 1892. The papers laid before the Canadian parliament in 1862 contain the famous report of Galt, the finance minister, asserting the fiscal independence of Canada, and other apposite documents. The numerous Congressional reports and debates are also available; but a Canadian writer would possess the advantage of being able to consult the material relating to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, which were separate colonies during the period in question, and took action of their own. The subject is emphatically one for treatment by a Canadian.

The continuation committee of the Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History, under the chairmanship of Professor A. F. Pollard, has been collecting information about the procedure necessary to obtain reproductions of manuscripts of historical interest from the chief archives of Great Britain; and the secretary of the committee (whose address is the Institute of Historical Research, University of London), has announced that he is prepared to answer inquiries on the subject. The British Museum, the Record Office, the National Library of Wales, and the John Rylands Library at Manchester now all possess photostats; and in other places reproductions can be made by local photographers. Similar information about libraries and archives collections on the continent of Europe may be obtained from the British government publication, *Photographs of Manuscripts: Reports from His Majesty's Representatives Abroad* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1*s.* 1*d.* post free).

We are glad to have the opportunity of printing in this number of the REVIEW a paper by Professor Basil Williams, the new incumbent of the chair of history at McGill University, on

A New Tendency in English Historical Study. We are also glad to be able to present to our readers a paper by Sir Charles Lucas, in which Sir Charles lays stress on a view of Canadian constitutional development to which too little attention has perhaps been paid in Canada. The paper on *The Influence of the Crown in the Evolution of Responsible Government* is by Mr. K. L. P. Martin of New College, Oxford; the essay on *Canadian Refugees in the American Revolution* is by Professor Carl Wittke, of the department of history in the Ohio State University; and the documents relating to the fur-trade in 1767 are edited by Capt. Charles E. Lart, a worker in the Public Record Office in London, with whose work readers of the REVIEW are already familiar.

A NEW TENDENCY IN ENGLISH HISTORICAL STUDY

"In a democratic state such as ours the study of the country's political traditions in relation with other states should no longer be reserved for a limited and privileged class, but on the contrary facilities should be provided for all those who have the dignity and greatness of their country at heart."

ONE interesting development in English historical study since the war is the increased attention being paid to foreign politics. English historians of the past, famous many of them for their histories of England, for constitutional history, and for biographies of historical characters, have as a rule paid singularly little attention to the important branch of foreign relations and their connection with the internal politics of the nation. A reason no doubt for this is to be found in the comparative isolation of Great Britain in European politics. The long domination of Palmerston in the sphere of foreign affairs had taught Englishmen to regard their own country as standing haughtily outside the European tribe of nations, pursuing its own way regardless of their feelings and ambitions, and paying attention to them only when they happened to cross its path. This attitude of mind has long ceased to represent the facts, if it ever really represented them, even in Palmerston's day. One of the chief services of Disraeli, Salisbury, and Lord Rosebery was to awaken in the people a sense of the country's intimate connection with the politics of their neighbours across the channel, and by a strange irony of fate Gladstone himself, the last real survivor of the Palmerstonian policy of isolation, was forced during his later ministries to devote an inordinate amount of attention to foreign politics. But even so it was hard to persuade the Englishman that a serious study of foreign affairs was important to him politically. When France or Germany interfered with his interests, he could be aroused to an indignant curiosity as to their aims and motives; but to study the more comprehensive causes of European unrest was entirely alien to his

inclinations. Nor was he encouraged to do so by any concerted effort of historians to guide him through the mazes of European diplomacy and intrigue. While French historians like Sorel and Vandal and Waddington were making the main lines of their own country's foreign policy clearer by scholarly expositions of French policy in the past towards other continental nations and sympathetic statements of these other nations' own point of view, while the French government was making it possible to gain a comprehensive and authentic view of French foreign affairs between 1648 and 1792 by publishing the great series of *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs de France*, while Von Sybel, Treitschke, and other German historians, as well as the German government by various publications, were doing much the same for Germany, and the Austrian government, with the co-operation of such historians as Prebram, were unravelling to the public the tangled web of Hapsburg diplomacy and policy, little was being done for England, at least in regard to the foreign policy of the last three hundred years.

The war, however, has created a demand, in the first place among scholars, for a better understanding of British foreign policy and the foreign policy of other countries, treated in the only valuable way, *i.e.*, historically. At an early stage of the war not only the man in the street, but the Foreign Office itself hungered for some clearer account than was available of the predisposing causes of the Serajevo murder, of the Bosnian annexation, of the Balkan jealousies, and of the age-long policies of Russia and Austria in that peninsula. At the end of the war, too, when the prime minister of Great Britain declared that he had never heard of Teschen, even those who had would have been glad of some enlightenment of the causes which made the peace signed there in 1779 memorable.

No doubt some scholars, such as Sir Adolphus Ward, Mr. Chance, Mr. Temperley, Mr. Alison Phillips and others, had already been putting forth valuable publications on isolated aspects of British foreign policy; but no systematic or continuous history of it was available, still less any authoritative documents, except for periods too remote to be by themselves of any practical value. Within the last year or two, however, there is evidence that historians are setting to work to supply the new demand. In the first place should be mentioned Professor C. K. Webster's important publications on the Treaty of Vienna—his edition of the British Foreign Office Records on the negotiations that led

up to the treaty[1] and his monograph on the Congress.[2] The subjects of Mr. Webster's books are of particular importance to the student of foreign relations in the nineteenth century, because at Vienna the new Europe, more or less as it had been moulded by the French revolutionary wars, was given the seal of international diplomacy, and above all the main lines of British foreign policy, as pursued to a large extent throughout the century, were laid down by Castlereagh. Another recent book of a very different character may be given as an illustration of the increased importance attached to foreign policy; Mr. George Trevelyan's *British History in the Nineteenth Century*[3] is avowedly only a brief survey of the one hundred and twenty years or so that it covers, but among the many merits of this admirable summary of a crowded period,—the most illuminating that has hitherto appeared,—not the least is the importance attached to foreign politics as an influence on British history. Take, for example, the two pregnant paragraphs on page 365 describing and accounting for the remarkable inversion of roles that occurred after Palmerston's death between the two great parties of the state on foreign and colonial politics. "During the middle years of the century," says Mr. Trevelyan, "Palmerston as Whig minister had voiced the nationalist sentiments of the country, while the Conservatives, alike under Aberdeen, Peel, Derby and Disraeli himself had been distinctly a peace party, critical of Palmerston and his trumpetings....The shifting of party ground now observable in these matters was in the natural order of things.... so long as the professional and middle class, who usually form the largest body of sensitive nationalist feeling, had been ranged under the Liberal banner, Palmerston had been their spokesman. They were now, for a variety of reasons, of which working-class enfranchisement was the chief, coming rapidly round to the new Conservatism. They brought with them their zeal for the honour and strength of Britain. And since an age of self-conscious Imperial expansion was at hand, this fact was destined to be of governing importance":—an acute and suggestive explanation.

[1] Webster, C. K. (ed.), *British Diplomacy, 1813-15; Select Documents dealing with the Reconstruction of Europe* (London, 1921).

[2] Webster, C. K., *The Congress of Vienna* (F. O. Handbook No. 153, London, 1919).

[3] Trevelyan, G. M., *British History in the Nineteenth Century, 1782-1901* (London, 1922).

But we should like to dwell more especially on two books that have recently appeared as especially illustrating the revival of interest in the history of foreign relations. The first is Volume I of the *Cambridge History of Foreign Policy*[1] covering the period from 1783 to 1815. This history is edited by the veteran Sir Adolphus Ward and his scholarly disciple Mr. G. P. Gooch, whose encyclopædic knowledge is worthy of the Cambridge school of historians that reckons Lord Acton among its chief glories. Its general scope is briefly stated in the preface to this volume as "a connected narrative of British Foreign Policy and a consecutive account of its bearing on the political history of this country and empire, and on that of the world at large. As such, it is intended to combine with a strict adherence to historical truth, wherever ascertainable, a national point of view—in other words, an avowed regard for the interests, and above all for the honour, of Great Britain.....Our work has accordingly not shrunk, and will not shrink as it progresses, from seeking to vindicate for British Foreign Policy that claim to consistency which in certain respects has been denied to it by its censors, and in others allowed to it only in the way of sarcasm. Its relations to political aims or ideals not confined to a single nation, or to particular groups of thinkers and their followers within it, have been neither overlooked nor, we believe, prejudged—whether or not these aims have in the past been submerged with efforts made to accomplish them, and whether or not on the fulfilment of these ideals depend the future peace and prosperity of the world." This first volume opens with an introduction by Sir Adolphus Ward briefly summarizing the general trend of British foreign policy from Norman times to 1783; and there are chapters by Mr. Clapham, Mr. Holland Rose, and Professor Webster on the period covered in this first instalment. A book inspired by such aims and written by such eminent historians cannot fail to supply a much needed want in English historical literature, for although the facts here brought out show that the British foreign office has rarely had such consciously scientific aims as that of France and other nations, they do bring out to a certain extent the instinctive readiness of British statesmen to meet temporary difficulties in accordance with consistent aims latent in all British foreign relations, of which they themselves

[1] Ward, Sir A. W., and Gooch, G. P. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Foreign Policy, 1783-1919.* Vol. I: 1783-1815 (Cambridge, 1922).

often seem barely conscious. Nevertheless it appears to us that an opportunity has to a certain extent been missed, especially in Sir Adolphus Ward's Introduction, in not bringing out more clearly the principles underlying Great Britain's policy at various stages of its history. As it is, the Introduction is little more than a convenient summary of the chief events in foreign relations from the Norman Conquest to the time of the younger Pitt. Such a summary is undeniably useful, as far as it goes, but one cannot help thinking how much more illuminating another great Cambridge historian, Seeley, would have made such an excursus, by tracing out principles of policy and illustrating them by the facts, instead of merely stating the facts and allowing the reader to deduce the principles for himself, if he can. Covering as it does the events of some seven hundred years in only one hundred and forty pages, it cannot pretend to be exhaustive, and it adds little to the knowledge of a man moderately conversant with English history, whereas it might have been made most stimulating to thought and further research by a more philosophic and comprehensive treatment. · The succeeding chapters naturally differ accordingly to their authorship, the most useful being the two contributed by Professor Webster on the events of 1813-1815. He is here writing about a limited and well-defined period on which he is an acknowledged authority; his intimate acquaintance with the foreign office papers enables him to convey a clear account of the complicated negotiations of this period; and, by his vivid conception of Castlereagh's personality and of the influence of this personality on the final results of the Congress, he can give the human touch so necessary for the understanding of the course of events. Especially notable is his summary of Castlereagh's achievements for Great Britain, his great success and his minor failures, to be found at the close of Chapter IV. Not the least valuable part of the volume, however, is the collection of illustrative despatches extracted from the Record Office and British Museum deposits, for they enable the student to judge for himself of the motives and procedure of ministers chiefly responsible for the events of this period, and put him on the track of further researches to elucidate special points. The completion of this great work, with Volume II covering the period 1815 to 1866, and Volume III bringing events up to the Peace of Versailles in 1919, will be eagerly looked to, not only by historians, but also by journalists and all others interested in the intelligent study of foreign politics.

Lastly, we shall call attention to a modest volume published by the Royal Historical Society, which is in some danger of escaping the general attention it deserves, as it merely appears as one of the items in the miscellaneous "Camden" series. It is a volume containing the diplomatic instructions to English envoys to Sweden between 1689 and 1717, edited by the well-known authority on this period and country, Mr. J. F. Chance.[1] This volume is the first of a series projected by the Society to cover the ground for Great Britain which is so magnificently covered for France by the *Recueil des Instructions* already referred to. In the French series volumes have now been published dealing with almost every European country, the only important exception unfortunately being England. The editors of the different volumes have been chosen from the leading historians and publicists of France, Sorel, Rambaud, Waddington, Lavisse, Hanotaux, etc. The task of each of these editors has been to write an introduction summarizing the foreign relations of France with the country dealt with in the volume, to select the official instructions given to the French envoys accredited to the country during the period chosen,—1648-1792,—and to supply all the information necessary to give continuity to the story between the dates of the various instructions. The value of such a series for the understanding of French foreign policy can hardly be exaggerated. The unity of this policy and its gradual development to meet varying circumstances can be clearly traced in the series of instructions, especially with the aid of the illuminating commentaries by the eminent authorities responsible for each volume. Such a series is useful to the historian, who is thereby saved an immense amount of labour digging out material from archives, since, in the words of the commission responsible for its publication, "it will place at the disposal of historians and diplomats a class of documents peculiarly apt to give an understanding and appreciation of French foreign policy and so contribute to the political education of our democracy".

This series is the model on which the Royal Historical Society hope to publish a somewhat similar series for England. In England, however, there are difficulties which those responsible for the French series had not to encounter. In the first place, the English foreign office never issued instructions at all com-

[1] *British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1727*, Vol. I: *Sweden, 1689-1727*, edited for the Royal Historical Society by F. J. Chance (Royal Historical Society, 1922).

parable to those issued by the French. To every ambassador sent to a foreign country the French foreign office used to give a complete conspectus of former relations with that country and the general aims of French policy in regard to it, as well as particular directions on current questions. This practice in itself made it easier to carry on a consistent foreign policy at the time, and also renders that policy more intelligible to later generations. From the secretary of state's office in London no such compendious guides were issued. The "Instructions", such as they were, are the most jejune documents, generally concerned with matters of form and ceremony, such as whether an ambassador should in his own house give his hand to a foreign envoy. More information is to be obtained from the "Additional" and "Secret" instructions, but even they rarely deal with anything except current topics or lay down broad principles of policy. Again, owing to the lamentable custom prevalent among secretaries of state in the past of regarding office papers as their own property, they often carried them off to their country seats when they left office; hence a great deal more searching high and low over England is often necessary to procure essential documents than is the case in France. Thirdly, whereas the expenditure, necessarily heavy for such a series, is in France largely defrayed by the state, in England it has to be met solely from private resources.

But though the task of displaying the main lines of British foreign policy by means of the original documents is for these reasons especially hard, it is not impossible. When original despatches are not available there are often copies at either the Record Office or the British Museum; and though the formal "Instructions" are frequently unsatisfactory, the skilled editor who knows his period and is aware of the manuscript resources at the national repositories or in private collections can often supplement purely formal instructions by comprehensive despatches sent to the ambassador at a later period. As an example of this may be quoted the very ample exposition of the older Pitt's colonial policy which Miss Kimball has published in her collection of his despatches to colonial governors; and it is open to any one to make an equally valuable collection fully illustrating his foreign policy from material available in the Record Office and the British Museum. In the volume before us, Mr. Chance has happily not confined himself to the formal "Instructions" and has not scrupled to use many of the despatches available to illustrate his subject. The result is a volume of singular value

for the elucidation of a little known aspect of northern foreign policy, at a period when the Baltic trade was of an importance to which it never subsequently attained, and when Sweden was consequently the object of England's particular attention. To Mr. Chance a very special debt of gratitude is due for inaugurating this series, not only for the high standard he has set for succeeding volumes by his editorial labours, but because, as we happen to know, he has himself borne no small part of the expense of this volume. Whether the Royal Historical Society, whose resources are very limited, will find the means of carrying on the series unaided is doubtful. It is therefore to be hoped that wealthy institutions for the promotion of learning and historical research, or wealthy individuals of public spirit, may help it to carry on this great undertaking, so necessary for promoting a sane and sober judgment on foreign affairs. No better apologia for such an undertaking could be given than that in the original statement by the French Commission with regard to their series:— "that Commission's guiding principle has been that in a democratic state such as ours, the study of the country's political traditions in relation with other states should no longer be reserved for a limited and privileged class, but on the contrary special facilities should be provided for all those who have the dignity and greatness of their country at heart."

Basil Williams

CANADIAN REFUGEES IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

AMONG the first plans of the leaders of the American Revolution was the desire to make Canada the fourteenth colony in the rebellion against Great Britain's authority in North America. In spite of the friction of earlier days between Canada and the New England colonies, there were elements in the Canadian situation in 1775 which, at first glance, promised success to the effort to win Canada for the cause of the revolution. Many of the colonial radicals in the English seaboard colonies were of the conviction that the French Canadians were discontented under British authority, which they had been forced to accept hardly a dozen years before. There was an influential English minority in Canada, known to be hostile to the provisions of the Quebec Act. Furthermore, Sir Guy Carleton, at the beginning of hostilities, had scarcely a thousand soldiers at his disposal for the defence of the many miles of the long Canadian frontier. It is not surprising, therefore, that for years after the first attempt of 1774 to have the inhabitants of Quebec send representatives to the First Continental Congress, the efforts to win Canada for the revolutionary cause were diligently continued. Personal emissaries to the British minority in Canada, agents to carry on a propaganda which proved signally stupid and unsuccessful among the French, and an armed invasion of the province of Quebec by Continental troops in the first stages of the fighting—all had the same purpose, to persuade or force Canada to change her allegiance. The operations of Arnold and Montgomery, in the winter of 1775-1776, were the most pretentious of the military demonstrations intended to impress Canadians with the advisability of revolt against British authority. It was clearly the policy of General Washington and the other Continental leaders not to irritate the Canadian population by these enterprises, but rather to treat them as friends and possible "fellow-subjects".[1] The offensive campaign of 1775-1776 against Canada

[1] See a proclamation of General Washington, in Kingsford, *History of Canada*, V, 491.

was, however, a failure, and might have resulted in disaster save for the excellent generalship of Benedict Arnold. The campaign clearly revealed that the practice of short enlistments made the Continental forces most unstable, encouraged disorderliness and disobedience, and frequently compelled the officers to act precipitately with what was left of their rapidly disintegrating commands. These difficulties, coupled with the lack of hard money and the outbreak of small-pox among the expeditionary forces in Canada, sufficiently accounted for "the miscarriages in Canada".[1] Nevertheless, colonial leaders stubbornly adhered to the idea of annexing the northern provinces to the revolutionary cause. On January 22, 1778, the American Congress resolved "That an irruption be made into Canada";[2] the conclusion of the French alliance in the same year revived interest in the project to gain the support of the French population of Quebec; and as late as 1781, Washington was still considering the advisability of a joint attack on Canada by French and Americans. Lastly, the first experiment of the thirteen independent states in federation left the door open for the admission of Canada to the Confederation, should she accede to the provisions of the articles of union.[3]

The situation in Nova Scotia promised, for a time, to be even more troublesome for the British authorities in Canada than the problem of the control of the French population of Quebec. Many of the settlers in Nova Scotia were New Englanders, who had arrived after 1760 to exploit the fishing and trading opportunities of the province. Liverpool, for example, was founded in 1760 by seventy heads of families from Connecticut. Even Benjamin Franklin had been attracted by the possibilities of Nova Scotia, and had sent Anthony Wayne to survey the land around the Bay of Fundy, preparatory to indulging in a bit of land speculation. When the American Revolution broke out, Nova Scotia was in a particularly critical condition. Her governor was extremely unpopular; Halifax had been stripped of troops to carry on the military operations around Boston; there were rumours of an invasion by Continental forces; and most serious of all, a large proportion of the people could be expected to be sympathetic with the New Englanders. Two members

[1] See *Journals of Congress*, I, 376-378, 385, 400, 417, 427.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 417-418.

[3] Article 11 of the Articles of Confederation (*Journ. of Congr.*, II, 334).

of the Assembly actually joined the rebels, and four delegates left for Philadelphia to lay before the Continental Congress a list of some six hundred settlers who were believed to be willing and ready to join the revolution.[1]

In spite of the repeated efforts of the Continental Congress and the revolutionary leaders to entice or cudgel Canadians into a course that would result in difficulties for Great Britain, it appears that very few permitted themselves to be persuaded to ally themselves with the revolution, or give open aid to the cause of the colonies, whatever their sympathies may have been. The statesman-like provisions of the Quebec Act of 1774, the weaknesses and blunders of the Continental Congress and its military forces in the opening years of the war, and the bold and effective measures of Sir Guy Carleton, were largely responsible for the failure of the American propaganda to make Canada a fourteenth colony. But there were several hundred Canadians who openly allied themselves with the thirteen colonies, and in consequence found it necessary to seek refuge on the American side of the border. It is with the fortunes of these Canadian refugees in the American Revolution that this paper deals.

At the beginning of the War for American Independence, a number of Canadians joined the expeditions of Arnold and Montgomery against Montreal and Quebec. The disastrous failure of this first offensive against Canada forced a number of these volunteers to withdraw with the retreating American troops. Others who were residents of Quebec or Nova Scotia, due to their trade and family connections with the American revolutionists, or to an honest sympathy for the cause, retired voluntarily from Canada. A few were undoubtedly forced to go. Of these refugees, a number joined the military forces of the Revolution, particularly General Hazen's brigade, and fought during the remainder of the war. Others were less active on behalf of the Continental cause, and quite a number took no part whatsoever in the revolutionary struggle. The entire number could hardly have exceeded several hundred. But even such a small group of Canadian refugees was sufficient to raise a special problem for the American government which was in some respects similar to the problem of the British government in caring for the Loyalists who, at the close of the Revo-

[1] I am following here the account by Archibald MacMechan, in *Canada and Its Provinces*, XIII, especially pp. 111, 121, 312-318.

lution, preferred voluntary exile to a life under the new republican régime. Although the number of Canadian refugees is in no way comparable to the tens of thousands of Loyalists who emigrated during and immediately after the American Revolution, nevertheless the former soon presented a special claim upon the generosity of the American government for compensation for the losses which they had suffered because of their devotion to the American cause. A number of these refugees were left practically penniless at the close of the war; they had lost their property in Canada, and felt it impossible to return to the provinces which they had abandoned in order to participate in a rebellion against those who had been their legal governors.[1]

The Continental Congress, and its successors under the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution, from the outset recognized the obligation which rested upon the United States to deal fairly with the Canadian refugees. As early as August 10, 1776, Congress passed a resolution directing General Schuyler to inquire into the services of all persons who had served as volunteers in Canada and had retreated with the army, so that proper rewards and wages might be assigned.[2] Apparently a number of persons drew pay and rations in consequence of this resolution, and it was not specifically repealed until October, 1781.[3] November 10, 1780, Congress approved the orders of General Washington to supply the Canadian families, living in New York, with rations, and the governor of New York was requested to investigate the circumstances of the refugees, to give them protection, and "such further assistance, at the expense of the United States, as he shall judge necessary".[4]

Immediately after the close of the Revolution, petitions began to reach Congress from refugees, praying for relief and for

[1] It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of French Canadians and English Canadians included in the group of refugees from Canada at the time of the American Revolution, because the available records make no distinction between these two race elements. The only names found in the various lists of claimants which suggest French origin are:—Prisque Trepagnie, Augustine Trepagnie, Gregoire Trahan, François des Jardins, François Rebutaille, James Robisheaux, Gideon and Mary Delesdernier, Jonathan Delesdernier, Lewis F. Delesdernier, Philip Leibert, Pete Cayeau, Jonathan De Merceir, Jonas C. Minot, P. Francis Cazeau, John Torreyre, Joseph Levittre, Joseph Bindon, John Paskel, Louis Rouse, James Gouett, Lewis Gosline.

[2] *Journal of Congress*, I, 439.

[3] *Ibid.* III, 678.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 546.

some substantial recognition of their services and sufferings during the late war. Congress showed no inclination to dispute the justice of these claims upon the beneficence of the government, but found it impossible, because of the financial embarrassment and inadequate revenues of the new government, to make compensation to the petitioners at that time. The only resources the central government had during this early period were western lands, and so Congress decided very early to satisfy the claimants as soon as possible by land grants in the undeveloped west.

In April, 1783, Congress, in reply to a letter from General Hazen, in whose brigade many Canadian refugees had rendered valiant services, resolved "That the memorialists be informed, that Congress retain a lively sense of the service the Canadian officers and men rendered the United States, and that they are seriously disposed to reward them for their virtuous sufferings in the cause of liberty".[1] The resolution promised compensation in the form of land grants. Congress in the same year also received the petition of Captain Clement Goselin, "in behalf of the officers, Canadians and other refugees, residing at Fish-kill, in the state of New York, to the number of eighty men and women, besides children," and resolved to recommend that New York receive them as citizens of the state. At the same time, the rations to the officers of Brigadier-general Hazen's regiment, who had been residents of Canada, were ordered continued.[2] Two years later, Congress acknowledged the claims of a group of Nova Scotian refugees, led by Jonathan Eddy, even though many of the petitioners had seen no active service in the war, and were simply refugees as a result of their attachment to the American cause. It was still impossible to render substantial aid, so the petitioners were "recommended to the humanity and particular attention of the several states in which they respectively reside," but they were also assured "that whenever Congress can consistently make grants of land, they will reward, in this way....such refugees from Nova Scotia, as may be disposed to live in the western country".[3]

In the famous Land Ordinance of 1785—one of the two really constructive pieces of legislation of permanent value

[1] *Journals of Congress*, IV, 193.

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 252.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV, 498.

passed by the feeble Confederation Congress—a definite provision for the relief of Canadian refugees was included for the first time, although the development of events made it impossible to enforce this part of the ordinance. Three townships adjacent to Lake Erie were to be specifically reserved for land grants to such refugees as could present a valid claim for compensation.[1] On June 7, 1785, Congress created a committee to investigate these claims, and resolved that commissioners "be directed to examine the accounts of such Canadian refugees, as have furnished the late armies of these states with any sort of supplies", and report to Congress. The resolution was ordered published in Canada.[2]

In the meantime, in 1784, the state of New York had offered to provide land for such Canadian refugees as might desire to settle in that state and a number of grants, some as large as a thousand acres, were actually made along Lake Champlain. The United States government thereupon undertook the task of transporting the Canadians who had accepted the donation to their new lands, and fifteen months' rations were provided from the federal treasury.[3] Settlement in the new region involved many hardships and disappointments, so that in 1787 Congress received an entreaty from the Canadian refugees settled along Lake Champlain for a continuance of the rations. It was resolved to provide the aged and infirm with an additional twelve months' rations at the public expense, "excepting the articles of rum, soap, and candles".[4] An estimate of the number of refugees involved in the transfer to the Lake Champlain region, can be derived from the report of a committee of Congress which in 1788 investigated the accounts of the war department. It was found that in 1787, 170 rations a day had been issued; under the subsequent order of October 12, 1781, granting relief to the aged and infirm, 45 rations were issued daily.[5]

The section in the Land Ordinance of 1785 providing for land grants to Canadian refugees along Lake Erie proved to be of little value. It was soon discovered that settlement in this region would be most hazardous, due to the fact that the Indian

[1] *Journ. of Congr.*, IV, 522; also *American State Papers*, XVI, *Public Lands*, I, No. 14, p. 28.

[2] *Journ. of Congr.* IV, 533 534.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV, 660.

[4] *Ibid.*, IV, 798.

[5] *Journ. of Congr.*, IV, 878.

title had not yet been extinguished. Furthermore, the lands set aside proved to fall within that area which was reserved by the state of Connecticut.[1] In the early seventeen-nineties, therefore, the question of compensating the Canadians was again brought to the attention of Congress,[2] and a committee of the House of Representatives, of which Mr. Dayton was chairman, made an exhaustive report on the Canadian refugee question.[3] The report recited the various resolutions of earlier Congresses, by which the justice of the claims of the petitioners had been clearly recognized, and the committee found that there were approximately 230 refugees from Canada, among whom were 22 who should be classed as "principal sufferers". Not all of the refugees had brought their families with them. The committee reported that some had already been compensated, and "not a few returned to Canada both before and since the peace, to possess their property, or to pursue their business". The latter statement is curiously at variance with the affirmation of some of the petitioners to the effect that they could not return to Canada to recover their property. Returns from the War Office showed that 292 men, women, and children had been "victualled at Albany and Fishkill [New York], from the public stores, in 1784"; that in 1785 vouchers were drawn for only 93, and that 205 were entitled to lands in New York, in pursuance of the act of the New York legislature of 1784. The committee found the data most confusing and incomplete, but recommended that compensation should be made in the form of land grants. It refused, however, to fix the specie value of such grants.[4] On March 2, 1793, the secretary of war, Henry Knox, reported the names of three refugees from Nova Scotia, and six from Canada to the House of Representatives.[5] Another committee of the House, in April, 1794, recommended that a tract of land—the number of acres still undetermined—northwest of the Ohio

[1] A committee of the House of Representatives reported on April 1, 1794, with reference to the townships adjacent to Lake Erie that "From the exposed situation of those townships, a grant there, at present, would afford but little relief to the petitioners; but from the best information the committee could obtain, the United States possessed no lands adjacent to Lake Erie which they can now grant or dispose of...." (*American State Papers*, XVI, *Public Lands*, I, No. 17, p. 31).

[2] Petition to the House of Representatives, by John Blake, Joseph Brindon, John D. Mercier, Benjamin Thompson (*Annals of Congr., 2nd Congr.*, p. 686, Nov. 14, 1792).

[3] February 19, 1793.

[4] *Am. St. Papers*, XVI, *Public Lands*, I, No. 13, p. 28.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 14, p. 28.

River, from the mouth of the Great Miami, down the river a distance not to exceed three times the breadth in length, be appropriated as compensation for refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia, each refugee to receive five hundred acres, provided his claim had been properly filed and proved in a court of record.[1]

Definite legislation for the relief of the Canadian refugees was not passed until 1798, although the matter was investigated, and bills were introduced and debated in earlier sessions. Edward Livingston, a member of the House of Representatives from New York, was particularly active in hurrying Congress to a definite settlement.[2] His extraordinary interest is not difficult to explain. One of the most prominent of the refugees who would benefit by the proposed legislation was Colonel James Livingston, connected with the Livingstons of New York and New Jersey. James Livingston was born and educated in New York, and had settled in Montreal in order to practice law. Together with a number of Canadians about Montreal, Livingston had joined the American forces in New York during the early stages of the Revolution, and had participated in General Montgomery's assault upon Montreal. It is interesting to note that Montgomery himself was connected with the Livingston family by marriage. After the collapse of the American offensive before Quebec, Livingston and his band withdrew to New York, and remained in the service of the Revolutionary army.

It was under the Act of April 7, 1798, that the first real provision for compensation to Canadian refugees was made. The act once more specifically recognized the earlier promises contained in the congressional resolutions of 1783 and 1785, and the secretary of war was directed to insert a notice in one or more of the public papers of Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, requesting all refugees to file their claims within two years. The claimants were divided into three classes, and included not only those who had actually left Canadian provinces due to their desire to aid the colonies,

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 17, p. 31. The matter had by this time been further complicated by a petition of refugees who claimed consideration not as refugees, "but for services rendered in Canada by the orders of General Schuyler and Colonel Livingston, for which they were promised pay, and some bounty in lands". The committee denied the authority of these officers to make such promises, and found that there were no vouchers or returns on file by which the proper pay could be ascertained (*ibid.*, p. 31).

[2] See *Annals of Congr., 4th Congr., 1st Sess.*, p. 337; and *5th Congr., 2nd Sess.*, I, 629, 641, 776.

but also their widows, members of their families, and other heirs. Proof of claims had to be presented, and the secretary of war, the secretary of the treasury, and the comptroller of the treasury were designated to act as commissioners to administer the law and report on the claims filed. The door was left open for special cases by the provision that all such must be made the subject of special reports to Congress.[1]

According to the provisions of the Act, a time limit of two years was fixed for the presentation of claims. As a matter of fact, all claims were not finally adjusted and disposed of until President Jackson's administration, in 1834. The report of James McHenry, secretary of war, Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury, and John Steele, comptroller of the treasury, was made to the House of Representatives on February 17, 1800.[2] In May another report was filed, to which was appended a list of forty-nine names, involving land grants of 33,500 acres. A total of seventy-three claims had been examined. From the reports, it appears that a number of the claimants had already received some compensation from Massachusetts and New York, ranging from 133 ⅓ acres to 1000 acres. The names of claimants are recorded in the reports and various acts by which the land allotments were made, and for the most part, have little significance now.[3] Some, however, involve special cases, and the presentation of such special claims sometimes threw light upon the nature of the services and sufferings of these Canadian

[1] *Annals of Congr., 5th Congr.*, III, Appendix, p. 3718. The classes affected by the law were "those heads of families, and single persons, and not members of any such families, who were residents in one of the provinces aforesaid, prior to the fourth of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, and who abandoned their settlements in consequence of having given aid to the United Colonies or States, in the Revolutionary war against Great Britain, or with intention to give such aid, and continued in the United States, or in their service, during the said war, and did not return to reside in the dominions of the King of Great Britain prior to the twenty-fifth of November, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; secondly, the widows and heirs of all such persons as were actually residents as aforesaid, and died within the United States, or in their service, during the said war; and thirdly, all persons who were members of families at the time of their coming into the United States, and who during the war, entered into their service".

[2] *Am. St. Papers*, XVI, *Public Lands*, I, No. 47.

[3] The Act of February 18, 1801, contains a list of claimants and amounts of land granted to each. See *47th Congr., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc.* No. 45, *Land Laws of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 22. A complete list of all claimants and the amounts of land they received is in Wm. E. Peters, *Ohio Lands and their Subdivisions* (2nd Ed., 1918), Ch. 25.

refugees. The report of the commissioners in May, 1800, specifically mentions the heirs of James Boyd, who had lost 50,000 acres with some valuable improvements on the St. Croix River; the widow of Thomas Walker, who had lost property worth £2,500 sterling, and a lucrative business; and John Edgar, whose "losses were very great, and his sufferings still greater".[1] The claims of eighteen were rejected, because there was no proof that they had fled to the United States, and no record of their services and losses; or else because they had already received adequate compensation from New York. The claim of the heirs of Nathaniel Reynolds was rejected because "Some of the dates in the depositions are written on an *erasure*".[2] Action on six cases was suspended. The most detailed information with reference to any of the claimants is to be found in a special report of the commissioners on the case of Seth Harding. The experiences of Harding may have been in some degree typical of those of others in the refugee group. Seth Harding, in 1771, had moved from Norwich, Connecticut, to Liverpool, Nova Scotia, with personal property valued at two thousand dollars. In Nova Scotia he became a member of the General Assembly, and in 1773, a justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Queen's county. In August, 1775, he left Nova Scotia, "with an inconsiderable portion of his property". The remainder was sold at public auction by the commander of a British warship, as enemy property. Harding returned to Connecticut for the specific purpose of engaging actively in the revolutionary war, and he soon acquired a reputation as a successful naval officer. His first command was the *Defence*, a brigantine of the Connecticut state naval forces, and after a short service on the *Oliver Cromwell*, he was transferred to the command of the United States frigate *Confidency*. In the federal navy, he proved himself a brave and capable officer, and served until 1781, when the *Confidency* was captured by a superior force. Perhaps his most valuable service was rendered in 1776, when, with the *Defence*, he captured three vessels, carrying a regiment of troops, five thousand stands of arms, ammunition, tents, clothing, etc. Harding was recommended for a grant of two thousand acres, because of his destitute circumstances and also because "....owing to the depreciation of the public currency, the insolvency of prize agents, and other

[1] *Am. St. Papers*, XVI, *Public Lands*, I, No. 56, p. 106.

[2] *Ibid.*

casualties, the claimant has, at no time, derived emoluments which might have been reasonably expected as the result of his perseverance, bravery, and good fortune, as a naval commander".[1] In the final allotment, Harding actually received two hundred and forty acres in excess of the recommendation. It is significant to note the number of officers included in the list of Canadian refugees who were finally awarded land grants. In addition to Seth Harding, whose services were in the navy, the list includes Colonel James Livingston, Lieutenant-colonels Richard Livingston and Bradford, Brigadier-general Moses Hazen, Major B. Van Heer, and Lieutenants William Maxwell and L. F. Delesdernier. Captain Clement Goselin, Major Lorant Oliver, and Lieutenant-colonel J. F. Hamtramck had received aid from New York. There may have been others, but their rank is not recorded in the Acts or reports.

The reports of the commissioners were referred to a committee of the House of Representatives, and the latter made its report on May 9, 1800. Albert Gallatin, then a representative from Pennsylvania, led the movement in the lower house to increase the amount of land to be distributed, and in general pleaded for a greater generosity toward the claimants, especially since the whole amount of claims fell short of what had been generally expected, and because all the claimants were original holders and for the most part, in destitute circumstances. It was also argued, in support of greater liberality, that the claimants had been forced to wait twenty years for their compensation. As a result of the discussion, the amount to be granted to each class of claimants was increased, the total addition amounting to four thousand seven hundred and forty acres,[2] and an Act of Congress was passed in 1801, enacting the report, as amended, into law.[3] By this Act, the "Canadian Refugee Tract" in Ohio came into existence. The surveyor-general was directed to survey, subdivide into half sections, and set aside for the relief of Canadian refugees, "those fractional townships of the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second ranges of townships, which join the southern boundary

[1] *Am. St. Papers*, XVI, *Public Lands*, I, No. 47, p. 92.

[2] *Am. St. Papers*, XVI, *Public Lands*, I, No. 58, p. 110.

[3] Feb. 18, 1801. It appears that the Senate tried to amend the bill to substitute land worth ten cents an acre for the good land, valued at one dollar an acre, proposed by the House (*Annals of Congr., 6th Congr.*, pp. 706, 711, 718, 719, 731, 736, 744, 795, 866, 912, 978).

line of the military lands."[1] The tract as surveyed was a strip of land about four and a half miles wide and forty-eight miles long, running east from the Scioto River and covering what is now an important part of the city of Columbus, Ohio. The priority of location for persons entitled to land in this district was to be determined by lot, thirty days after the survey had been completed, and the locations were then to be made on the second Tuesday of January, 1802. The act enumerated the amount to be granted to each individual, the grants ranging from one hundred and sixty acres to two thousand two hundred and forty acres.

The Refugee Tract, as laid out and surveyed in accordance with the law, fell within what are now the counties of Franklin, Fairfield, Perry, and Licking, of the state of Ohio.[2] By far the greater part of the tract lay in Franklin county, and included what is to-day the wealthiest section of Ohio's capital city. Montgomery township, a part of the present Franklin county, was named by Judge Edward C. Livingston, whose father had been with Montgomery in the Canadian campaign, and who had received a grant of two sections of land in the refugee tract as compensation for these revolutionary services. Truro township, another section of Franklin county, is reported to have been named by Robert Taylor, who came from Truro, Nova Scotia.[3] Practically all of the grants were finally located in Franklin county, and the amount appropriated by Congress proved to

[1] *Ibid.*, Appendix, 1549.

[2] An excellent map of the Tract is in W. E. Peters, *Ohio Lands and their Subdivisions*, p. 286.

[3] E. L. Taylor, *Refugees to and from Canada and the Refugee Tract* (Columbus, O., 1909), p. 21. See also O. C. Hooper, *History of the City of Columbus, O.*, I, 9; W. T. Martin, *History of Franklin County* (1858), 13; Jacob H. Studer, *Columbus, Ohio—Its History, Resources and Progress* (1873), 25; Alfred E. Lee, *History of the City of Columbus* (1892), I, 634-636. One of the first important law suits involving a land title over a half section of land in Franklin County, arose from a dispute over the grant to one Allen, a Canadian refugee. Allen had conveyed the land to his son; the latter mortgaged the property, and it was sold under the mortgage to Lynne Starling. The heirs of Allen then disputed Starling's title. In the case, Henry Clay, soon to become secretary of state in the administration of John Quincy Adams, served for a time as Starling's counsel. See Jacob H. Studer, *Columbus, Ohio—Its History, Resources, and Progress*, 25, 26. Included in the tract were parts of Perry, Licking, and Fairfield counties, but practically all claims were in Franklin county. See A. A. Graham, *History of Fairfield and Perry Counties*, Part III, pp. 30 and 31; Charles C. Miller, *History of Fairfield County*, p. 190; C. L. Martzolff, *History of Perry County, Ohio*, p. 78; N. N. Hill, *History of Licking County, Ohio*, pp. 248, 401, 491; Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, II, 69.

be almost double the amount of land actually needed to satisfy all the claims that were filed.

By 1801, when the first real step was taken to make land actually available for compensating the refugees, twenty years had elapsed since the close of the revolutionary war, and in that time, many of the original claimants had died (as is evidenced by the number of heirs included in the Acts), or were too old to venture into the perils of a new country which was still largely a wilderness. Some of the original claimants no doubt sold their allotments to land speculators; a few made personal use of their grant, and their descendants were for a long time residents of the Refugee Tract. A number of claims had been postponed in 1800 for lack of evidence—for example, that of Samuel Rogers, who, in 1803, received three and a half sections[1]—and it was soon discovered that in spite of the expiration of the time limit fixed by the Act of 1798, there were a number of deserving Canadians who had not presented their claims. As a result, an Act of March 16, 1804, revived the Act of 1798, and continued it in force for two years after the date of the new law.[2] In 1810, still another extension was made, and refugees were permitted to present their claims during another two year period.[3] In April, 1812, an Act awarded nearly thirteen thousand acres

[1] 2 *U.S.S.L.*, 242; also *47th Congr., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc.*, No. 45, *Land Laws of the United States*, I, 31.

[2] A committee of the House of Representatives, in a report of December 22, 1807, dealing with the special claims of certain refugees, once more stated the obligations of the government toward the claimants in the following interesting language: "That, when the American people formed the intention of throwing off their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to establish an independent Government, they contemplated including those of the provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia, as well as those of the other States; and, with this view, endeavoured to unite the people of those provinces in the common cause. No doubt from a persuasion that the whole would stand or fall together, a number of inhabitants of these provinces, which were, for the most part of the Revolutionary War, in the possession of the enemy, abandoned their homes, fled to the other States, and joined their efforts with the friends of the Revolution. . . . Congress from a just sense of the distressed situation of those who had emigrated from these provinces to join the standard of American freedom, and thereby had provoked the vengeance of their King, did, by resolution, the same year that peace was concluded, pledge the faith of the nation to remunerate, by a grant of land, these people for their losses and sufferings. . . ." (*Am. St. Papers*, XVI, *Public Lands*, I, No. 142, pp. 585, 586).

[3] *47th Congr., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc.*, No. 45, *Land Laws of the United States*, I, 42.

to a group of seventeen claimants, whose claims had been filed under the laws of 1804 and 1810.[1]

By 1816, it was clear that much of the land appropriated by Congress for the relief of the refugees would remain unclaimed, and consequently the Ohio General Assembly, in that year, by resolution, instructed the congressmen and senators of the state to use their efforts to secure the passage of a federal law, providing for the sale of the unappropriated portions.[2] On April 29, 1816, such a measure was enacted, providing for the sale of the unclaimed sections of the refugee tract by auction at the Chillicothe land office, for a minimum price of two dollars an acre, the details of the sale to be fixed by presidential proclamation. What still remained after this auction, was to be disposed of at private sale.[3]

In 1827, the benefits of the earlier Acts were extended to the heirs of Gregory Strahan, deceased, the grants to be located in the territory of Arkansas,[4] and in the year following, a patent was issued to Andrew Westbrook, formerly of Upper Canada, for a grant of two sections, to be located anywhere in the unsettled west.[5] In 1831, the president was authorized to issue a land patent for the relief of John Gough, near Vincennes, Indiana.[6] The final legislation for the satisfaction of the claims of Canadian refugees seems to have been the Act of 1834, for the relief of the heirs of Lieutenant-colonel Richard Livingston, who had served in the regiment commanded by Colonel James Livingston.[7]

In all, 58,080 acres were granted in the Refugee Tract, at one time or another, for the relief of 67 claimants, the grants ranging from 2,240 acres to 160 acres. Seven claimants received the maximum allotment of 2,240 acres; four received 1,280 acres each; twenty-two received 960 acres; seventeen were given 640 acres; sixteen received 320 acres each; and one claimant was granted but 160 acres.[8]

CARL WITTKE

[1] April 23, 1812. *Ibid.*, 44.

[2] 14 *Laws of Ohio*, 469. Feb. 27, 1816.

[3] *47th Congr., 2nd Sess., House Misc. Doc.*, No. 45, *Land Laws of the United States*, I, 54.

[4] 7 *Laws of the U.S.*, 593.

[5] 8 *Laws of the U.S.*, 79.

[6] 6 *U.S.S.L.*, 467.

[7] 6 *U.S.S.L.*, 570.

[8] Some reference to the Refugee Tract is to be found in Payson Jackson Treat, *The National Land System*, 1785-1820 (New York, 1910), pp. 287-290; Thomas B. Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (Washington, 1884), p. 210; and Gustavus Swan, *Land Laws of Ohio* (1825), pp. 66-72.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN IN THE EVOLUTION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

THE Durham Report will always remain a turning point in British colonial policy. In its recommendations lay the genesis of responsible government. The ultimate wisdom of that policy is not now doubted, but at the time it met with considerable opposition and misunderstanding, even in comparatively Liberal quarters in England. In Canada its complete realization was not secured until ten years after the publication of the Report.

The years between 1839-1849 are, therefore, of considerable importance in Canadian history. The evolution from representative to responsible government meant ten years of bitter contention and party controversy. The struggle was not so much whether or not Canada was to enjoy responsible government, but what interpretation of that theory was to hold the field. The four governors of that period, Sydenham, Bagot, Metcalfe, and Elgin, as well as the leaders of the Canadian Reform party, all agreed that they were following the principles enunciated in the Durham Report, but they all differed when they considered how those principles were to be put into practice. This fact is on the surface peculiar when it is remembered that the language of the Durham Report is remarkably clear and dogmatic in tone, quite unlike the usual blue book, and contains none of the reservations and ambiguities which are natural to the discreet politician. What is the explanation?

Professor Morison, in a recent book,[1] traces the evolution of Canadian self-government during this period. Brilliant and suggestive as the book is, he nevertheless fails to reconcile the difference between the conception of responsible government as understood by Metcalfe and by Elgin. He is inclined to emphasize the limitations imposed by Durham.[2] He argues with effect that Metcalfe was quite right in claiming that he

[1] *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

was carrying out the principles of the Durham Report,[1] and he suggests that the now abandoned theory that Durham did not write his own Report is true.[2] "Even if Durham contributed more to his Report than seems probable," he writes, "the view there propounded of the scope of Responsible Government is not nearly so urgent as that of the latter pamphlet".[3]

These views are open to criticism. The subjects reserved for imperial control—the waste lands of Canada, trade relations, and foreign policy—had nothing to do with the struggle between 1839-49. The first was abandoned by the Mother Country, and the rest were admitted by the colonial reformers. There is no need to say anything on the subject of the authorship of the Durham Report. That topic has been discussed by Professor Egerton[4] and by Mr. F. Bradshaw in his book *Self-Government in Canada*. Whatever may have been the share of Durham, Buller, and Wakefield, there is little reason to suggest that the Report was not equally the expression of the views of all three. If Durham was strongly influenced by anyone—and his political career in England does not lend support to such a view—he was more likely to be influenced by Wakefield, well known for his arts of persuasion, than by Buller, who was fourteen years his junior. There is no evidence to suggest that the three men were ever in disagreement on the theory of colonial government. Durham died less than eighteen months after the publication of the Report; Buller remained closely connected with Wakefield's schemes of colonization till his death in 1848, and was referred to by Wakefield as his "*alter ego*". Finally Buller's pamphlet, *Responsible Government in the Colonies*, was published during the lifetime of Durham. It was meant as a fuller explanation of what must necessarily be brief when presented in the form of a Report. It was purposely written to check what Buller considered wilful misrepresentations. Buller himself had no doubt as to the clearness of the Report, for he writes, "The inherent vagueness of the term can throw no doubt on Lord Durham's meaning, because he does not use the term Responsible Government until he has fully explained his meaning without it. He reports his observations, draws his inferences, and suggests the alterations which he advises in the present system of admin-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 244.
[2] Morison, *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government*, p. 243.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[4] *British Colonial Policy.*

istering the country. It is only after thus explaining himself, that he remarks that the conclusion at which he arrives, is the same as that which the Reformers of Upper Canada had in view in their demand for responsible government."

In view of the conflict of opinion that has existed as to the precise meaning of Durham's recommendations, it is necessary to quote the exact words of the Report. Durham meant to introduce responsible government into Canada as far as domestic affairs were concerned in the same way as it existed in Great Britain. He said:

> It needs no change in the principles of government, no invention of a new constitutional theory, to supply the remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove the existing political disorders. It needs but to follow out consistently the principles of the British constitution, and to introduce in the government of these great colonies those wise provisions by which alone the working of the representative system can in any country be rendered harmonious and efficient. We are not now to consider the policy of establishing representative government in the North American colonies. That has been irrevocably done; and the experiment of depriving the people of their present constitutional power, is not to be thought of. To conduct their government harmoniously, in accordance with its established principles, is now the business of its rulers; and I know not how it is possible to secure that harmony in any other way than by administering the Government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain. I would not impair a single prerogative of the Crown; on the contrary I believe that the interests of the people of these colonies require the protection of prerogatives which have not been hitherto exercised. But, the Crown, must, on the other hand submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions; and if it is to carry on the Government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence.

Durham then suggested the means by which such an end could be accomplished:

> Every purpose of popular control might be combined with every advantage of vesting the immediate choice of advisers in the Crown, were the Colonial Governor to be instructed to secure the co-operation of the Assembly in his policy by entrusting its administration to such men as could command a majority; and if he were given to understand that he need count on no aid from home in

> any difference with the Assembly, that should not directly involve the relations between mother country and colony. This change might be effected by a single despatch containing such instructions; or if any legal enactment were requisite, it would only be one that would render it necessary that the official acts of the Governor should be counter-signed by some public functionary. This would induce responsibility for every act of the government, and, as a natural consequence, it would necessitate the substitution of a system of administration by means of competent heads of departments, for the present rude machinery of an executive council. The Governor, if he wished to retain advisers not possessing the confidence of the existing Assembly, might rely on the effect of an appeal to the people, and, if unsuccessful he might be coerced by a refusal of supplies or his advisers might be terrified by the prospect of impeachment.

The above passage is remarkably interesting. Certain points in it are quite clear. Above all Durham intended that Downing Street control must cease over the domestic affairs of colonies possessing representative institutions. Similarly the former system by which the executive remained independent of the legislature was to be a thing of the past. That would inevitably happen as soon as the executive was solely dependent for supplies on the legislature. What is most interesting is that nothing is said about a colonial prime minister or a colonial cabinet. The phrase used is "competent heads of departments". The references to the position of the governor allow him to take an active part in colonial politics. He might act as his own prime minister, provided that he could get an Assembly to support him. Such an event occurred under the governorship of Sydenham. Such was the view held by Metcalfe.

On the other hand, the constant comparison drawn by Durham with British parliamentary practice and his own statement, "Nor can I conceive that it would be found impossible or difficult to conduct a colonial government with precisely that limitation of the respective powers which has been so long and so easily maintained in Great Britain," together with his son-in-law Elgin's opinion, "that the real and effectual vindication of Lord Durham's memory and proceedings will be the success of a Governor-General of Canada who works out his views of government fairly," lend support to the view that Durham advocated responsible government as it is now understood.

Durham died in 1840, and we cannot say for certain what

his views would have been on the policy of Sydenham and Metcalfe. We can only consider the attitude of his two associates, Buller and Wakefield. A series of articles written by Buller appeared in the *Colonial Gazette* during the months of December, January, and February, 1839-40, and were published under the title of *Responsible Government in the Colonies*, on April 16, 1840. His conception of responsible government strongly supports the view that Sydenham and Metcalfe truly interpreted the spirit of the report. Like Durham, he is emphatic on the evils of imperial interference in the domestic concerns of the colonies. The Mother Country "should let the Governor and Assembly get on as best they may, passing such laws and administering affairs by such parties as they may agree on between themselves". Buller never mentions the subject of cabinet responsibility, and he refused to define the contingency on which the governor should dismiss a minister (he does not say ministry) in compliance with the wishes of the representative body. What he does insist on is that the authority of the Mother Country should not be interposed in order to retain in office people who can get no Assembly to work with them. He defined the position of the governor in his relations with the Colonial Office and the Assembly in words that are well worth quoting:

> The course of a governor may undoubtedly be generally directed from home to the extent of advising the proposal of particular measures, the rejection of others, or the employment of particular individuals. The Governor instead of acting on his own opinion as the sovereign does, may have his course suggested to him by the Secretary of State; but then he must act on those suggestions as the sovereign here acts on those of her own conscience—that is, within the limits of constitutional possibility. . . Without saying therefore, that the Colonial Office should give no instructions to Governors, though certainly the less it takes upon itself to instruct those who generally know more about the subject the better—yet, we do say that its instructions should never be positive, but always conditional. The Secretary of State may advise as to men and measures, but he should always limit his advice as to what can be done. He should say, "Pursue such a course, if you can, do not do such a thing if you can help it, employ such persons, exclude others, as far as the Assembly will let you, in short manage to get along with the Assembly as you best may; get it to adopt your policy or do you adopt its policy. If you do not get it to go as I wish, from any fault of your own, and I have reason to think that

another governor would succeed better, I may have to recall you; but if you get into collision with the Assembly, and cannot get one better disposed towards you, then I certainly must and shall recall you."

It should be added that both Buller and Wakefield supported Metcalfe's policy in 1844. The apparent inconsistency of Durham and his associates in recommending for the colonies responsible government as it existed in Great Britain, and defining it in such a way that the governor could act as his own prime minister, becomes clear when we consider the position of the Crown at home in 1840.

It had hardly yet become a convention of the constitution that the monarch must be neutral in domestic politics. Responsible government in England was not fully established until 1832. From 1770 to 1830 there is no instance where a ministry resigned because of a defeat in the House of Commons. The influence and interference of the monarch in domestic politics had been very great. George III aimed at being his own prime minister, and from 1770-1782 he virtually acted as such. In December, 1784, he dismissed the Fox-North ministry, when the India Bill was rejected in the House of Lords; in 1801 he refused to consent to Roman Catholic relief, and Pitt was forced to resign. Pitt afterwards promised, and so did Fox when he took office in 1806, not to revive the subject, and in 1804 George III refused to have Fox in office when requested to do so by Pitt. Responsible government in England made a great advance when the king in 1832 was willing to create new peers in order that the Reform Bill might be passed through the House of Lords. Yet William IV found it difficult to preserve a strict neutrality, and in 1834 dismissed the Whig cabinet of Melbourne. In this case it is true that Melbourne was not unwilling to leave office, but his letter to William IV requested the king either to reconstruct or to take another course. William IV did not, in accordance with modern constitutional practice in England, tell him that he had the royal confidence so long as he kept a majority in the House of Commons, that if he felt unable to remain at the head of the administration it was his duty to resign, nor did he tell him that he might have a dissolution. Instead, the king sent for the Duke of Wellington to form a cabinet. The very fact that such an action was possible, showed how strong the power of the Crown was in practice.

Buller was aware of these precedents, and with this in his

mind wrote, "The Governor would, in fact, stand in the position of the Crown at home, and it is difficult to make out why the prerogative, which suffices to maintain the balance of power at home, should not be equally competent, to uphold it in a colony." He then alluded to the precedent of 1784, and was at some pains to show that the authority of the Crown in domestic politics still existed.

Viewed in this light, the struggle that existed in Canada with regard to the position of the governor was perfectly natural. The colonial governor stood in the position of the Crown in England during the reign of William IV. It was not to be expected that the representative of the Crown in the colonies would exercise less practical influence than the monarch did at home. The attitude adopted by Sydenham and Metcalfe was the logical development of what was meant by Durham to be responsible government. Experience soon proved that it was unworkable in practice. The governor was appointed by the Colonial Office, and was bound by its instructions. So long as he interfered with the domestic affairs of the colony, Downing Street control would exist—the very evil that was intended to be stopped. In the second place, the governor was an experienced statesman, and was fully the equal in talent of the Canadian statesman of the time. He was thus more competent to conduct political warfare than the monarch in England. At the same time, he could not claim the same respect and reverence as the monarch. Canadian politics were then conducted with a bitterness and intensity almost unknown to the English political parties of the time. The conflict naturally arose in an acute form, and criticism of the governor was easier than criticism of the monarch. Thus it was that the transition from a governor who rules to one who reigns but does not rule was settled in Canada during the space of one decade, while in England a similar transition occupied nearly two centuries, without any violent crisis, and was not fully completed until the end of the nineteenth century.

The publication of the last two volumes of the life of Disraeli by Monypenny and Buckle reinforces the view that down to 1880 the Crown still continued to exercise a strong influence over the politics of Great Britain. It is clear that Queen Victoria was a strong partisan of Disraeli's foreign policy, and was filled with a good Tory's dislike of Mr. Gladstone. Not only was this the case, but the Queen went out of her way to show her approval of her favourite prime minister's policy. During the critical

months of the winter of 1877-1878, when Disraeli's policy was being bitterly attacked by the Liberal opposition, and when there was a lack of unanimity in his own cabinet, the Queen paid a visit to Disraeli at his country house Hughenden. Early in the next year, on January 20, she offered Disraeli the Order of the Garter. In a letter of that date she wrote, "The Queen would wish to confer the vacant Garter on Lord Beaconsfield as a mark of her confidence and support. She and the country have the greatest confidence in him." Disraeli had the good sense, however, to decline an honour offered at such a time.

The Queen did not confine herself to general approval of Disraeli's policy, but her correspondence shows that she found much to criticize in the conduct of the foreign secretary, Lord Derby. Whether her criticism was right or wrong, does not matter. The interesting fact is that she made it without the slightest reserve. A letter of June 25, 1877, well illustrates this fact. Writing to Disraeli, the Queen said: "The reports in Mr. Layard's last letter of the 15th inst., which the Queen saw yesterday, are very alarming. Surely Lord Derby cannot be indifferent to the dangers expressed therein? Warning after warning arrives and he seems to take it all without saying a word? Such a foreign minister the Queen really never remembers."

"The news to-day continues very unpleasant and makes the Queen very anxious. The feeling against Russia is getting stronger and stronger. Only do not delay."

"The Queen has been thinking very much of what Lord Beaconsfield told her, and she thinks that in part public affairs would be benefited if Lord Lyons replaced Lord Derby, as the former has such knowledge of foreign countries. Lord Clarendon had the same and Lord Granville also to a great extent; so had Lord Malmesbury. But unfortunately Lord Derby has not. If he and Lord Salisbury want to resign, however, the Queen thinks they should be told that she could not accept their resignations now, but that they should be relieved later. Could not that be done?"

Two days later the Queen wrote an even more forcible letter to Disraeli. "This delay," she declared, "this uncertainty, by which, abroad, we are losing our prestige and our position, while Russia is advancing and will be before Constantinople in no time! Then the Government will be fearfully blamed, and the Queen so humiliated that she thinks she should abdicate at once."

Queen Victoria did not conceal her grief at the disastrous

election of 1880. It was with considerable regret that she discovered that it was impossible to form a Liberal administration without Gladstone as prime minister. Not only did she consult Disraeli during the negotiations with regard to the change of ministry, a course of action that she was not accustomed to follow when Gladstone was prime minister, but she took the dangerous course of asking Disraeli to act as her unofficial adviser. Writing to Disraeli from Baden Baden on April 9, 1880, the Queen declared that, "My great hope and belief is, that this shamefully heterogeneous union—out of mere folly—will separate into many parts very soon, and that the Conservatives will come in stronger than ever in a short time. Possibly a coalition first. But you must promise me for the country's, as well as for my own sake, to be very watchful and very severe, and to allow no lowering of Great Britain's proud position. It must not be lowered. The Army and Navy not diminished, and I look to you for that. Give me that firm promise. I do not care for the trouble of changes of Government if it is to have a secure and safe one, which the new one cannot be. I am shocked and ashamed at what has happened. It is really disgraceful."

The last occasion on which the Queen influenced noticeably the political affairs of the country was in 1894, when Gladstone resigned. The Queen never consulted him as to who should be his successor. Gladstone declared that if he had been consulted, he would have advised the Queen to send for Earl Spencer. The other two obvious choices were Sir William Harcourt, the leader of the House of Commons, and perhaps Lord Kimberley, the leader of the House of Lords. The Queen sent instead for Lord Rosebery, whom she personally knew and liked. It need not perhaps be added that Rosebery was in sympathy with the Queen's imperialism, and that his Liberalism was not sufficiently strong to support the Veto Bill of 1910.

Sufficient has now been said to show that the position of the monarchy was not one of strict neutrality in political warfare during the nineteenth century. This explains the difficulty of a governor in Canada between 1839 and 1849. It was neither the bureaucracy of the Colonial Office, nor the stupidity of the Tory party, that was responsible for the struggle of those years. Lord Durham advocated responsible government, but it was the responsible government of Great Britain of 1840 and not of 1910. Experience proved that this conception had to be widened and enlarged.

K. L. P. MARTIN

"WANT OF VISION"

SIR Robert Borden's lectures on the constitutional development of Canada,[1] by this time widely studied and known, are, apart from other merits, of unique value as the judgment passed by a man of action upon events and policy, of the latest and widest phases of which *pars magna fuit.* No one could speak on the subject-matter of these lectures with such living first-hand authority as the statesman who led Canada, and did much towards leading the whole British Empire, in the memorable years of the Great War and its immediate aftermath.

What follows is not an attempt to add a further and superfluous review of the *Canadian Constitutional Studies*, but to give a short note, for which these lectures supply a text, on the Canadian view of the constitutional development of Canada, and how far it differs, and why, from what may be called the standpoint of the Mother Country.

What makes the story of Canada on the constitutional side—taking that side alone—so interesting is that, as we all know, Canada led the Overseas Empire at every step of constitutional development. What Canada did, and what happened to Canada, was, more or less closely, followed elsewhere. The study of the evolution in Canada is a study of the problem generally, for in Canada it was first and most thoroughly worked out through successive stages. At the same time—and the point seems hardly ever to be sufficiently emphasized—the conditions of Canada, in one important respect at any rate, were and are quite peculiar. Canada has had a great foreign, though kindred, nation along its whole land frontier, and this factor, which practically exists nowhere else in the Empire, has, in a very great degree, directly or indirectly, shaped the course of Canadian history and in consequence has largely shaped the course of the other young nations, which have followed along the path marked out by Canada. For instance, to take the most recent illustration,

[1] Sir R. L. Borden, *Canadian Constitutional Studies* (Toronto, 1922).

the movement towards separate diplomatic representation for the self-governing Dominions is obviously and immediately the outcome of the neighbourhood of Canada to the United States. The two countries must, from the nature of the case, deal directly with each other.

We have, then, among the numberless contradictory features in the British Commonwealth, the fact that what, to my mind, has been natural and normal development has emanated from the one part of the Empire which has had a special setting, not paralleled elsewhere within the limits of the Empire; and from this fact it may not unfairly be inferred that the Canadian point of view may also possibly be at once partly normal and partly *sui generis*.

My own view of the British Empire or Commonwealth—for what it is worth—is that the whole thing is utterly unintelligible and inexplicable, unless it is looked at, thought, and written of, in the light of the family analogy. To me it has all been a matter of natural growth, and the peculiar genius of our British stock has lain in following the lines of natural growth. If in a family the young members wish to go more quickly and the parents more slowly, if therefore from time to time they think differently and there is a certain amount of friction, it seems to me quite natural. I do not regard one as right and the other as wrong, I regard them as both right, the problem being to find, as a working proposition, the greatest common measure of the two quantities. Therefore, I should regard the Canadian point of view and the Mother Country point of view, so far as in the past they have not coincided, as both, roughly speaking, natural and right. But, for the present purpose, I want to hold a brief for the Mother Country, simply by way of presenting the other side; for Sir Robert Borden, to a modified extent, and other writers, in a much more pronounced degree (*e.g.*, the recently published *Fiscal and Diplomatic Freedom of the British Oversea Dominions*) tend to portray the development of Canada from a dependency to a nation as something which was wrung by clear-sighted, freedom-loving Canadians from purblind politicians in a repressive Mother Country.

Sir Robert writes of the British North America Act that it "crowned the endeavour of a century, during which the initiative in constitutional development had been taken by Colonial Statesmen". As a general statement, this is quite true, and it is to be hoped that, as it has been in the past, so it will be in the future.

It is for the young to initiate the moves, and, when Sir Robert makes his interesting criticism on the failure to take steps to carry out the Resolution of the 1917 Conference ("I have yet to learn that since the conclusion of peace their [the Dominions'] right to 'an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations' has been recognized in any effective or practical way"), I, for one, devoutly hope, in the interests of good understanding, that the method by which such recognition can be given, and which will be at once effective and congenial to the young nations, will be indicated by them, that they will keep the initiative in their hands.

But now let us look at past history. We are told by Sir Robert that Lord Stanley's speech on Canada in the House of Commons in May, 1844, was "insular in its spirit", but "made an irresistible appeal to an audience of imperfect comprehension and limited vision". Sir Charles Metcalfe accepted "the narrow views which then afflicted British statesmen". "In its main aspects the theory of the most powerful intellects among British statesmen three quarters of a century ago was unmistakedly 'unicellular'"—a term derived from, and supported by, a quotation from Maitland. At the time of the passing of the British North America Act, "in the letters of Sir John Macdonald and Sir A. T. Galt we have a curious picture of the attitude of British statesmen of the day; their indifference, their lack of vision, and their apparent relief at the prospect that the Northern half of the North American continent would pass out of the orbit of the British Empire, are astonishing and even bewildering". In 1876 "it was apparent that the wisdom of the Colonial Office had not increased with years". "Sir John Thompson encountered a remarkable and unfortunate lack of vision and comprehension on the part not only of the Colonial Office but of the entire British Government." "This shortsighted view [of Sir Michael Hicks Beach in 1878] soon passed into the desuetude to which equally narrow views of earlier days have been consigned." And so forth. The burden of it all is the shortcomings or worse of the Mother Country, the want of vision on the part of its statesmen. From my own point of view, the true reading of history would admit, as inevitable from the nature of the case, a considerable amount of point in these and other similar charges. Canadians must have known the conditions, the interests, and the outlook of Canada much better than any one outside could know them. But, nevertheless, the statements are half truths

only, not the whole truth. What is to be said on the other side?

We are all wise after the event. As it has worked out, the evolution has been wondrously successful. But that is no reason for reading our present knowledge into generations long gone and condemning them for not having been more than human. Are we seriously to suppose that Canadians foresaw all that was coming? Are we, again, seriously to suppose that it all came to pass, as the version of history which I am now controverting would incline people to think, not only without the coöperation, but in the teeth, of the Mother Country?

Who were these English politicians, who were so wanting in vision, so loth to give freedom, so much stupider than the Canadians of their day? They were the men who were leading England when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the world acknowledged the leadership of England in all that was liberal and progressive and made for freedom. They necessarily moved in a wider circle than contemporary Canadians. Is it likely that they were, as they are made out to have been, abnormally narrow and dull? Is it not at least as likely that, if Canadians saw more clearly, it was because their horizon was not broader but narrower, bounded by Canada alone?

The problem was not a fixed problem. It was a fluid problem, shifting like the films of a cinema show. Canada was constantly changing and growing. The Canada of one year was wholly different from the Canada of ten years later, just as a boy of ten is wholly different from a young man of twenty. Because certain institutions proved to be good when they came, it does not follow that they would always have been good, that they were wrongly withheld, that caution in giving them was a mark of stupidity. You do not make a child self-governing from his mother's womb. Should the English dullards have given self-government to Canada from the moment when it became a British possession? No. Should Canadians have been given full responsible government, control of the tariff, and all the rest of it, in 1791? I should say, No. At what psychological moment or moments were the various elements of nationhood to be given, and were they to be given all at once or by instalments? What had the Mother Country to go by except the demand from Canada at any given time and the best estimate that could be formed at the time of the consequences of complying with the demand?

The Canadian view of Canadian development does not seem to allow for the numberless calls that there were at all times upon the attention of the Mother Country, for its worldwide entanglements and responsibilities. That no doubt was no valid reason for neglecting Canada, but it explains neglect, if there was any. It was a drawback to Canada, the consequence of Canada's membership in the British Empire; but, on the other hand, that membership, so some people think, brought with it certain countervailing advantages. Take the years 1850-1870, during which the Mother Country is supposed to have been somewhat specially wanting in regard for Canada. They were the years of the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the American Civil War, with its grave danger of a rupture between Great Britain and the United States. Was it wonderful if British statesmen could not concentrate on constitutional development and on Canada? They never could concentrate on Canada. They always had to cast their eyes further afield. Whatever line was taken in regard to Canada had also to be taken elsewhere in the Empire. It was the wider horizon, not the narrower, that was the trouble.

In Canadian criticisms of the past conduct of the Mother Country there is one very singular feature. It will be found that the Mother Country is charged, at one and the same time, with trying to repress or coerce the colonies and with indifference to them, in other words with at once trying to withhold freedom and to give more freedom than the colonies desired—complete independence. Human beings do not usually commit diametrically opposite crimes at the same time.

Biographies, it seems to me, are responsible for a good deal of misunderstanding. A worried statesman, who may have the toothache or a row with his wife or both, has a troublesome political question thrust upon him. He makes some impatient remark, or writes an impatient private letter, and many years afterwards the *obiter dictum*, like Disraeli's "wretched colonies", is trotted out as a considered opinion, and, what is worse, is exaggerated into being typical of the whole band of statesmen at the time. The expressions may have been more or less justified in reference to the particular time or occasion when they were used. For instance, much is made of Galt's state paper of 1859 asserting the right of Canada to levy what duties she pleased. At the time the British taxpayer was paying (quite rightly, from my family point of view) between £3 millions and £3½ millions

for the military defence of the colonies, including Canada. Would it have been wonderful if an Englishman at the time had argued: "If we are to be taxed to pay Canada's defence bill and, while admitting Canadian goods free, to have our goods taxed in Canada, where does the value of the connection come in?"

Once again, is it wonderful if some thinking Englishmen, when pondering over the problem how colonial independence could possibly be combined with imperial unity, and not being gifted with second sight, may have concluded that the end must be severance of the colonies from the Empire? The problem is still with us. Hear Sir Robert Borden: "Canadians of great eminence and distinguished ability have entertained a sincere opinion that the ultimate goal is complete independence as a separate nation. In some instances such opinions have been modified or withdrawn; in no case should they incur reproach or contempt." What about the reproach and contempt meted out to Englishmen in past days who felt any doubts of the kind? And are we wanting in vision when we now find difficulty in forecasting the future? But the words which have been quoted above as to the apparent relief of British statesmen in or about 1867 at the prospect of getting rid of British North America can be safely challenged as a wholly misleading generality. No British government would have lived for a day if it had proposed to get rid of Canada; the British nation could not have tolerated such an idea for a single moment.

Continuing our study of indifference and want of vision, let us look first at Lord Durham's time and then at the time of the British North America Act. Lord Durham is credited by Sir Robert with "wide vision". Among the blind he had one eye, but he contemplated certain limitations, which we all remember, to responsible government, and which call forth the comment: "That a man of Lord Durham's vision could not foresee the lamentable consequences of such limitations is remarkable." So it seems to us, wise after the event, but is not the fact that this truly great and farseeing man did not foresee them, in itself, an answer to all these facile charges about want of vision? Even the broadest-minded men can only see through a glass darkly, when they look into the future. However, we can all agree that Lord Durham was, at any rate—shall we say—the best of a bad lot. Now let us turn to the quotation which is given from a speech of the more benighted Lord John Russell, made in 1837 before the Durham Mission: "We consider that these demands

[for an Executive Council responsible to the House of Assembly and not to the government or Crown of Great Britain] are inconsistent with the relations between a colony and the Mother Country, and that it would be better to say at once, Let the two countries separate, than for us to pretend to govern the colony afterwards." Lord Durham thought that responsible government could be limited, and that the ultimate power over Canada could be shared between the Mother Country and Canada. Lord John Russell thought that, with the grant of responsible government, the power over Canada would pass wholly away from the Mother Country to Canada. Which of the two men apprehended more accurately what responsible government involved? And is it wonderful that, realizing what responsible government meant, Russell and his colleagues approached it, eighty years ago, in the most cautious and tentative manner?

Coming on to the time of the passing of the British North America Act, we have seen that the Mother Country was considered capable of combining indifference to the colonies with repression of the colonies. It was perfectly certain that, whatever was done or left undone, one or the other or both charges would be made. Alleged indifference was likely to make less mischief than alleged interference. In this particular case it was the charge of indifference that was laid. The secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Carnarvon, was, as was more often than not the case, in the House of Lords, and it is found convenient to overlook his speeches on Canadian confederation in that House and outside. Yet it would be difficult to detect want of appreciation of Canada in his speech on the second reading of the bill: "We are laying the foundation of a great State, perhaps one which at a future date may even overshadow this country. But, come what may, we shall rejoice that we have shown neither indifference to their wishes nor jealousy of their aspirations, but that we, honestly and sincerely, to the utmost of our power and knowledge, fostered their growth, recognizing in it the conditions of our own greatness." Not a bad effort for the accredited official spokesman of an indifferent and visionless Mother Country! But the gravamen of the charge of indifference, apparently, lay largely in the bill not being made more of in the House of Commons. Lord Carnarvon's speeches give the clue. The bill had been elaborately and painfully worked out. It was of the nature of a compromise. Canadian opposition to it was

present in England. The one thing needful was to get it through parliament, if possible, as it stood. That object was achieved, the Canadians got what they wanted, and they went on their way rejoicing and complaining of the indifference of the Mother Country.

"It may be," writes Sir Robert Borden, "that British statesmen learnt the wrong lesson from the American Revolution." What was the right lesson of the American Revolution? That, when British citizens have formed communities overseas with representative institutions, for the Mother Country to try to make them pay for their own defence by herself imposing taxes on them is to invite the deluge. Does the history of defence in or of Canada show that British statesmen had learnt the lesson, or does it not? One more point. The time-honoured or dishonoured maxim of past Empires was *Divide et impera*. Did the Mother Country ever act on this maixm? Did it ever within the limits of the present Empire do other than favour and encourage the formation of larger units? I can only think of one instance, and that was of a special kind, when Sir George Grey's plan for federating the Cape Colony with the Orange Free State was turned down. But then, of course, the encouragement of larger units was only another sign of indifference and born of a desire to get rid of the colonies!

I repeat that the above to me is no true rendering of history. It has as much or as little truth as the one-sided version of which it is the other side. This is put forward, because it is such a pity that coming generations of Canadians should be fed up with the doctrine that they are what they are in spite of the Mother Country, and not with her goodwill.

All of which is submitted by an old country citizen who is at least as proud of Canada as any Canadian can be, and who has high admiration for Sir Robert Borden.

C. P. LUCAS

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Fur-Trade Returns, 1767

THERE is comparatively little information in print with regard to the beginnings of the fur-trade under British rule. The following tables, which were found in a bundle of Colonial Office papers (C.O. 42, 14) in the Record Office, London, are therefore documents of much importance. Not only do they provide us with the names of the traders and merchants who first engaged in the fur-trade after the British conquest, but they give full information with regard to the volume of the trade and the routes which the traders followed.

Appended to the report on the fur-trade at Michillimackinac is a note which serves as an adequate introduction to both tables:

> *Remarks.* Trading with the Indians was only permitted under the Cannon of the Forts and before the Governor of a Province granted a trading Licence he made the Trader enter into Bond to Obey all Instructions sent by the Superintendant. This being the first year the traders were permitted to winter amongst the Indians at their Villages and Hunting Grounds it was f^{d} necessary they sh^{ld} enter into fresh security with the Commissary, of this, the only post they had liberty to winter from, for it frequently hapned they made of [*sic*] with their goods, by the Mississipi, and cheated the English Merchants, besides they were restricted from trading with Nations that misbeheaved.
>
> (*signed*) B. Roberts, Com^{y} Gen^{l} of Trade,
> Superintendant.

The tables reproduced herewith have been transcribed and edited by Captain Charles E. Lart, to whom is due also the credit for their discovery.

[*Transcript.*]

An Account of the Number of Canoes gone out Wintering from the Post of Michilimackinac, Including the Names of Traders and those that are Bail for them. Allso the Value of their goods and where they are bound.

	Traders names that go in the canoes	Names of those who enter into security for the good behaviour of those going out	No. of canoes	Places of wintering	Value of merchandise		
1767					£	s.	d.
July				Gone by Lake Superior			
9	Barselon	Benjamin Frobisher	2	Petit Ouinipique	506	17	..
9	Bertrand	Deriviere	2	Fals Avoin	600	..	..
11	Baby	Chenville	1	Michipicoton	500	..	..
12	Thos: Curray	Isaac Todd	2	Camnistugouia	1000	..	..
14	Chabouillet	Groissbeek	1	Lance	600	..	..
16	Louis Amblen	De Riviere	1	De Riviere Serpent	175	..	..
16	Chabouillet.	McGill	2	La Pointe	700	..	..
24	St. Germain	Alexander Henry	1	Lance	400	..	..
Aug.							
10	Cadot	Alexander Henry	2	St. Mary's	1200	..	..
18	Bartie	Alexander Baxter	2	Du Fond du Lac	800	..	..
21	Chinn	Alexander Henry	2	La Poine	1000	..	..
			18	canoes	7481	17	..

	TRADERS NAMES THAT GO IN THE CANOES	NAMES OF THOSE WHO ENTER INTO SECURITY FOR THE GOOD BEHAVIOUR OF THOSE GOING OUT	No. OF CANOES	PLACES OF WINTERING	VALUE OF MERCHANDISE		
July				Gone by Lake Superior to y^e North West			
7	Blondeau	Spicemaker, Blondeau, Jun	2	Fort La Reine & Fort Dauphin	700	..	..
	Le Blancell	Alexander Baxter	6	Fort Daphne & La Pierce	2400	..	..
	Campion	Groesbeeke	1	Lac de Plieu & La Dubois	400	..	..
	Marcaut	Guillaid	2	Nippigon & La Carpe	511	10	..
	Menard	Forest Oakes	3	" "	1106	..	7
			14		5117	10	7
July				Gone into Lake Huron			
8	Lascelle	St. Clair	2	Sagunay	400	..	..
8	Rayoma	La Selle	1	"	250	..	..
8	Beau Dieu	St. Clair	1	"	325	..	..
16	La Roche	Outlass	1	La Cloche	300	..	..
			5		1275	..	..
July				Gone into Lake Michigan			
4	Bernard	La Joi	2	St. Joseph	525	..	..
5	Dusant	Catin	1	"	250	..	..
16	Fullton	Finlay	1	Millewake	500	..	..
16	McGill	Frobisher	1	"	400	..	..
24	St. Piere	Porteous	1	St. Joseph	300	..	..

	TRADERS NAMES THAT GO IN THE CANOES	NAMES OF THOSE WHO ENTER INTO SECURITY FOR THE GOOD BEHAVIOUR OF THOSE GOING OUT	No. OF CANOES	PLACES OF WINTERING	VALUE OF MERCHANDISE		
1767					£	s.	d.
July							
24	Charle Catin	Catin	1	St. Joseph	205	..	..
27	Boucher	Finlay	1	"	146	13	..
Aug.							
3	Le Duc	Levy	2	"	421	6	..
3	Chabouillet	De Rieviere	1	"	260	..	..
4	Catin	Cardin	1	"	262	..	..
5	Rodgers	Todd	1	"	375	10	..
8	Chabouillet	Biscernet	2	La Grande Riviere	600	..	..
14	Hubert	Blendeau	1	Kiganamazo	250	..	..
14	Du Charme	Chevallie	2	St. Joseph	600	..	..
23	Gauden	Chs. Chevallier & Du Plessis	1	"	125	..	..
23	Thos: Chibouillet	Chevallier	2	"	1000	..	..
24	Courtois	Louis Chevallier	2	"	450	..	..
Sept.							
12	Baressau	Groesbeek	1	"	205	..	..
			24	Total	6875	9	..

Dates of Passes July	Traders names that go in the canoes	Names of those who enter into security for the good behaviour of those going out	No. of canoes	Places of wintering	Value of merchandise £	s.	d.
				Canoes by Lake Michigan into La Bay			
9	Campion	Bezzo	1		471	12	10
9	St. Omer Carignat	Frobisher	2		809	11	6
9	De Clous	St. Germain	2		520	16	2
10	Nolin	White	1		150	..	..
12	Sans Chagrin	Frobisher	2		396	9	..
12	Barnard	"	2		479	10	10
14	La Plante	Taboux	1		250	..	..
14	Ant. La Fortune	Baby	1		100	..	..
14	Bonaventu Ogee	St. Croix	1		300	..	..
16	Aimable Ogee	Joliette	2		650	..	..
16	Au Gudiere	Levis	1		352	10	..
19	La Caube	McGill	2		600	..	..
19	Tessiers	"	2		800	..	..
19	Paul Dessier	"	2		700	..	..
20	McGill	Frobisher	2		400	..	..
21	Monbrun	"	1		500	..	..
24	Du Charme	Catin	1		300	..	..
24	Levingstone	Groessbeek	1		500	..	..
25	Chansodray	Todd	2		396	..	..
25	Barsolon & Hartebise	Marcessaux	2		600	..	..
25	Igna La Fortune	St. Germain	1		150	..	..
27	Des Voyce	Fluerimont	1		600	..	..
30	Raine La Fortune	Frobisher	1		112	10	..
			34		10139	0	4

	Canoes by Lake Michigan into La Bay (continued).			£	s.	d.
Dates of Passes		Brought forward	34	10139	0	4
Aug. 10, 1767	Bouree	Hubert	1	275	10	..
10	Cotte	De Rievierre	2	400	..	..
14	Ducharme	Jean du Charme	1	600	..	..
14	Bourginon	Oakes	2	1100	..	..
18	Richotte	Porteous	2	600	..	..
19	Derivezze	Chevallier	1	250	..	..
			43	13364	10	4
July 1767	Canoes by La Bay into the Missisippi					
9	Charteon	Caseau	1	370	..	..
11	Chenville	"	1	500	..	..
14	Pangman	Finlay	2	600	..	..
14	Cattalognne	Perminault	2	450	..	..
14	Sans Crainte	Caseau	1	390	..	..
15	Grignon	Chabouillet	1	225	..	..
16	Mitchel	Caseau	1	300	..	..
21	Guilliarde	Chenville	2	415	..	..
29	Pelet	Bauxshaw	1	300	..	..
31	Churschois	Finlay	2	350	..	..
Aug. 14	Abbott and Bruce	Groesbeek	2	750	..	..
Sept. 12	Gautier	Frobisher	1	200	..	..
			17	4850	..	..

TOTALS BROUGHT TOGETHER	No. OF CANOES	VALUE OF MERCHANDISE £	s.	d.
Gone to Lake Superior	18	7481	17	..
Gone by Lake Superior to the N'-West	14	5117	10	7
Gone into Lake Huron	5	1275	..	..
Gone into Lake Michigan	24	6875	9	..
Gone by Lake Michigan into La Bay	43	13364	10	4
Gone by La Bay into the Missisippi	17	4850	..	..
	121	38964	6	11

A Return of Peltry sent from Michilimackinac from June to October, 1767

1767 July	By Whom Sent	To What Place Sent	Bear Skins	Musk Rat	Cat Skins	Racoons	Elke Skins	Buffalo Skins	Otter Skins	Martin Skins	Fisher Skins	Mink Skins	Fox Skins	Wolf Skins	Grey Fox Skins	Red Skins	Beaver Skins	Dressed Skins	Castorum
1	Tanise	Montreal	56			100	14		200	50							1,760	160	
	Marsessan	"	20			420	30		90	50						250	1,890	963	
	Chaboillet	"	25			1,800	50										730	540	40
	Mitchell	Albany				150			200								2,637	2,809	
	Farrell	"	35						188		33	25					3,270	2,154	15
	Lascelle	Montreal	9			120	30		120								1,280	80	
	Finlay	"	46		49	375	38	14	71	57	8	7					1,118	1,192	
	Ranken	Albany					20		37	65							1,217	355	
	Graham	"							30							8	800	100	
	McGregor	"	9						49							70	920	208	
	Martell	Montreal	40			240	2		70	60							680	935	
	Williams	Albany				50			13	17							1,146	200	
	Royal	Montreal	40				112		100	211							2,090		
	Dubois	"	48			300	12		200	300							3,440	85	
	Edes	Albany															280		
	Kain	"															630	109	
	McHarlen	"				150			20								900	470	
	Lascelle	Montreal	20				130		30								1,124	160	
	Bezzo	"	20			360	15		200								860	1,118	
	Bruce																500		
	Grimes	Albany	5				26		4								150	30	
	Chaboulett	Montreal	14			1,800	10		90	61		32	120			120	321	1,770	
	McGill	"	200			966	50		520	900	225					350	3,400	1,780	120
	Biscornet	"	20				70									150	540	450	
	Ouge	"	81			636			96	140		32	45			105	375	1,137	
	Baby	"	66	285	5	240	4		114	6		21					736	729	
	Outclass	"	12				30		900	2,800		3					500	60	
	Catins	"				1,800	7		180				100				80		
	Richott	"	28			987		6	20	48			40	10		15	174	81	
	S. Germain	"	60			1,260				100	200			20		80	1,046	1,270	
	"	"	20			1,540	10	11	200	150	100	50	30	15		50		1,470	
	LaCroix	"	40			1,311	50	30	155	70	99	40		30		80	1,360	935	
	Chabouillet	"				1,800	10		126	61			120				346	1,230	36
	Juliet	"				2,050			400							100	450	730	
Aug. 6	Biscoinet	"	30	59		1,027	20	4	131	256	50		1	22		18	419	204	40
11	Gorsam, Levy & Co.	"	38				20		300	50		130					3,910	775	
14	Blondeau	Albany	8	6		19			11		10		1	1		59	1,393	891	
16	Baxter	Montreal				2,880	21	10					150			50	1,300	1,726	
17	Oakes	"	22				8	9	250	2,480	480	325	320	4	310		1,600		
19	Porteous	"		163			38		191	254	36	110	5	23			1,823	390	
"	Cheboulit & Co.	Albany	21			615	20		673	1,058	181		3	7		44	2,889	471	
"	Porteous	"	9			9	5		17	112	29	22	75	7		48	340	80	
		Totals	1,142	514	*54	23,005	852	84	5,798	9,556	1,451	807	1,010	139	310	1,747	50,938	27,037	251

*1,267 in original.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Legendary Islands of the Atlantic: A Study in Mediæval Geography. By WILLIAM H. BABCOCK. (American Geographical Society: Research Series No. 8.) New York: American Geographical Society. 1922. Pp. 196.

THIS is a small book, but there is packed into it a great deal of first-hand research, some of which leads to rather revolutionary results. The problem of the pre-Columbian voyages to America, and of the state of geographical knowledge in Europe with regard to the Atlantic before 1492, is one with which scholars have long been familiar. It is now generally agreed that the Northmen reached North America about the year 1000; and it is known that there are rumours and legends of various voyages to the west—in the course of which certain apparently fabulous islands were discovered—before the year 1492. But little success has hitherto attended attempts to sift fact from fancy in regard to these shadowy mediæval voyages; and the common view has been that, if the Northmen discovered America, the very existence of America was afterwards forgotten until Christopher Columbus rediscovered it toward the end of the fifteenth century.

It is possible that this view must now be revised. M. Henri Vignaud has recently argued that Columbus did not aim at reaching Asia, but sought in the first place to reach Antillia, or the Antilles, which previous navigators had already visited; and now Mr. Babcock comes forward with the suggestion that some of the so-called "legendary islands of the Atlantic"—Atlantis, St. Brendan's Isle, the Island of Brazil, the Island of the Seven Cities, Mayda, Green Island, Antillia, Estotiland, the Sunken Land of Buss, and other features of the mediæval maps of the Atlantic—had actually a basis in fact, and represented the results of voyages of which no authentic written record remains. Mr. Babcock brings forward the evidence of a Calatan map of about 1480, preserved in Milan and reproduced by Nordenskiöld in 1892, which, he asserts, "deserves clearly to rank as the only map before Columbus thus far reported, which shows a part of North America other than Greenland"; and he inclines to the view that Brazil, which here appears in the position of North-eastern America, is none other than the region about the

Gulf of St. Lawrence. In the same way, he identifies Mayda with Bermuda, or some jutting point of the American coast, like Cape Cod; and others of the legendary islands he identifies with Cuba, Jamaica, Florida, and the Bahamas.

In making these identifications Mr. Babcock is at pains to disclaim any intention of being "offensively dogmatic". He merely presents his own deductions from evidence which he has been at some pains to gather. With some of these deductions other scholars will no doubt disagree. Indeed, not a few of Mr. Babcock's conclusions appear to be little more than guesses. But there can be no doubt that his book lifts a corner of the veil which has obscured the subject of the pre-Columbian voyages to America, and makes reasonably certain the view that Christopher Columbus merely followed in the footsteps of others.

W. S. WALLACE

Histoire du protestantisme français au Canada et aux États-Unis. Par R. P. DUCLOS. Deux tomes. Lausanne: Georges Bridel & Cie. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. [n.d.] Pp. viii, 396; 342.

THIS account of the history of French Protestantism in Canada and the United States is by a French-Canadian Protestant pastor, who died in 1912. The work, which was not quite completed before the author died, has been prepared for the press by a Protestant pastor of Lausanne, M. Mage; and no doubt many of the errors in the volume are owing to the fact that the editor was not sufficiently familiar with the subject-matter of the book. In any case, however, the book is not of great value. The early chapters on the Huguenot immigration into New France are based almost wholly on secondary sources; and the later chapters, which deal with matters that came under the personal notice of the author, are written "as much for the purpose of edification as for that of instruction". There is very little attempt at documentation; and while the work is not without usefulness as a history of Protestant missionary effort among the Roman Catholics of the province of Quebec, even here its statements should not be accepted without reserve.

Les Gerbes Canadiennes. Par Senator L. O. DAVID. Montreal: Libraire Beauchemin. 1921. Pp. 328.

SENATOR DAVID'S sheaf opens with a sketch of the Le Moynes of Longueuil and closes with the end of the world, or rather with a discussion of those events of our day which some have taken as portents of its dissolution. Within these three hundred years, for Charle Le Moyne, the founder of the family's greatness in Canada, was born nearly

three centuries ago, the author ranges widely as to time and subject, including articles (some before published) written in the last half-century, much of it spent in public life, first in Quebec and then at Ottawa. They include biographical and historical sketches with a few documents —a translated list of the "patriots" imprisoned in Quebec in 1837-38, a letter of La Fontaine, and two of Laurier, none of them of moment. Of the biographical sketches the longest and most interesting are those which deal with the Le Moyne family, and one of Monsigneur Bruchesi, Archbishop of Montreal. The shorter biographical notices deal with lesser though not undistinguished citizens of Quebec. In addition there are articles or speeches on current questions from 1888 to 1921—on Imperial Federation (1888), on Bilingual Schools in Ontario (1915), on the Irish Question and English Liberal policy therein (1920), on industrial conditions in Quebec and elsewhere during and after the late war. Recent English policy in Ireland draws high approval; that of the Irish *Ultras* a word of advice based on French-Canadian history in the Empire. There are also a few more general addresses or articles of the sort which may be described as patriotic and moral.

Throughout the volume there is evidenced indeed the same intense faith in the French-Canadian people. "The more one studies our history," says the preface, "the more does one perceive in it elements of intellectual wealth, examples and lessons to inspire all those who have the maintenance of our nationality at heart." Amongst these assuredly the author takes his place Pride in the past heroes of French Canada whether of the 17th or the 19th century, devotion to the Church and its teachings—though on one occasion at least the author opposed the Church politically—pride too in the bond of race and language with France yet loyalty to the British Crown, and clear recognition of the joint nationality with Anglo-Saxon Canada yet with no abatement of the rights of Quebec—these are the ideas which bind the Senator's sheaves. Their value for the Anglo-Saxon reader lies not in any fresh contribution to historical sources or scholarship or in any profundity of ideas, but rather as an example of the faith that is in his fellow citizens of Quebec.

R. FLENLEY

Mélanges historiques. Études éparses et inédites de BENJAMIN SULTE. Compilées, annotées et publiées par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. Volume 10. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1922. Pp. 160. ($1.00.)

M. MALCHELOSSE continues his appointed task of collecting and editing the scattered papers of that veteran among Canadian historical scholars, Dr. Sulte; nor does the supply of material at his disposal appear to be falling off either in quantity or in quality. The chief paper in the

present volume is a sketch of the local history of *La Rivière-du-Loup (en haut)*, filled with the genealogical and notarial details which form so important a feature of parish chronicles among the French Canadians; and there is a shorter article, of a similar character, on *L'Ile-à-la-Fourche*. The average reader, however, will turn with most interest, perhaps, to the papers on *Lachine* and *Le Château Bigot*, in which Dr. Sulte explodes some hoary myths which are still met with occasionally in Canadian histories. Written in a spirit of gentle badinage, but at the same time ruthlessly scientific, these essays are a good example of the author's style at its best. Special interest attaches also perhaps to the paper (in English) entitled *Sources of Information: Canada's History*, which is really a brief account of early Canadian historiography. The remaining contents of the volume are comparatively slight. There is a useful enumeration of *Early Forts in the North-West;* and there are two very short notes on the *Early Explorers of Canada* and *Sir William Phips*. The last two papers might possibly, without any detriment to the volume, have been omitted. But it is a small return to M. Malchelosse for his labours to suggest that not everything that he has reprinted is of equal value; and it is only fair to add that a debt of gratitude is owing to M. Malchelosse for the task he has undertaken.

A striking feature of the *Mélanges historiques* is the price at which they are issued. The entire series of ten volumes, thus far published, may be obtained at a price not more than that at which many a single volume of inferior worth is published in these days of expensive printing.

Though each volume of the series is furnished with a full and useful index, it is to be hoped that, when the series is completed, M. Malchelosse will provide a general index to the whole. Such an index would render the series of the greatest practical value to students of Canadian history.

W. S. WALLACE

The Works of Samuel de Champlain. In six volumes. Reprinted, translated, and annotated by six Canadian scholars under the general editorship of H. P. BIGGAR. Volume I: 1599-1607. Translated and edited by H. H. LANGTON and W. F. GANONG; the French texts collated by J. HOME CAMERON. With a portfolio of plates and maps. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1922. Pp. xviii, 469.

THE Champlain Society is to be congratulated on having brought out so successfully the first of the six volumes of the edition of the Works of Samuel de Champlain which it is the intention of the Society to publish. This first volume contains three parts: (1) Champlain's

West Indian Voyage, (2) Of Savages, or Voyage of the Sieur de Champlain made in the year 1603, and (3) Book I of the Voyages of the Sieur de Champlain made in the years 1604-1607 and published in 1613. A portfolio accompanies the volume, containing sixty-two reproductions of drawings by Champlain, two maps made by Champlain and one map by Professor W. F. Ganong, one of the editors.

The edition is under the general editorship of Mr. H. P. Biggar, who has as associates in the case of this first volume, Messrs. J. Home Cameron, H. H. Langton, and W. F Ganong, who are responsible for establishing the French text and for the translation into English.

It will be quite unnecessary in this place to dilate upon the importance of Champlain as an explorer and historian. He was emphatically the "Father of New France", and his record of his own achievements has very great value whether we regard it as the entertaining story of a born leader of men and an eminent man of action, or as a source of information on the geography of the vast regions he visited, on the plants and animals he found in them, on the wild savages he met, on their customs, on their modes of life and travel. Champlain was preeminently an open-minded investigator, deeply interested in the meaning of all that he saw, a keen observer who allowed nothing to escape his notice, a man of good judgment, who could not be easily imposed on. The Society merits the approbation of those interested in the history of Canada by rendering the text of this early historian accessible to a larger public than has ever had the opportunity of reading him before. The fine, clear, well-printed text with its English translation immediately below on the same page, and the discreet notes by capable scholars will help to make the study of Champlain more popular than it has ever been. Of the contents of the present volume, all have appeared in English at some time or other, the West Indian voyage in the Hakluyt version of 1859, the *Des Sauvages* in the Purchas translation of 1625, and the 1613 volume in the translation by C. P. Otis in the publications of the Prince Society of Boston. But it is worthy of note that the later volumes will contain translations of parts of Champlain's works which have never before been done into English, notably the *Treatise on Navigation* and the second part of the collected edition of Champlain's travels published in 1632. This fact alone renders the present edition unique.

Without question, however, the most notable feature of the present volume is the portfolio of maps and plans which accompanies it. These are not, as is stated in the general editor's preface, "in colour" (p. xvii); but they would appear to have been admirably reproduced, and many of them have never been reproduced before. One map, indeed, that

of 1607, is here published for the first time from the original manuscript. As Professor Ganong points out in his valuable preface to *The Voyages*, 1913, these maps and charts are of the utmost importance for the history to the cartographical evolution of Acadia and New England. "Prior of Champlain," says Professor Ganong, "the Atlantic Coasts of Canada and New England were known to Europeans only through the loosely written narratives and conventional maps of the earlier explorers, none of which bore any really definite relation to the region they profess to describe. In their place Champlain presented accurate descriptions of the coasts drawn up in the spirit of the modern *Coast Pilots* and *Sailing Directions*, with maps based upon genuine surveys made by methods correct in principle, even though necessarily crude in application. His maps are thus the prototypes of our own, which surpass his in technique but not in conception" (pp. 193-194).

If the present volume is an earnest of what is to come, the Champlain Society's edition of Champlain's works can hardly fail to be a notable achievement of Canadian scholarship.

The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815). By PETER GUILDAY. New York: The Encyclopedia Press. [1922.] Pp. xiv, 864. ($5.00.)

THE Reverend John Carroll, brother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, accompanied to Montreal in 1776 the committee of three (composed of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll) which the Continental Congress sent to Canada for the purpose of persuading the Canadians to throw in their lot with the Revolution. In this monumental biography of Archbishop Carroll, which has just appeared, a chapter is devoted to the "Mission to Canada". The chapter contains some extracts from Father Carroll's letters, and a few other items from private sources; but it does not throw much light on the course of the committee's negotiations in Canada, or on the reasons for the breakdown of the negotiations. There is appended to the volume a chapter entitled "Critical Essay on the Sources", in which will be found a bibliography useful to the historian of the Roman Catholic Church in North America.

Political Ideas of the American Revolution: Britannic-American contributions to the problem of imperial organization, 1765 to 1775. By RANDOLPH GREENFIELD ADAMS, Ph.D. Durham, N.C.: Trinity College Press. 1922. Pp. 207.

MR. ADAMS has written a sermon upon federalism, taking as his text some political ideas of the pre-revolutionary period in American history,

and making a double application of his deductions to the British Empire and to the League of Nations. He has selected a poor title, since it leads one to expect an historical account of the political thought of the Revolution. The most interesting part of his book is the exposition of the permanent significance of these abortive attempts to invent a new machinery for co-operation between Great Britain and her colonies: they stated or implied a new conception of sovereignty which was to make possible federalism in all its subsequent aspects. The application of this general idea to the British Commonwealth of Nations, and to the International League, however, is not convincing. Here, again, the political theorist errs because of his tendency to ignore historical facts.

The chapters which are more directly historical tend to be overweighted by the burden of political theory. Not only is the reader puzzled by frequent and lengthy digressions from direct interpretation to pure theory, but he is led to false conclusions by the author's eagerness to support pre-conceived ideas. It is surely unfair to select a remark by Samuel Johnson as typical of "the kind of thinking against which the liberal thought of America was striving to find expression," even if he did introduce "the monster of sovereignty", against which Mr. Adams wishes to direct his remarks. In the same introductory chapter contemporary opinion upon economic questions is swept away with one stroke as being so naïve that it can be left out of account. Chapters II and III deal with the three solutions which were offered for the British imperial problem in the eighteenth century,—colonial dependence, imperial federation, and the Commonwealth of Nations. The material is drawn from Hansard, from published collections of contemporary political correspondence, and from pamphlets. There is, however, a lack of cohesion between expressions of individual opinion. The two new ideas were growing up within the old theory of colonial dependence, even within the minds of single statesmen, such as Burke or Chatham. It is the clash between them that is interesting,—the story of how events led to fresh political formulas. Chapter IV attempts, with some success, to show how ideas developed, historically, upon the questions of taxation and representation. It is, accordingly, one of the most convincing chapters in the book, but it is not new ground. The discussion of the schemes of imperial federation is the least satisfactory, since, with the single exception of Maseres' *Considerations on the Expediency of Admitting Representatives from the American Colonies to the British House of Commons*, no reference is made to that most difficult question,—the division of functions between the imperial and the dominion legislatures. The statement about the Imperial Con-

ference of 1921, that the consensus of opinion was that "there is no essential thing in which the great self-governing dominions differ from the so-called independent nations of the world," is a somewhat rash generalization from the speeches of one or two members. The two later chapters upon "John Adams as a Britannic Statesman" and "The Legal Theories of James Wilson" are more straightforward in style, more close to the complexities of real life, and at the same time more valuable for their careful demarcation of the new contribution of these Americans to the old edifice of British political thought. Mr. Adams can write a good history of political theory when he treats his handmaiden, historical fact, less cavalierly.

Chapters VI and VIII, which are entitled "Some Things which Parliament Could Not Do" and "Limiting and Dividing Sovereignty", consist almost entirely of abstract political discussion. Through them the author emerges from the tangle, into which he plunged, of the varying conceptions of sovereignty in the eighteenth century. He brings out with him the ideas that legal sovereignty is inherent in the people; that this is the only indivisible sovereignty; that the political sovereign, which he rightly prefers to call "government", can be limited and divided as in a federal state; and that the common law and, in the United States, the constitution, as the direct expressions of the will of the sovereign people, are above the acts of any particular institution of government. It was in the supremacy of law that Mr. Adams discovered the way to reconcile the theory of an undivided and unlimited sovereignty with the practice of federalism: if he had only reconsidered his earlier account of the constitutional discussions in the light of his new discovery, he would have understood their principles. Many of the difficulties which were raised at that stage of the work were due to a misunderstanding of terms and to the confusion, not originating entirely in the eighteenth century, between legal sovereignty and government. Mr. Adams did not need to take his public up by the tortuous path he himself had trodden.

Lastly, the impress of this idea upon the two great federal proposals of our own time, contained in Chapter IX, "The Relation to Modern Thought," and throughout the book, is marred by the failure to draw any distinction, in essence, among a chartered company, a province in a federal union, a self-governing dominion in the British Commonwealth, and an independent state in a league of nations. The chartered company is limited by the purpose for which it is founded: its political functions are delegated to it by its constitution, which is protected by the common law regarding contracts. The province in a federal union, like the central body, has definite institutions which have been estab-

lished by the constitution to carry out the will of the sovereign people. The self-governing dominion is partially independent, because the authority of the Crown, which it has not itself established, is exercised in all domestic matters only with the consent of the people of the dominion, but outside of this arrangement stand certain aspects of foreign relations in respect to which the authority of the dominion is limited. The independent state possesses undivided authority because its institutions are the immediate and complete expression of the will of its people for their own government. The League of Nations has only a delegated authority, as long as it is the creation of the governments of the independent states, and not of mankind, acting as individuals conscious of their social dependence upon each other. The principles of federalism are therefore inapplicable to the first and the last of these groups, and only partially applicable to the third.

MARJORIE GORDON REID

The Fiscal and Diplomatic Freedom of the British Oversea Dominions. By EDWARD PORRITT. Edited by DAVID KINLEY. (Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Division of Economics and History.) Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1922. Pp. xvi, 492.

THIS work is an elaborate and detailed account of the devolution of authority within the British Empire. It begins with the old colonial system, and traces, with infinite patience, the developments down to the Great War. It can hardly be called either a new or a readable contribution to historical research, but it is a mine of industrious information, and, had it been even moderately well indexed, it would have proved useful as a work of reference.

The historical questions covered in it are, however, well known to students of imperial history, and we doubt the usefulness of such a volume unless it is written from a distinctly new angle. As it is, it is almost impossible to trace in the book any principles of approach. We are tossed about amid the apparent clashes of jealousy, materialism, economic and fiscal antagonism, protective and free trade propaganda—with, most constant, the colonies holding out their hands in the glory of new-found politics to a hard-hearted and perverse Colonial Office, presided over by inefficient ministers and wooden permanent officials. All this has been written of before—more brilliantly, with less prolixity, and with closer relation to accuracy. The unfortunate part is that previous historians have been satisfied to seek surface causes for the deep effects, and this volume is no exception to the rule.

Imperial history is almost threadbare. There was, however, a first-class opportunity for a new approach, and it has been missed.

The real and fundamental reason for all the clashes, for the bitter speeches, for the apparent neglect of empire, for the apparent hard-wrung concessions, lies in the fact that only within recent times have we begun to see that sovereignty can be divided. Long ago Russell and Grey saw the problem of empire from that point of view, and the brilliant Stanley once at least burned his eloquent wings in the candle of Austin. All down the so-called "dreary period", English political thought was fast-anchored to the Austinian theory of the state. Cabinet ministers could not see beyond the theory, and the pedestrian petitions to the Colonial Office from Boards of Commerce and such like against colonial fiscal freedom reflected the enormity of the idea that a colonial cabinet should venture to override the absolute cabinet at home by a protective policy. When Elgin faced facts in Canada and forgot theory, there was not such an outcry. Responsible government in the colonies did not touch Austinism in the concrete as it were: but when this responsible government—which in reality had undermined that hoary theory—proceeded to apply itself to actual self-government, the protests piled up. Indeed, the history covered in this volume is a fascinating chapter in the decline and fall of the sovereign state. It is the funeral procession of a mystic, metaphysical, non-real theory, which created more wars, desolated more countries and stood in the way of a higher human synthesis than almost any other force in history—race and religion not even excepted. We have lived to see, through the development of imperial history, that absolute sovereignty is a fiction, and that the great Dominions can become nations and can possess—as they do—very real sovereignties, without encountering the high Whig destiny or the inevitable Tory separation. This is the only valid approach to-day to the imperial problem. Indeed, there is no problem, except to theorists and doctrinaires; and what is needed is some Duguit or McIlwain to take hold of the history from the point of view of political theory, and to set it, as it were, a crowning triumphal chapter in political development. All this is missed in the present volume, which is a painful chronicle, written with no insight, and the reading of which is made all the more difficult through an irritating repetition of information. Summaries of what has gone before trip over one another, facts are used again and again; and the same quotations crop up, not always with verbal correspondence.

There are many errors which need correction, *e.g.*: "Poyning's" (pp. 4, 488); "*Baron* Goderich" (p. 4); "*Shelbourne*, Nova Scotia" (p. 12, note 2). "James Deacon Hume" (p. 46, note 4) is indexed under "Joseph Hume" (p. 485). Durham is not correctly quoted (p. 59, note 1); Durham neither "overlooked or ignored" imperial interests

in relation to commerce (p. 60), but deliberately reserved "trade and commerce" from Colonial control (Lucas, *Report*, ii, 282). The movement for responsible government did not date from 1828 (p. 61), but was at least as old as August, 1808, as Craig's dispatches prove. Elgin did not succeed Metcalfe (pp. 65, 165, 171). Blachford's dates do not correspond (pp. 71, note 1, and 324). Galt's Christian name is misspelled (pp. 77, 470); Hugh Finlay's name is wrong (p. 79, note 1); Gee's book has two titles (pp. 88 and 411). The title of the Declaratory Act is wrongly given (p. 91, note 1) and does not correspond with that on page 417; and the Declaratory Act is not the only indication for sixty years that Great Britain had learned nothing from the events of 1775-89 (p. 92). There was no Quebec Customs Act of 1747, and Thomson was not Earl of Sydenham (p. 92, note 1). New Zealand had a constitution before 1852 (p. 96); responsible government was not set up in New Zealand by Derby's government or their Act; they were out of power when the dispatch was issued authorizing it after a severe protest in the New Zealand legislature against Derby's "Act", and it was not actually set up till the first Palmerston government; and the first session of the New Zealand General Assembly met in 1854 (p. 97). Galt did not threaten "military rule" as an alternative if his tariff was vetoed in England (pp. 98, 173); he used the words, "irrespective of the views of its inhabitants"; British Columbia came into confederation neither in 1870 (p. 102), nor in 1872 (p. 218); if it received responsible government in 1871 (p 281, note 2), and if it entered confederation in 1870 (p. 103), it did not receive "responsible government on the eve of its entry into confederation" (p. 102, note 2). The second Disraeli Government (1874-80) did not veto the Tasmania Bill of 1867 (p. 119); a customs' union was not first suggested by South Australia in 1862 (p. 124), it was at least as old as the memorandum of the Committee of Trades and Plantations of 1849. If the Fox Ministry in New Zealand lasted from 1869 to 1872 (p. 129, note 2), then Vogel was not premier in 1870 (p. 133). Montreal was not the capital merely in 1848 and 1849 (p. 163), it was the capital from May 10, 1844 to November 14, 1849. Quebec was not "one of the seats of Government from 1850 to 1866" (p. 170), it was the seat of government from September 22, 1851 to October 20, 1855 and from September 24, 1859 to October 20, 1865. The Quebec Conference did not "frame the constitution of Canada" (p 176) Cardwell was not colonial secretary in 1861 (p. 183); Gray was not premier of New Brunswick, but of Prince Edward Island (p. 182). A quotation (p. 229, note 2) does not agree with the same quotation on (p. 397, note 3), and the title of Denison's book has also two varieties. It is idle to proclaim that Elgin's recommendation of the Rebellion

Losses Bill to the house was his own declaration in favour of responsible government (p. 237), when we are told (p. 254) that such a recommendation was purely formal and that a governor could not withhold it. Two titles are given for Mr. William Smith's book (pp. 247, note 3, 292, note 2). Responsible government was not conceded to Prince Edward Island in 1853 (p. 250, note 1). It is a bit wide of the mark to say that most of the popular leaders of reform in the Canadas were of Scottish origin—witness Baldwin, Hincks, Sullivan, etc. (p. 260). The quotation from Hicks-Beach (p. 264, note 3) differs verbally from the same quotation elsewhere (p. 464). Responsible government was not "established" in New South Wales in 1850, nor in Victoria and South Australia in 1854 (p. 268); and for "1857 to 1893" (p. 273) read "1856-1893", in order to make the text square with the note. The tabular statement (H. L. Papers, 196) is not in Quick and Garran (p. 273, note 2) but only extracts from it; the broken quotation from Scott (p. 275) differs verbally from similar parts elsewhere (p. 257). It is impossible to make out the paragraph, "A return . . . thirty four", and the corresponding note (p. 276): first, the total "34" of the text does not agree with the note; secondly, the House of Lords return covers 1836 to 1893, not 1837; thirdly, in place of mentioning *no* bill from the British North American provinces from 1857-1867, it mentions two in Canada, two in New Brunswick, twelve in Prince Edward Island, not to mention eight in Newfoundland; fourthly, it shows that the number of "cushioned" acts from 1857 to 1871 was at least fifty, not thirty-four; fifthly, to take the note (p. 276, note 3), there was no Dominion of Canada in 1857, "Victoria, 0", ought to be "Victoria, 6", "New Zealand, 9", ought to be "New Zealand, 6". If there were *no* Victoria Acts "cushioned" in 1857-1871 (p. 276, note 3), how is it that one of the "cushioned" Acts was from Victoria in these years (p. 277, 1, 5)? There are verbal errors in both quotations from Durham (p. 291). Sir William Colebrooke's name is misspelled (pp. 293, 449). Is Peel's letter of May 16, 1842 (p. 299), the same as his letter of October 25, 1841 (p. 331)? The date "1795" on (pp. 316, note 3, 318, note 1, 321, note 1, 351, note 1,) is wrong; in the paragraph "A bill . . . 1831" (p. 317), why is the important Canada Revenue Act (1 and 2 William IV, C. 23) omitted? Was Roebuck a member of the Middle (p. 333) or Inner Temple (p. 233, note)? Simcoe was not "governor-general from 1792 to 1794" (p. 333); Stanley was not "created Lord Stanley of Bickerstaafe" (p. 340, note 3); Sydenham did not begin his term as governor-general at Toronto on November 22, 1839 (p. 351). Lord Lyttelton, speaking in 1852 (p. 377), is indexed under Alfred Lyttelton (p. 486), born in 1857. W. Clowes and Sons did not write the *Rules and*

Regulations, etc. (p. 410), any more than they wrote *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, which they also publish. Professor Keith did not write *Responsible Government in the Colonies* (p. 412). If Elgin did not arrive in Montreal until December, 1847 (p. 436), he certainly did not assume the government in January, 1847 (p. 447). The most important inter-colonial conference at Melbourne in 1871 (overlooked on p. 119) was attended not merely "by delegates from New South Wales, Tasmania and South Australia" (p. 461, note 1), but also by delegates from Victoria and Queensland. The "Australian Colonies Act" and the "Australian Colonies Government Act" (p. 479), and the "Constitution Act of 1850" (p. 482), are one and the same thing. Who is "Sir *Richard* Borden" (pp. 235, 480)? There were no bills vetoed in the Dominion of Canada in 1857 (p. 480), for it did not exist then. "Esquimalt, Nova Scotia" (p. 483) and "Newfoundland, Canada" (p. 487) are rather obscure, as also is "Hobart Town, Australia" (p. 484). "Allin and Jones" (p. 479) appear as "Jones and Allen" (p. 485). Who was "*Sir* Cecil Rhodes" (p. 404)? "Earl Russell" and "Lord John Russell" (p. 489) are the same person. Many other similar errors could doubtless be found. It is impossible to refer to important omissions. It is significant, however, of the scope of the book that it entirely overlooks Gavin Duffy's proposals for the creation of a new type of sovereignty which, while not destroying the imperial connection, would render the Dominions free from the automatic consequences of the prevailing international conception.

The index is entirely inadequate, and, as it stands, is full of insecurities and inaccuracies. A good index alone would have rendered the volume of some use.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Upper Canada Sketches: Incidents in the Early Times of the Province. By WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL. Toronto: The Carswell Company, Limited. 1922. Pp. 156.

THE subjects of these brief sketches are not merely curious. Each is told, it is true, for its own sake, as a piece of life in the early days of the province, but running through them are currents of more general interest. The sketches were published during 1920 and 1921 in the *Canadian Law Times*, to call the attention of its readers to the romance associated with the origins of Ontario as a British province. Mr. Justice Riddell trusts that these contributions of a scholarly leisure will commend themselves to members of the legal profession and to a wider public. His expectations should not be disappointed, whether the interest is purely antiquarian, or whether it is centred upon the principles of constitutional development which give shape to the individual stories.

Some of the essays throw light upon the establishment of provincial courts and the expedients by which British law was administered in a new and sparsely-settled province. The problem of the first essay recalls the extra-territorial jurisdiction which was exercised by the colonial courts in the territory beyond the Alleghanies which was closed to settlement by the Proclamation of October 7, 1763. There was a growing tendency, during the decade that followed the Proclamation, for this to centre in the province of Quebec, on account of its economical and historical links with the western territory. The court of King's Bench broke the law in 1812 and 1813 by calling six barristers to the bar, although this was the prerogative of the benchers, or governors of the Law Society,—an action which was justified by the fact that the Law Society had been dispersed by death or by the chances of war, as well as by the good character of the candidates, among whom John Beverly Robinson has become the most famous. The criminal cases throw light on society and industry in the province. In 1817 the solicitor-general could be tried for murder without losing caste or position, the explanation lying in the prevalence of duelling. The frequency of the death penalty for crimes other than murder is noticeable, although it was often commuted to banishment to the United States. Several cases arose through the unofficial solemnization of marriage by nonconformist teachers or civil and military officials.

There are included in the volume three biographical sketches—the papers on Mr. Justice Thorpe, on William Osgoode, the first chief justice in Upper Canada, and of Robert Isaac Dey Gray, its first solicitor-general. The first is written with a vigour that singles it out from among the other studies. The account of William Osgoode is disappointing, in spite of the humour of the long quotations in the foot-notes from the Osgoode MSS. The reason would seem to be that the subject of the biography was esteemed rather for private than for public virtues:—"He left no mark upon the jurisprudence of this Province." In drawing up the bill which led to the establishment of our present judicial system, he merely carried out the policy of Simcoe. Gray is only a peg upon which to hang accounts of some interesting cases which occurred during his administration. Among these was the Farewell case, which involved the transportation by the "provincial marine" of the entire court from Toronto to Presqu'ile Point, one hundred miles further east on Lake Ontario. The *Speedy*, which was chosen for the voyage, was unseaworthy. Mr. Justice Riddell's literary art is characteristically shown in the paragraphs in which he loads the *Speedy* with the persons connected with the case, among them the solicitor-general, and carries them swiftly along to the final disaster, when "judge, counsel, constable,

prisoner, witnesses, interpreters, merchant, captain and crew were all engulfed in the angry waters",—and only a conjectural hencoop came ashore to give evidence of what had taken place.

MARJORIE GORDON REID

The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. By CHARLES C. TANSILL. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science: Series XL, No. 2.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1922. Pp. 96.

A TREATISE upon the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 between Canada and the United States is a useful addition to the scanty literature on the subject. Dr. Tansill assembles facts which are not readily accessible to students of Canada's commercial relations with the United States, and his narrative dealing with the conditions in Canada prior to the signing of the treaty is interesting. The discontent in Canada caused by the abolition of the Corn Laws and the abrogation of preferential duties on certain Canadian products in the British markets led to an agitation, centering in Montreal, and culminating in the famous Annexation Manifesto. Lord Elgin, then governor-general, with his usual practical sagacity, secured authority from London to attempt the negotiation at Washington of a treaty of free intercourse in natural products. The prime minister of Old Canada, Francis Hincks, accompanied him. The effort, to the surprise of nearly everybody, was successful. In view of the conditions at the time, it was a diplomatic triumph. Dr. Tansill quotes the amusing, but not quite prudent, account of the negotiation by Laurence Oliphant, Lord Elgin's secretary, whose diverting comments on Washington social and political methods have tended rather to confirm than to explode (as he doubtless desired to do) the theory that the treaty was "floated through on champagne". Several factors probably contributed to the result. The tact and sense of Lord Elgin were a powerful influence. The perplexity of the Washington government, not averse to friendlier relations with Great Britain in view of the threat of civil war so close at hand, was another. The senators from the Southern states, taking the annexation talk in Montreal seriously, were anxious to prevent the North from securing an immense addition to their free soil area. All these forces, operating together, carried the treaty. The legislatures of all the British provinces ratified it, and the New England fishing interests, having attained the boon of access to the rich inshore fisheries of British America, were completely satisfied. Neither of these parties to the agreement ever repented, and neither was responsible for its termination eleven years later. Dr. Tansill explains the growth of United States hostility to the treaty by

the adoption in Canada of higher tariffs on American manufactures. But this is only a part, and a small part, of the story. There is abundant evidence that the governing factor in the destruction of the treaty was political feeling against Canada and Great Britain engendered by the Civil War. Charles Francis Adams, the American minister to London, wrote to Secretary Seward in 1865 that all the measures for abrogation "were the result rather of a strong political feeling than of any commercial considerations. I should not disguise the fact of the prevalence of great irritation in consequence of the events that had taken place in Canada, neither should I conceal my regret, as it seemed to me to be one of the cardinal points of our policy, both in a political and commercial sense, to maintain the most friendly relations with the whole population along our Northern border."

A period of forty-five years was to elapse before the general commercial interests of the United States again saw in reciprocity with Canada the wisdom of freer trade intercourse. By a curious coincidence it was largely political feeling, this time in Canada, which contributed to the rejection of President Taft's agreement of 1911. While the tone of Dr. Tansill's treatise is not biassed, it is distinctly from the United States point of view. The narrative practically stops with the adoption of the Treaty and no attempt is made to deal with the later controversies, engineered by certain elements in the United States, to compel Canada to modify her tariff policy, and to recede from a reciprocity confined to natural products.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

Victoria County Memorial History. By WATSON KIRKCONNELL. Lindsay, Ont.: Watchman-Warder Press. 1921. Pp. 261. ($2.00.)

IN 1921, Victoria County, Ontario, celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its earliest settlement; and the occasion directed attention to the local history of the district. To satisfy the demand for information, Mr. Watson Kirkconnell published, in the Lindsay *Watchman-Warder*, the series of articles which now appear in book form as the centennial history of the county.

In an introductory chapter, Mr. Kirkconnell sketches the general development of Victoria; dividing the century into three periods of almost equal length, which he calls respectively the period of pioneer life, the period of railway building and municipal organization, and the period of maturity. He then describes in some detail how, after the first penetration, the growing stream of immigrants from the British Isles poured into the district either from the Lake Shore counties or by way of the Trent valley or North York, and how these robust pioneers

opened up first the agricultural townships of South Victoria, and later the lumbering townships to the north. The account of the settlements concludes with an outline of the history of Lindsay, the county town. Then follow chapters on the development of communications by water and rail, and on the political, educational, military, and religious history of the century. The book contains also an interesting study of pioneer survivals, and biographies of the leading citizens in the county.

In the execution of a task demanding in an especial degree the qualities of precision and judgment, it is not difficult to find faults. Some doubt is thrown on the general accuracy of Mr. Kirkconnell's details, by statements such as that on page 25, in which he cites the names of thirty-six representative families belonging to the "block of Protestant Irish who migrated in 1821 from the County of Fermanagh, and settled the townships of Cavan and Emily". Of these thirty-six names, seven only can with certainty be found in the list of Emily patentees given on page 220; and it is common knowledge that many of the families referred to were either not Irish or did not enter the district until many years after the earliest settlement. The biographical section could not of course be indefinitely extended; yet there are in it some unaccountable omissions. For instance, no mention is made of Arthur McQuade, although he was descended from one of the pioneer families of Emily, and for some time represented the riding of South Victoria in the federal parliament. Mr. Kirkconnell's hatred of the "Family Compact" is equalled only by his love for prohibition. He expends great effort in denouncing the activities of the "governing aristocracies" in Toronto and Montreal; and in depicting the alcoholic excesses of the pioneers for the edification of their presumably superior descendants. It is questionable whether an historian is justified in thus thrusting his personal views upon the reader; especially when they lead him to introduce material hardly relevant to his theme. The rather careless system by which references, sometimes inadequate, are slipped into the text (*e.g.*, foot of page 24) is hardly to be commended.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, Mr. Kirkconnell deserves thanks for having assembled an enormous number of interesting facts, and presented them in a clear and orderly fashion. His book illustrates at once the importance and the difficulty of constructing a picture of local pioneer life, before the atmosphere of the pioneer days is gone beyond recall.

C. N. COCHRANE

Cruise of the Minnie Maud: Arctic Seas and Hudson Bay, 1910-11 and 1912-13. By ALFRED TREMBLAY. Compiled and Translated by

A. B. READER. Quebec: The Arctic Exchange and Publishing Company. 1921. Pp. xviii, 583.

IN July, 1912, the small sailing schooner *Minnie Maud*, under the command of Captain J. E. Bernier, sailed from Quebec in search of the gold which rumour had located at the north end of Baffin Island. The little party of nine men established their winter quarters at Albert Harbour in Ponds' Inlet, and examined several of the neighbouring rivers for gold without success. In the following summer all returned safely to Quebec after an absence of fourteen months.

Mr. Alfred Tremblay seems to have been the principal prospector in the party, and the main purpose of his book is to relate his travels and experiences during the winter and spring. Unhappily, he and Mr. Reader, the compiler and translator of the present volume, were not content with this modest project. Mr. Reader's preface states that "In compiling the volume I have endeavoured to give, in condensed form, only the most authentic information based on reliable authorities with the object that with this book in hand, navigators, prospectors, explorers, sportmen [*sic*] and tourists generally will be enabled to find at a moment's notice accurate information as to the fauna, geology, economic minerals, ice-movements, currents, tides, seasons and historical data of any particular region dealt with."

This ambitious scheme, to be perfectly candid, has resulted in a terrible hotch-potch. More than half of the book consists of a badly compiled summary of the history of Arctic exploration, and of random quotations on almost every conceivable subject from such miscellaneous sources as the works of Peary and of Low, the Encyclopædia Britannica, and the daily press. Of its 583 pages all that is original ends with page 294, except an appendix of 18 pages containing an Eskimo vocabulary prepared by Mr. Reader at Ponds' Inlet; and this vocabulary is of little use, as the author was entirely ignorant of the most elementary features of the Eskimo language, and often confuses the real dialect with the whalers' jargon. The one important part of the book is Tremblay's account of his sled journeys across the north end of Baffin Island. Much of the country he traversed was unknown to any but the local Eskimos, so that his descriptions of its topography and geology have a certain value. Unfortunately, he had neither sextant nor transit, and so was unable to determine the real positions of the many lakes and rivers he encountered. For direction he depended on a compass of unknown variation (owing to the proximity of the magnetic pole the variation must have been very considerable), while distance he could estimate only by the time taken in travelling from one place to another. The crude sketch-map at the end of the book is good, but his discoveries

will have to be relocated before they can safely be placed on the chart. The authors frequently enlarge upon the great hardships Mr. Tremblay endured, but most of them would seem to have been easily avoidable.

Altogether the book is very disappointing. Instead of a simple, straightforward account of a not uninteresting expedition the reader is offered a veritable scrap-book, none too reliable, of Arctic history and geology.

D. JENNESS

Indian Legends of Vancouver Island. By ALFRED CARMICHAEL. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. 1922. Pp. 97.

THIS attractive little volume contains four legends of the Indian tribes of Barkley Sound: The Legend of the Thunder Birds; How Shewish became a great whale hunter; The Finding of the Tsomass; and The Legend of Eut-le-ten. The author admits that he has taken liberties with the stories as related to him and expunged their native coarseness. His idealistic, poetic treatment has thus divorced them from the original native form and deprived them of the Indian atmosphere. They are now pretty tales, filled with airy shafts of fancy, and wholly delightful to read, but the poetry and the imagery are those of the white man. They have been so refined that they fail entirely to present the thoughts and conceptions of the native mind. The Indian is a matter-of-fact person; his world is filled with malevolent agencies that must be appeased; but his appreciation of "the beauties of nature" consists in lying in the shade or basking lazily in the sun. A comparison of the legend of Eut-le-ten with the same story, TIE Kā'k'laitl the Witch-Giantess, obtained by Mr. Hill-Tout and published in the Report on the Ethnological Survey of Canada, 1900, p. 546, and with other versions thereof, will show how it has been idealized.

The style of the English is easy and graceful; many passages are distinctly fine and beautiful. The book is tastefully and artistically put together. Some of the illustrations, of which there are about a dozen, are real works of art.

F. W. HOWAY

The Story of the Canadian Revision of the Prayer Book. By W. J. ARMITAGE, D.D., Ph.D., Archdeacon of Halifax. Cambridge: At the University Press. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1922. Pp. xvii, 442.

THE Book of Common Prayer is a priceless possession of the English-speaking race. A revision of this venerable volume is of interest to students of literature and history, as well as to theologians and wor-

shippers. The volume before us gives the history of the revision carried to a successful issue by the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada. On Easter Day, 1922, this revised book was for the first time used by authority in the Anglican churches of Canada. In Scotland, in the United States, in South Africa, the Prayer Book had been revised to meet local conditions. Canada has now taken its part in this movement of adaptation and modernization. The Canadian revision is eminently cautious and conservative. It represents common sense and practical modernity rather than brilliant and audacious experiment. This restraint is a fine tribute to the excellence and adequacy of the beloved old Prayer Book, which has weathered the storms of centuries since the Reformation and has nourished the deep and practical piety of the English race.

Archdeacon Armitage, for some years the secretary of the Committee of Revision and now the official custodian of the Canadian Prayer Book, has done a fine piece of work in telling the story of the revision. His book falls naturally into two parts. In the first part, the author traces the movement for revision from its earliest stages, describes the methods of revising, portrays the members of the various committees with delightful personal touches, and records the progress of the work through its various steps up to its authoritative completion. In the second part, he takes the services one by one, points out the alterations made, gives the reasons therefor, and traces the sources of the new material introduced.

In 1911 at the sixth sesssion of the General Synod held in the city of London, Ontario, the work of revision was formally launched. Certain principles were adopted at the outset and the loyal adherence of the revisers to these principles facilitated the work and avoided much unnecessary discussion and controversial bitterness. These principles were: (1) In any adaptation, enrichment, or revision of the Book, no change in either text or rubric should be introduced which would involve or imply a change of doctrine or of principles. (2) The revision should proceed along the lines suggested by the Lambeth Conference of 1908, *viz.* (*a*) the adaptation of rubrics in many cases to present customs as generally accepted; (*b*) the omission of parts of the services to obviate repetition or redundancy; (*c*) the framing of additions to the present services in the way of enrichment; (*d*) the fuller provision of alternatives in the forms of public worship; (*e*) the provision for greater elasticity in public worship; (*f*) the change of words obscure or commonly misunderstood. (3) Whatever adaptations, enrichments or revisions should be made were to be inserted in the body of the Book, where they properly belonged, and not to be printed in an appendix.

On these general principles the revisers proceeded. Laymen as well as bishops and other clergy shared in the labour. The chairman of the Central Revision Committee, Dr. David Williams, Bishop of Huron, and the secretary, Archdeacon Armitage, probably carried the largest share of the burden of work. In 1915 the revision was approved by the General Synod held in Toronto, and a canon adopting it was passed. In the three years that followed additional study suggested further changes and additions. The special services were improved, and many of the new or adapted prayers were altered for the better. The result of these labours was practically a new and improved revision. This was further altered by the General Synod itself in 1918—notably in regard to the optional use of the Athanasian Creed—and the amended book was finally adopted. This adoption was, as the law of the Church required, confirmed in the General Synod of 1921 held at Hamilton, Ontario, and the book came into authoritative use on Easter, 1922. A difficult and delicate task had been brought to a happy conclusion.

The latter and larger part of this volume contains a detailed review of the new Prayer Book. It is a useful book of reference, and it furnishes much information about the authorship and history of new prayers and liturgical forms. The special and permanent value of Archdeacon Armitage's book lies in his painstaking and scholarly investigations into the sources from which the enrichments to the New Prayer Book have been derived.

H. J. CODY

Éclairons la route, à la lumière des statistiques, des faits, et des principes: Réponse à The Right Track, *publié à Toronto et traitant de l'instruction obligatoire dans la province de Québec.* Par C.-J. MAGNAN. Québec: Librairie Garneau. 1922. Pp. xxiv, 246.

UNDER this title, the general inspector of Catholic schools in the province of Quebec, M. C.-J. Magnan, has written a comprehensive treatise upon the efficiency of the Quebec educational system. It is a rejoinder to *The Right Track*, by the late Mr. I. O. Vincent, the principal of one of the Protestant schools in Montreal, whose book, with a preface by Professor Dale, was published in 1920, and appeared after the death of the author. Both works are concerned chiefly with the subject of compulsory education, which has long been in vogue in Ontario, but which is resisted in the sister province by those who sincerely believe that the voluntary system produces satisfactory results and is more in accord with the genius of the French people. M. Magnan's references to the dead author are kindly, and he expresses in appropriate terms his desire to say nothing that would disturb the friendly relations existing between

the Protestant and Catholic peoples in Quebec. Although the issue is essentially controversial M. Magnan maintains this tone throughout, and devotes himself, by means of numerous citations from speeches and articles and by statistics, to proving the soundness of his conclusions. It is not a matter in which the other provinces have any ground for interference, and there will be a general reluctance to take part in a discussion, which by the constitution is expressly reserved to the province concerned. Those who desire to investigate the subject for the purposes of research may profitably study the two books together. In fact, the more this is done the better, so that all those who write or speak on education may be impressed by the essential differences between the school systems of two such provinces as Quebec and Ontario, which, while lying side by side, are not alike in history, development, or mental attitude.

The British Empire and World Peace. Being the Burwash Memorial Lectures delivered in Convocation Hall, University of Toronto, November, 1921, by the Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL. Toronto: Victoria College Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xxiii, 307.

THE publication in book form of the Burwash Memorial Lectures for 1921, delivered by the Hon. N. W. Rowell, provides for the general reader a comprehensive and thoughtful survey of the relation of Great Britain and Canada to the problem of world-peace, and of the growth of that relation. The treatment of the theme is carefully mapped out. There is, first, a discussion of the international coöperation required to secure peace, as reflected in the light of history, and as exemplified by modern attempts at arbitration and the establishment of a permanent court to which the nations may refer disputes. This is followed by an account of the League of Nations, its origin, scope, and actual achievements. The second part of the book is devoted to the British Empire's place in the movement for peace, wherein its vast responsibilities upon every continent, the gradual extension of self-government to its chief possessions, and its successful efforts to promote the comfort and safety of the peoples under British rule are sympathetically set forth. Canada forms the subject of part three, and the author deals with all the essential points in Canadian constitutional history and, where necessary, in Canadian political history bearing upon international relationships as affecting peace. Part four is entitled "The Church and World Peace". The net is cast, as will be seen, over a wide sea. None of the weighty issues which have been under debate since the conclusion of the War in 1918 is left out, and yet it cannot be said that Mr. Rowell's treatise

is exhaustive and it certainly is not exhausting. On the contrary, there is the effect of lightness of touch which springs from mastery of the subject, and an absence of the ponderous—a quality which, whether we lament it or not, recommends a book but little to the present generation. One may hope, therefore, that the lectures, now available for everybody, will be generally read, will attract the student as well as the man of affairs, and will promote the movement for peace. Unless the cynical attitude toward war as being inevitable, and the tendency to assail all great efforts at reform as too idealistic, are not overcome by a grasp of the whole subject, such as is encouraged by a work of this kind, the civilized nations will continue at the mercy of sudden quarrels and the revolutionary spirit. In the appendices to the volume are the texts of the treaty between Great Britain and Ireland; the Washington treaty of 1922, limiting naval armaments; and the treaty between Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan relating to their insular possessions and dominions in the Pacific Ocean. These are useful documents to be made thus accessible.

In covering so much ground and interpreting questions of the highest consequences, it is vain to suppose that Mr. Rowell has been able to avoid all matters on which there are differences of opinion. But the book is not one to excite controversy. It is, in fact, dispassionate in tone. In the exclusively Canadian portion the gradual rise of this country in the scale of self-government and political autonomy is recorded with as close an approach to impartiality as the fallible human mind can attain. Mr. Rowell does not strain the evidence, although naturally it is employed to strengthen his conclusions. He was entitled to point out, if he had chosen to do so, that the founders of the Dominion commonly used the term "a new nation", and, while careful to declare for the imperial connection, left themselves a large liberty as to the precise forms the national development might take. That the War forced the slow pace characteristic of all British constitutional changes is universally conceded, and if there is in some quarters hesitation to take a definite plunge into certain phases of nationhood, the sentiment is worthy of respect. Mr. Rowell is too wise to quarrel with this feeling; he reasons with it moderately and fairly. The oldest provinces, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Ontario, will be less ready than others to favour constitutional experiments. New responsibilities the War gave Canada, and from these, in due time, there will be no shrinking. The British Commonwealth as a family of nations and equality of British citizenship the world over are ideas that will prevail. Adherence to the League of Nations probably appeals to most people. But we are not a vociferous people, and the thinking few must wait upon the many. The argument

in the book is persuasive and in no sense dictatorial. It is the best case yet presented in behalf of national duties and national aims.

The question of a Canadian minister at Washington occupies, perhaps, more debatable ground. Mr. Rowell is a convinced advocate of the necessity and of the wisdom of such an appointment. "What we require in the present situation," he says, "is to adopt practical plans to meet an actual situation, rather than permit ourselves to be diverted from doing that which needs to be done because it is not in harmony with certain theories of constitutional practice which have prevailed in the past." What these practical plans should be is, of course, the real issue. The proposal to appoint a minister is a concrete suggestion, and in theory appears to be a simple and easy way out of the difficulty. It assumes that the system in vogue explains the non-success of many Canadian negotiations with the United States. Surely there are other causes. To simplify and to render more effective the methods of transacting Canada's business at Washington is a real need. The problem is not insoluble. It may well be that the creation of a separate ministry at Washington is sound in theory, but would not prove so satisfactory in practice. It is for the Canadian people to decide this, as also Mr. Rowell's advocacy of a High Commissioner in London with enlarged powers and a more authoritative status. In the path of this reform, too, there will be no substantial impediments unless they arise out of domestic political conditions. By reaching right conclusions on these two points Canada will, in no slight measure, indicate her fitness for national status and display her prudence and foresight.

The concluding portion of the book is directed to the consideration of those religious and moral forces by virtue of which alone the world can be made better. The churches have not been overborne in the trying period through which we have passed and are still passing. They have been confronted by all the adverse influences of previous ages, reinforced by the materialism and luxury born of unprecedented wealth, and crude applications of scientific truth. To them mankind looks for the impetus that will rid the world of war, and there is no reason to think the hope will be in vain.

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

The Laurentians. By T. MORRIS LONGSTRETH. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1922. Pp. 456. ($3.50.)

Canadian Cities of Romance. By KATHERINE HALE (Mrs. JOHN GARVIN). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1922. Pp. 191.

BOTH these books are rather descriptive than strictly historical. The first, indeed, makes no pretence to be historical at all. Its title is perhaps

over-ambitious. The book is the record of a summer spent in the Laurentians, and (as the writer is the first to admit) the Laurentians are vast beyond a summer's tour. It is no insult to call the book "a sort of glorified guide book", since that is the description used on the cover. The author came as a visitor from the south, seeing the country for the first time. He was concerned not to get beyond the bounds of human habitation in Quebec's northland, but to see the country and its people—or as much of them as he could in a summer—in the great area lying north of a line from Ottawa to Tadoussac. He was confessedly bookmaking as well as enjoying his summer, and he sets down his experiences in almost too easy a manner—the people he met, the canoe trips, the talk of the wayside, the inn and the tent, the mishaps and good fortune of the traveller who is enchanted with his surroundings. He does homage to Maria Chapdelaine at Peribonka and finds in the people of French-Canada the same charm which most Anglo-Saxons find. Though there are a number of good illustrations, a camera or sketch book in the hands of the writer would have improved the book.

Canadian Cities of Romance is a shorter but more ambitious little volume, excellently produced. The writer takes the fourteen outstanding cities of the Dominion, from Halifax to Victoria, and gives us short and impressionistic sketches of them, filling in the historical background of each. The book does not claim to be, and is not, a guide book: there is no rivalry with Baedeker for facts or figures. Nor, it may be added, is there any rivalry with more professedly historical works, though of course these have been used for the background. The authoress has sought to link up the modern city as she sees it with the traditions of its past, the romantic or stirring happenings which have made it what it is to-day, not forgetting any literary associations which cling round it. And within these limits she has succeeded, aided by the sketches of Miss Dorothy Stevens, which are so charming we could have done with more of them.

R. FLENLEY

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1921. By J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Toronto: The Canadian Review Publishing Company. 1922. Pp. 975; illustrations.

THE *Canadian Annual Review* has now reached its twenty-first birthday. That an undertaking of this sort should have been carried through for so long a period by one writer must be regarded as a notable achievement. Certainly the *Annual Review* has already made an established place for itself; and not only is it now indispensable as a work of refer-

ence for students of current affairs in Canada, but it is bound to be of inestimable value for the future historian.

The present volume contains the usual features, including an admirable survey of the "International Relations of Canada", and in addition there is a section on the Irish question, under the heading "Canada and the Irish Question". Included in the volume are also some important matters relating to 1920—such as the West Indies Conference, the Imperial Press Conference, and the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire—which were omitted from the previous issue on account of lack of space. One can easily understand the problems of space which must confront the editor of so vast a publication; but perhaps we may be permitted to point out the inadvisability, from the standpoint of reference work, of including in a volume matters which do not fall in the year with which the volume deals. Might not a greater succinctness in the treatment of some subjects permit of the inclusion of others which have now to be omitted. We note, for example, in the present volume, no mention of the formation of the Canadian Authors' Association in 1921 or of the activities of the Canadian Educational Association. Surely a page or two might have been spared from the long discussions of material progress in order that some reference, at least, might be made of the work of these associations.

We venture to make one further suggestion. A very valuable feature of the *Canadian Annual Review* is the annual bibliography of Canadian publications which it contains. This is, so far as we are aware, the only attempt at a comprehensive list of Canadian books and pamphlets published each year. Would it not be worth Mr. Hopkins's while to print the entries in this list in full bibliographical form, rather than in the short and incomplete form in which the entries are now made? If he would do this, one feels sure that the students of Canadian literature and affairs will in the future rise up and call him blessed.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended notice later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA TO THE EMPIRE

ALLIN, C. D. *Proposals for the neutrality of the British colonies* (Political Science Quarterly, September, 1922, pp. 415-439).

An historical survey of proposals made at various times for the neutralization of the British Colonies or Dominions.

CORNISH, VAUGHAN. *A geography of imperial defence.* London: Sifton, Praed & Co. 1922. Pp. 154; maps.

"A text-book for Army promotion examinations in Imperial Military Geography," by the author of *The naval and military geography of the British Empire, considered in relation to the war with Germany.*

EGERTON, H. E. *British colonial policy in the twentieth century.* London: Methuen & Co. 1922. Pp. xi, 259. (10*s.* 6*d.*)

To be reviewed later.

EWART, JOHN S. *"Canada's National Status": A reply* (North American Review, December, 1922, pp. 773-780).

A controversial paper in reply to an article by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy.

KEITH, A. BERRIEDALE. *Notes on imperial constitutional law* (Canadian Law Times, September, 1922, pp. 594-601).

A discussion of recent developments in regard to the constitutional framework of the British Empire, by one of the leading authorities on the subject.

LONG of WRAXALL, Right Hon. Viscount. *Why we should concentrate on the Empire* (Nineteenth Century, October, 1922, pp. 521-540).

An article embodying proposals for the commercial development of the British Empire.

ROWELL, the Hon. NEWTON W. *The British Empire and world peace.* Being the Burwash Memorial Lectures delivered in Convocation Hall, University of Toronto, November, 1921. Toronto: Victoria College Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xxiii, 307.

Reviewed on page 380.

SCHUYLER, ROBERT LIVINGSTON. *The rise of anti-imperialism in England* (Political Science Quarterly, September, 1922, pp. 440-471).

An excellent essay on a little-known phase of British imperial history in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

BABCOCK, WILLIAM H. *Legendary islands of the Atlantic.* (American Geographical Society: Research Series no. 8.) New York: American Geographical Society. 1922. Pp. 196.

Reviewed on page 359.

DAVIS, JOHN W. *The unguarded boundary* (Geographical Review, October, 1922, pp. 585-601).

An address delivered before the American Geographical Society on April 25, 1922, in which is told the story of the boundary-line between Canada and the United States.

LORIN, HENRI. *L'historien du Canada* (Revue des deux mondes, octobre, 1922, pp. 674-688).

A review of the fifth edition of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*, recently published by Mr. Hector Garneau, the grandson of the historian. The review notice, which is by a distinguished French historian, partakes of the character of a general article on Canadian history.

TAYLOR, R. BRUCE. *Anxious moments in frontier history* (Queen's Quarterly, July, August, September, 1922, pp. 42-52).

A brief historical survey of the relations between Canada and the United States.

(2) The History of New France

À propos du régiment de Carignan (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1922, pp. 225-236).

A series of original documents relating to the Carignan regiment, drawn from the *Correspondance générale* of the government of New France.

BEDFORD-JONES, H. *Canada's first historian* (Canadian Magazine, September, 1922, pp. 393-397).

An account of the life and works of Bacqueville de la Potherie, the author of the *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale.*

BIGGAR, H. P. (ed.). *The Works of Samuel de Champlain.* In six volumes, reprinted, translated, and annotated by six Canadian scholars. Volume I: 1599-1607. Translated and edited by H. H. LANGTON and W. F. GANONG; the French texts collated by J. HOME CAMERON. Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1922. Pp. xviii, 469; with a portfolio of plates and maps.

Reviewed on page 362.

DAVID, L.-O. *D'Iberville et la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Revue Canadienne, octobre, 1922, pp. 491-496).

A brief note on the life and work of "the first great Canadian."

FAUTEUX, ÆGIDIUS (ed.). *Journal du siège de Québec du 10 mai au 18 septembre, 1759.* Québec. 1922. Pp. 115.

"Tiré à deux cents exemplaires non mis dans le commerce." A reprint, with copious notes and an index, of a document previously published by the editor in the first Report of the Provincial Archives of Quebec.

La bibliothèque de Louis de Villeray, premier conseiller au Conseil Souverain de la Nouvelle-France (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juin, 1922, pp. 178-180).

An inventory of a gentleman's library in Canada during the French régime.

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD (comp.). *Mélanges historiques.* Études éparses et inédites de BENJAMIN SULTE. Volume 10. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1922. Pp. 160. ($1.00.)
Reviewed on page 361.

MERRILL, WILLIAM STETSON. *Claude Jean Allouez—Jesuit pioneer missionary* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, July, 1922, pp. 59-67).
An account of the explorations of Father Allouez, one of the associates of Marquette and Joliet.

NEWTON, ARTHUR PERCIVAL. *An early grant to Sebastian Cabot* (English Historical Review, October, 1922, pp. 564-565).
A hitherto unpublished document relating to the grant by Henry VII of an annuity of ten pounds to Sebastian Cabot in 1504.

QUAIFE, MILO M. *Points in Illinois history—a symposium* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, July, 1922, pp. 16-26).
A discussion of a number of moot points with regard to the history of the Illinois country, some of which relate to the history of New France.

(3) The History of British North America before 1867

BASYE, ARTHUR HERBERT. *The secretary of state for the colonies, 1768-1782* (American Historical Review, October, 1922, pp. 13-23).
A brief but admirable study of the office created in Great Britain in 1768 for dealing with colonial affairs, and abolished in 1782. Though primarily a footnote to constitutional history, the study has distinct value for the student of the background of Canadian history during the first quarter-century of British rule.

BLUE, VERNE. *The Oregon question, 1818-1828* (Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, September, 1922, pp. 193-219).
"A study of Dr. John Floyd's efforts in Congress to secure the Oregon country."

CHAPAIS, THOMAS. *Lord Durham et son rapport* (Canada Français, septembre, 1922, pp. 5-21; octobre, 1922, pp. 115-127).
A study of Lord Durham's report, from a French-Canadian point of view.

JONES, E. ALFRED (ed.). *A letter regarding the Queen's Rangers* (Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, October, 1922, pp. 368-376).
A hitherto unpublished document with regard to that Loyalist regiment in the American Revolution which was commanded by Colonel John Graves Simcoe.

LANDON, F. *Canadian opinion of Abraham Lincoln* (Dalhousie Review, October, 1922, pp. 329-334).
A chapter in the history of the relations between Canada and the United States.

LAPHAM, RUTH (comp.). *Check list of American revolutionary war pamphlets in the Newberry Library.* Chicago: The Newberry Library. 1922. Pp. viii, 115.
A list of five hundred and seventy-four pamphlets and tracts dealing with the American revolution, contained in the Newberry Library of Chicago.

ROY, P.-G. *Une révolte à Québec en 1763* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juillet, 1922, pp. 193-195).
A brief account of a mutiny in the garrison at Quebec in 1763.

TANSILL, CHARLES C. *The Canadian reciprocity treaty of 1854.* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series xl, no. 2.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1922. Pp. 96.
Reviewed on page 373.

VAN TYNE, CLAUDE H. *The causes of the War of Independence: Being the first volume of a history of the founding of the American republic.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. x, 499.

To be reviewed later.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

[BANK OF MONTREAL.] *Memorial of the Great War, 1914-1918: A record of service.* Published by the Bank of Montreal in honour of the members of its staff who served with the colours. [1922.] Pp. 261; illustrations.

Records of the war service of members of the staff of the Bank of Montreal.

BRAITHWAITE, E. E. *Canada and her big neighbor* (Canadian Magazine, September, 1922, pp. 409-414).

A brief survey of present-day relations between Canada and the United States.

DAWSON, R. MACG. *The independence of the lieutenant-governor* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1922, pp. 230-246).

A study of the position of the provincial lieutenant-governor in the Canadian constitution.

GASCON, WILFRID. *Vers l'indépendance du Canada* (L'Action Française, août, 1922, pp. 100-116).

A discussion of Canada's political destiny, by a French-Canadian nationalist.

HALE, KATHERINE (pseud.). *Canadian cities of romance.* Drawings by DOROTHY STEVENS. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. [1922.] Pp. 191.

Reviewed on page 382.

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *The Canadian annual review of public affairs, 1921.* Toronto: The Canadian Review Company, 1922. Pp. 979; index and illustrations. ($8.00.)

Reviewed on page 383.

LUCAS, Sir CHARLES. *Sir George Parkin, K.C.M.G., D.C.L.* (United Empire, August, 1922, pp. 502-508).

An obituary notice of a distinguished Canadian who died in London, June 25, 1922.

REAMAN, GEORGE ELMORE. *Canadianization of the foreign-born* (Canadian Magazine, October, 1922, pp. 445-450).

A discussion of the problem of making Canadian citizens of foreign immigrants into Canada.

RITCHIE, MARY CHRISTINE. *Major-General Sir Geoffrey Twining, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.V.O. A biographical sketch and the story of his East African diaries.* Montreal: A. T. Chapman. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1922. Pp. 102.

A biographical sketch of a Canadian who rose to a distinguished position in the British army, and died in January, 1920.

YOUNG, A. H., and KIRKWOOD, W. A. (eds.). *The War Memorial Volume of Trinity College, Toronto.* Toronto: Printers Guild, Limited. 1922. Pp. 165.

A volume containing the portraits and war records of those members of Trinity College, Toronto, who took part in the Great War.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

EDWARDS, J. P. *The Shelburne that was and is not* (Dalhousie Review, July, 1922, pp. 179-197).

An account of the foundation of the Loyalist settlement at Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1783.

———— *Vicissitudes of a loyalist city* (Dalhousie Review, October, 1922, pp. 313-328).

An account of the growth and decline of the Loyalist settlement of Shelburne in Nova Scotia.

(2) The Province of Quebec

DUPONT, PIERRE. *Figures d'autrefois: Le docteur Labrie* (L'Action Française, juillet, 1922, pp. 28-36).

A sketch of the life of Jacques Labrie, a French-Canadian politician and littérateur of the pre-rebellion days in Lower Canada.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Chirurgiens, médecins, etc., sous le régime français, à Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1922, pp. 247-251).

A supplement to previous articles by the same writer on the surgeons and physicians in Montreal during the French régime.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Le premier notaire anglais de Montréal, John Burke* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1922, pp. 237-240).

Some notes on the first English notary in Montreal, who was appointed in 1762.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les Chaboillez* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juin, 1922, pp. 184-188; juillet, 1922, pp. 207-209; août, 1922, pp. 241-242).

A genealogical study of a well-known French-Canadian family.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Raquettes—clubs—costumes—chansons—carnaval* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juillet, 1922, pp. 196-202).

Notes on French-Canadian social history.

MAURAULT, Abbé OLIVIER. *La Congrégation irlandaise à Montréal* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, septembre, 1922, pp. 267-290).

An account of the history of the Irish Roman Catholic community in Montreal.

(3) The Province of Ontario

CORNELL, JOHN A. *The first church of Beverly: A history and a memorial.* Published under the auspices of the Wentworth Historical Society, the Women's Wentworth Historical Society, and the Waterloo Historical Society. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1921. Pp. 124.

A well-written sketch of the history of a church in the township of Beverly, Ontario, founded in 1812 by the grandfather of the author.

LANDON, FRED (ed.). *The diary of Benjamin Lundy written during his journey through Upper Canada, January, 1832.* Reprinted from the Ontario Historical Society's "Paper and Records," Vol. 19. [1922.] Pp. 24.

The diary of an American abolitionist who travelled through Upper Canada about 1831.

RIDDELL, WILLIAM RENWICK. *Upper Canada sketches: Incidents in the early times of the province.* Toronto: The Carswell Company. 1922. Pp. 16, 156.

Reviewed on page 371.

(4) The Western Provinces

JOHNSTON, LUKIN. *British Columbia's Oriental problem* (United Empire, September, 1922, pp. 570-576).

A discussion of the dangers of Oriental immigration into British Columbia.

MEYERS, J. A. *Finan McDonald—explorer, fur trader and legislator* (Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1922, pp. 196-208).

Full biographical notes with regard to a servant of the North-West Company who was David Thompson's chief lieutenant in the fur trade on the Pacific slope.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

AIKIN, J. ALEXANDER. *The St. Lawrence waterway project* (Queen's Quarterly, July, August, September, 1922, pp. 53-65).

A discussion of the St. Lawrence deep waterway project, from a decidedly critical and cautious point of view.

CAVAILLÈS, H. *La houille blanche au Canada* (Annales de Géographie, 15 septembre, 1922, pp. 417-432).

An account of water-power in Canada.

CORNISH, GEORGE A. *A Canadian school geography.* Toronto and London: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1922. Pp. xiv, 450.

A secondary school text-book, in which special attention is devoted to the geography of Canada. Admirably illustrated with numerous sketch-maps, diagrams, and illustrations.

—— —— (ed.). *The Canadian school atlas.* Prepared at the Edinburgh Geographical Institute. Toronto and London: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1922. Containing 65 maps and plans, with complete index.

A companion volume to the above.

DERRY, KATHLEEN, and DOUGLAS, PAUL H. *The minimum wage in Canada* (Journal of Political Economy, April, 1922, pp. 155-188).

A detailed account of minimum wage legislation in Canada.

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